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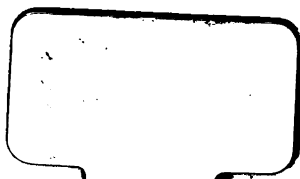
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THE
CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

N^o III. *APRIL* 1876.

ART. I.—SUPERNATURAL RELIGION—THE
RATIONALE OF MIRACLES.

IT is no doubt a painful and harassing thing to the believer to have the great truths of Christianity questioned ; yet it may be doubted whether this is altogether an unmixed evil. Such a state of things induces struggle, and struggle is always accompanied by intensified life. At all events, Christianity has not ultimately suffered from the great contests in which it has been engaged, whether those contests have proceeded from the attacks of scepticism, or from the brute force of the oppressor. And we can partly see why this should be so. Nothing is more fatal to a religious party or body than to have its doctrines and aims accepted without question. Doctrines which are unquestioned have a tendency to become torpid, if not dead ; aims which are accepted by the world, are but feebly carried out. Hence, the fierce blast of opposition, if not pleasant, is at least salutary. It kindles into life the energies, which were being fast dissipated for want of obstacles. It throws back the mind upon first principles, which are then realized and appreciated. Besides, in periods of quiet, excrescences and wild shoots are sure to arise. The life which should have flowed along the centre, and spent itself in nourishing the tree, too often develops itself in unnatural shoots. In such circumstances, the attacks of the opponent act as a pruning process ; and pruning, as we know, is always accompanied by invigorated life.

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Besides, there is another reason why, at the present time, we should not altogether deprecate the attacks of the sceptic. Christianity, although in its essence it is absolutely unchangeable, must yet from time to time rearrange and accommodate itself to the modes of thought and ideas of the age. It is very plain that Christianity can only influence an age on one condition, viz. that it shape and accommodate itself to the leading ideas and modes of thought of those, whom it undertakes to influence. It must assume the truth of these ideas, and upon them, as a basis, erect the superstructure of divine and unchanging truth. Now, if it were so that the age were perfectly stationary; if it never changed its ideas and modes of thought, all would be easy and satisfactory. The exposition and defence of Christianity constructed in one age would be perfectly good for another; and apologists would have no other task but that of strengthening the defences of their predecessors. But, alas, this is very far from being the real state of the case. So far from remaining stationary, the world is ever changing; and in an age of rapid progress like the present, these changes are often momentous and sudden. In fact, no sooner has an exposition and defence of Christianity been constructed, than the apologist finds that its foundations have been swept away. It is consequently no longer suited to the present time. Nay, more, not only is it unsuited, but its retention is fraught with the greatest danger. For the unthinking multitude is sure to confound the faith with the ideas and principles, to which it has been accommodated. In reality there is no necessary connection between the two. The ideas were assumed by divines for no other reason than that, being prevalent at the moment, they must be assumed as a necessary condition of influencing the age. But the generality of men cannot see this. The ideas having been assumed by divines, are regarded as essential parts of Christianity, and now that the ideas have perished, Christianity is held to have perished with them.¹

In truth, this is the real key to a great deal of the scepticism of the present day. A great revolution has recently taken place on the field of speculative science. Ideas and

¹ For instance, forty years ago the doctrine of 'special creations' was all but universally taught by geologists, and Christianity was expounded and defended on the basis of this doctrine. Now, it is rejected by men of science, and how many sceptics have been made in consequence, under the impression that it constituted an essential part of Christianity. In reality, the doctrine of special creations is an awkward one for the Christian, for it implies that there are creations, for instance, individual men and women, which are not special.

principles which were universally accepted thirty years ago, and which formed the basis on which Christianity was then presented to the nation, are now condemned as false ; and too often Christianity is condemned with them, under the impression that it was committed to them, and that they formed part of its essence. We thus see that there is a great danger to the faith in an age like the present—the danger lest Christianity should be left behind ; lest it should stagnate in the ideas of a previous age from which the world has broken loose. In such a case there is sure to be a plentiful crop of scepticism. In fact, the only safety for Christianity is to keep pace with the age ; to disengage itself as speedily as possible from antiquated ideas, and accommodate itself to the new. But how is this to be accomplished ? There is a natural indolence in the theological mind, and a reverence for the past, which makes it disinclined for change ; though the peril to souls, if it does not change, is very great. We know of no more effectual means of rousing the Church to make this effort, than a keen attack on the part of scepticism. Such an attack is sure to bring the matter to a head, and the more complete and able it is, the better it will answer its purpose. Divines are then compelled to reconsider their position, and the result is that Christianity is presented in a new aspect suited to the prevailing culture.

For these reasons we are not disposed to quarrel with the author of *Supernatural Religion*. However he may have intended it, the book has not been without its utility, in arousing attention and compelling reconsideration. A goodly number of replies has already been elicited, and we are glad to notice that the tendency of them has all been in the direction of an improved presentation of Christianity.

And this seems the place to explain why it is, that at such a late period we take up the subject. Our reason for doing so is, that it seemed that something still remained to be said on the general or speculative side of the question of miracles. The work on *Supernatural Religion* is divided into two parts. The first part deals with the general or speculative side of the question ; and the second with the critical or historical side. In the first part, it is attempted to be shown on general grounds, that miracles are useless, inadmissible, and wholly incredible ; and in the second part, that they are without satisfactory evidence. It is of the first part that we wish especially to treat at present. In regard to the second part, the author has already been satisfactorily answered ; nor do we intend to recur to it. All we would do in reference to it, is just to

notice, in passing, a strange oversight which the author has committed, in regard to the evidence for miracles, which has the effect of rendering all the reasoning in the second part completely nugatory.

The position which our author takes up, is that miracles, from the very nature of the case, require the completest and most powerful contemporary evidence, and the point which he strives to make is, that we have not got such evidence, because the Gospels, which contain the narrative of Christ's miracles, are not contemporary documents, but the spurious products of a late age. He thus assumes that the Gospels are the only evidence which we possess for Christ's miracles. But is this really so? Have we no other evidence but what is contained in the Gospels? So far is this from being the case, that it would be more true to say, that the witness of the Gospels constitutes only a small and subordinate part of the evidence. The real evidence for the supernatural character of Christ is contained in the unquestioned Epistles of S. Paul, which no one will deny are, in the strictest sense of the word, contemporary documents. From these Epistles we learn that faith in the resurrection of Christ was quite universal in the Church; that it had been so from the beginning; that it formed the corner-stone of Christian faith;¹ that in addition to the Apostles, who were official witnesses, upwards of 250 other witnesses of the fact of the resurrection were living when the first Epistle to the Corinthians was penned. From these facts it is plain that the testimony of S. Paul is the testimony of the whole Christian Church; and if we bear in mind the fact that S. Paul himself, and vast multitudes of his contemporaries, laid down their lives in attestation of the truth of the resurrection (for according to S. Paul it was the corner-stone of the faith), it is simply impossible to imagine historical evidence which could be stronger.

It is plain that the author, in omitting to deal with this testimony, has omitted to deal with what is really the evidence for miracles; and, consequently, his whole argumentation in the second part is quite beside the mark. Nor is this all. It is easy to see that the miracle of the resurrection, thus established on independent grounds, really undermines and renders nugatory his whole argument against the Gospels. The author would allow that for non-miraculous facts connected with Christ the evidence of the Gospels might suffice; his point being, that owing to their lateness they are insuf-

¹ 'If Christ be not raised, your faith is vain'—1 Cor. xv. 17.

ficient to establish miracles. But if the truth of the resurrection be established, do not all the miracles attributed to Christ in the Gospels become just as credible as ordinary events? If Christ really rose from the dead, it is not more incredible that He should heal the sick with a word, than that He should walk from Galilee to Jerusalem. In fact, presuppose the testimony of S. Paul, and the evidence of the Gospels, for the miracles of Christ is just as admissible as it is for ordinary events.

It is, however, to the first part of the author's book that our attention is to be directed. The contents of this part may be briefly stated. It consists in all of six chapters, the first of which has for its title 'Miracles in relation to Christianity,' and its object is to destroy the evidential function of miracles and thus render them quite useless. The second chapter is entitled 'Miracles in relation to the Order of Nature,' and its purport is to show that the order of nature being fixed and invariable, no place in the objective world is left for miracles. The third chapter has for its title 'Reason in relation to the Order of Nature,' and its main object is to reply to a brilliant argument contained in the second chapter of Dr. Mozley's *Bampton Lectures*. These three chapters are all which deal with what is, properly speaking, the philosophical aspect of the question; and they are followed by other three chapters which raise questions of great historical interest in regard to the Christian miracles. The titles of these latter are 'The Age of Miracles,' 'The Permanent Stream of the Miraculous,' 'Miracles in relation to Ignorance and Superstition.' As, however, our space will be fully occupied in discussing the momentous questions raised in the first three chapters, it is needless to enter further into the consideration of them.

We proceed therefore at once to the consideration of the first chapter, in which, as we have remarked, the author deals with the evidential value of miracles. We shall try to present as fairly as possible his argument to the reader.

He first of all points out that miracles are an essential part of the proof of supernatural Christianity:—

'Christianity,' he tells us, 'as a religion professing to be divinely revealed, is not only supernatural in origin and doctrine, but its claim to acceptance is necessarily based upon supernatural evidence; for it is obvious that truths which require to be miraculously communicated do not come within the range of our intellect, and cannot therefore, be intelligently received upon internal testimony.'¹

¹ p. 2.

The observation is perfectly just, and will not be questioned by any competent theologian. Dr. Mozley clearly states the case in his *Bampton Lectures* :—

‘And certainly, if it was the will of God to give a revelation, there are plain and obvious reasons for asserting that miracles are necessary as the guarantee and voucher for that revelation. A revelation is, properly speaking, such only by virtue of telling us something which we could not know without it. But how do we know that that communication of what is undiscoverable by human reason is true? Our reason cannot prove the truth of it, for it is by the very supposition beyond our reason. There must be, then, some note or sign to certify to it and distinguish it as a true communication from God, which note can be nothing else than a miracle.’¹

The author goes on to adduce as authorities to the same effect Bishop Butler, Dr. Paley, Bishop Atterbury, Dr. Heurtley, Dr. Mansel. It is unnecessary, however, to dwell upon their views, for all are perfectly agreed that miracles are absolutely essential to the proof of Christianity; that they are not merely *a* proof, but *the* proof; that, in the words of Dr. Newman, ‘no evidence of a revelation is conceivable, which does not partake of the character of a miracle.’² Our author therefore is perfectly justified in remarking that those who profess to hold Christianity, whilst they discredit its supernatural elements, ‘have widely seceded from ecclesiastical Christianity.’ Indeed, he might have added that they are not, in any strict sense of the word, Christians at all. For miracles or supernatural events are not only the proof and evidence of Christianity, but they form its essence, so to speak. The great doctrines of Christianity, the Incarnation, the Resurrection, the Ascension, are miracles; and as Dr. Mozley justly remarks, ‘a man cannot state his belief as a Christian in the terms of the Apostles’ Creed without asserting them.’³

Miracles, therefore, are undoubtedly both the proof and the essence of a supernatural revelation. But here our author urges a most perplexing difficulty—a difficulty which seriously affects miracles viewed as the proof of Christianity, if indeed it does not destroy their evidential value altogether.

¹ *Bampton Lectures*, p. 6. Quoted p. 3.

² *Two Essays on Scripture Miracles and on Ecclesiastical*, p. 6. Quoted p. 6.

³ We may compare with this the language of the Duc de Broglie, in his *L'Eglise et l'Empire Romain au IV^e Siècle*: ‘L’Evangile, il faut en convenir, n’est qu’une suite de faits surnaturels. L’Evangile, c’est le surnaturel lui-même. L’Evangile, c’est la naissance du fils d’une vierge. L’Evangile, c’est la résurrection d’un mort. Il commence, il finit par le miracle.’—(Tome i, p. 398.)

If it were the case, that no other power but God could work miracles, and that all miracles must necessarily be referred to God, there would be no difficulty at all. The evidential character of miracles would be complete and absolute. Wherever a miracle occurred we should be able to detect in it the 'finger of God,' and should be fully justified in receiving with absolute submission the message guaranteed by it, as a message from God. But this is very far from being the case. Our author points with considerable satisfaction and triumph to the undoubted fact, that Holy Scripture not only admits that God, to try His people, has permitted false prophets to work miracles, but also, all through, contemplates the possibility of miracles being worked by spiritual powers, which are not God. For, not to speak of the signs and wonders worked by the magicians in opposition to Moses, our blessed Lord expressly declares, that false prophets shall arise, and shall work signs and wonders to seduce, if it were possible, the elect.

It is evident, our author urges, that this admission of Holy Scripture alters the whole complexion of the case, and creates a serious difficulty in regard to the evidential character of miracles. Since it is admitted 'that other supernatural beings exist as well as an assumed Personal God, by whose agency miracles are performed, it is impossible to argue with reason that such phenomena are at any time specially due to the intervention of Deity.'¹ And then the author goes on with considerable ingenuity and real pleasure to extract admissions from the defenders of miracles, which in his opinion damage, if they do not destroy, their whole case.

He cites, for instance, Dr. Newman as fully admitting the difficulty, and at the same time showing the danger of some of the modes of solving it—as, for example, by making a distinction between great miracles and small, many and few, or by referring to the nature of the doctrine attested in order to determine the author of the miracle, or by denying the power of evil spirits altogether, and explaining away Scripture statements of demoniacal possession and the narrative of our Lord's temptation. Dr. Newman, however, while admitting the difficulty, is, in the opinion of our author, quite unable to give any satisfactory solution of it.

The author next quotes Archbishop Trench. The Archbishop also admits the difficulty: he affirms that side by side with the miracles which serve for the furthering of the kingdom of God, there runs another line of wonders, the counter-

¹ p. 13.

workings of him, who is ever the ape of the Most High. Hence, the Archbishop admits, miracles cannot be appealed to absolutely and finally in proof of the doctrine which the worker of them proclaims. All that they prove is, that the worker is either from heaven or from hell. In order to eliminate the latter alternative, and prove that the worker is from heaven, the doctrine must commend itself to the conscience as good. Thus the solution of the Archbishop is 'that the miracle must witness for itself, and the doctrine for itself, and then and then only the first is capable of witnessing for the second.'¹

Admissions to a similar effect the author next extracts from Dr. Mozley, Dr. Mansel, and Dr. Arnold, all of whom practically agree with the Archbishop in solving the difficulty by admitting the appeal to the reason or conscience. The author then proceeds to argue that this is really to give up the evidential function of the miracle, and to make reason the final arbiter; for it is the reason, not the miracle, which finally decides whether the doctrine be from God. But the question immediately arises—How far is our reason capable of fulfilling the task which is thus imposed upon it? No doubt it would be perfectly capable, provided the doctrines revealed lay within the limits of our reason. But suppose that they lie altogether without the limits of our reason; suppose that they are such as the doctrine of the Trinity or of the Incarnation (and obviously it is only such doctrines that really require the attestation of miracles), then in that case our reason is wholly incapable of judging of them. The verdict of reason is not forthcoming, and the attesting miracle is consequently left without any test to determine whether it be from heaven or from hell. The conclusion, therefore, at which the author arrives is that miracles, by the very confession of their defenders, are utterly incompetent to perform their contemplated functions; and that there is no sense in which they can be miraculously evidential of anything.

It is evident that our author has here hit upon a weak point in our modern theology, and with great ingenuity has driven his attack home. And what is that weak point? If we think over the matter we shall find that it is nothing else but a very narrow Calvinistic theory, which has become engrained upon modern apology, and forms its bane. There is a whole circle of conceptions, which enter into and constitute this theory; and in considering them the reader will easily see that they are narrowed to such an extent, that they

¹ Quoted p. 17.

become quite distorted from their true meaning and significance. First of all comes the idea of God's relation to the world, which in the Calvinistic system is narrowed down to the idea of giving a revelation. According to the Calvinist, God has interfered with the world only to give a revelation; and ever since that revelation was closed 1800 years ago, the tokens of His working have ceased. In the next place, the idea of revelation is also narrowed. It is limited to the idea of a communication of doctrines or abstract truths. If the reader will glance again at the statement we have given of the author's argument, he will see that this narrow conception pervades it from beginning to end. In fact, neither the author nor the authorities he quotes seem to have any conception of revelation except as the communication from heaven of certain truths or doctrines which we could not otherwise know. Last of all, in this circle of conceptions comes the miracle; and it is easy to see that the result of the preceding narrowing process is, that the *whole weight* of Divine revelation is thrown upon it. For revelation being essentially a message from heaven delivered by a man, there can obviously be but one proof, note, or seal of its truth—the miracle. But this is not by any means the worst of it. For not only is the miracle made to support the whole weight of revelation, it also, like all the conceptions that have gone before, is narrowed, nay, quite perverted from its true meaning and significance.

Let us look at this perverted view of the miracle.

First, the miracle is severed off not only from all the events of nature, that is, from the ordinary working of God's Providence, but even from the laws and rules of the Divine action itself. It is non-natural, not only as contradicting the course of nature, but non-natural as standing out in contrast with God's usual mode of action. In a word, it is a purely exceptional event, standing quite isolated and alone. Next, it is distorted from its true meaning and import. According to the Calvinist the miracle exists for one only end—evidence. It is held to be simply the seal, the guarantee, the certificate of the truth of some doctrine revealed. Unless a miracle has this purpose clearly marked out for it, it is, according to the Calvinist, quite incredible.¹ Now we do not deny that

¹ It is on this principle that ecclesiastical miracles are rejected. The Calvinist reasons: there was no doctrine to be attested by them, and since miracles exist *only* for purposes of attestation, it is incredible they can have happened. We are not entering on the question whether any, and if so, what ecclesiastical miracles are admissible; we are only pointing out the false principle on which they are rejected. The reply of the

miracles perform a very important evidential function ; so far, indeed, from doing this, we are just going to insist strongly upon that function. But what we do deny is, that evidence is their real purpose or end. On the contrary, evidence is but a secondary, subordinate, and indirect result of their existence. Their real end, their *raison-d'être*, so to speak, is not evidence, but high purposes of God's Providence. That this is so, will be clearly seen if we call to mind some of the great miracles recorded in Scripture. Was the Red Sea divided to attest the truth of Moses' words, and not rather providentially to save the Israelites from their enemies? Did Christ heal the sick, cleanse the leper, open the eyes of the blind, to prove His doctrines? Was it not rather to administer relief to the suffering on whom He had compassion? Or, take the greatest of all miracles, that which, in comparison with the others, may be said alone to possess evidential value—the resurrection of Christ. Was it worked to prove the truth of Christ's words? Plainly it was worked for quite a different end—the redemption of the world, of the work of which it forms an integral part.

The result, then, of this narrow Calvinistic theory, is that miracles are dissociated from all connection with God's ordinary working, and quite distorted from their true meaning and purpose ; and then the whole weight of Divine revelation is thrown upon them. No wonder that they are quite incompetent to perform the task, and break down under the burden.

To some, indeed, it may seem as if these distinctions were subtle, and without practical importance ; yet nothing could be a greater mistake. In reality they are of the most momentous import, and make all the difference between faith and scepticism. Why, we ask, is it that men disbelieve in miracles? Is it not simply because they are dis severed from the ordinary working of God's Providence, and made into something portentous and unnatural? Or, again, on what ground does our author's argumentation to destroy the evidence of miracles rest? Simply on this perverted theory of revelation and miracles. That this is really so will be seen if we proceed to disengage the miracle from its distorted form, and present it in its true aspect and meaning. It will be found that, in the process of doing so, the author's argument simply falls to pieces.

sceptic is obvious. He says, if you deal in this summary way with the testimony of S. Irenæus and S. Augustine, may I not carry the principle a little further, and deal in like manner with S. Paul?

Let us begin in order and correct the whole circle of these ideas. First, in regard to God's relation to the world—let us look at it, not as confined to the giving of a revelation, but as being as wide as the circle of His Providence, as wide as the human race itself. Or, to put it in another way, let us not look at revelation as an isolated and exceptional event, but merely as an illuminated spot in the general circle of God's Providence, with which it is identical in essence. It is to be observed that the essence of the Calvinistic view lies in isolating revelation from God's ordinary working; the essence of the Catholic view lies in identifying the two. According to the Calvinist the relation of God to the world in the days of Christ and the Apostles was different in kind from what it is now; according to the Catholic, it was the same in kind. In the next place, in regard to revelation itself, let us not look at it as a communication to men of doctrines and abstract truths; but as a course of Providential working—as being, in fact, nothing else, but the foundation and guidance of the theocracy under the Old Covenant, and the incarnation of the Son and establishment of the Church under the New. In a word, let us look at revelation, not as a system of doctrines contained in an inspired book, but as a series of complex historical facts.¹

It is plain that under this point of view the *rationale* of the miracle is completely changed. First, it is no longer an isolated exceptional event, but merely an act of God's ordinary Providence, possessing a special illumination, of the nature of which we shall presently speak. It is, in fact, identified with God's ordinary Providence, and does not differ in kind from an answer to prayer, or from the arrangement of the series of conditions by which human life was introduced in the world. Next, such being its nature, it is plain that it exists no longer for the end of evidence; no longer to guarantee the truth of Divine communications, but for ordinary Providential purposes. But in the last place, perhaps the most important change is that the miracle is relieved from the burden of supporting the whole weight of Divine revelation. Revelation being not a book, but a series of complex historical facts, it is plain that the miracle enters only as *one*

¹ We do not deny that one element or part of revelation is a communication or a message from heaven—as, for instance, the Ten Commandments at Sinai. But it would be a wholly inadequate and one-sided view of the Mosaic revelation to limit it to this element. The Mosaic revelation embraces the whole series of historical facts recorded in the Pentateuch.

element into these facts ; and it is not the miracle alone but the whole series which determine or prove the revelation.

Now, if we view the miracle under this altered point of view, it is plain that the author's whole reasoning falls to the ground. His argument is wholly grounded on the Calvinistic view that revelation is a message, and that the miracle is its guarantee. He argues that since Scripture contemplates the possibility of miracles which are not of God, we never can be sure that a communication attested by a miracle really comes from God. But this is a mere caricature of the way in which miracles perform their evidential functions. It is not as attesting a message that a miracle has evidential value, but merely as one out of many elements in a complex historical fact. If, for instance, we confine our attention to Christianity we shall perceive that its miracles perform their evidential function in a totally different way from what the author supposes—in a way which his argument does not even touch.

Christianity is a very complex historical fact, with a vast multiplicity of aspects. Now, suppose we have considered it as a whole—suppose we find that as a whole it explicitly places itself on the side of God—suppose that starting from the knowledge of a Personal God (which knowledge, notwithstanding the reasonings of certain modern philosophers, and the admissions of some of our divines, we are prepared to maintain is a necessary and permanent possession of the human race)—suppose, we say, it is nothing else than a development of this knowledge, the actual establishment of those relations between God and man which natural theology shows were to be expected—suppose we find that its fundamental thought, the redemption of man from sin, suffering and death, and the raising of him to a new life, commends itself to our minds as a thought worthy of God. How, we ask, in that case, is Christianity to be established ? The slightest reflection will show that it cannot be established simply by its reasonableness viewed as a theory. To establish it, it must be shown that the theory is in accordance with fact. Now, it is simply as the necessary facts to this end, that the miracles of Christianity come in and possess their evidential value.

Here is One standing at the very centre of Christianity who professes to be the Redeemer. He tells us that He is the One foretold by the prophets ; that before Abraham was He was ; that He is the only Son of God, the Word made Flesh ; and He proclaims that He is come into the world, to redeem the world ; and, further, that He will redeem the world by laying down His life and taking it again. It is evident that the veri-

fication of these claims is the verification of Christianity. But how are they to be verified? According to the Calvinistic idea, our Lord had only, in the presence of the Jews, to perform some miracle—say, remove the mountains of Judea and cast them into the sea—and this miracle would serve as a general certificate of His truth, an evident sign that He was sent by God, and proclaimed the truth of God. Now we deny altogether that such a miracle, or indeed any miracle, would have sufficed for that purpose. We deny that any miracle, however stupendous, could serve as a general certificate of truth. We deny in fact that a miracle, abstractedly considered and apart from certain connections, has any evidential value beyond itself. It proves itself and nothing more. What was wanted to prove the truth of our Lord's words was not miracles as such, but miracles of a particular kind. In a word, not miracles at all, but certain plain facts, such as would correspond to and bear out His pretensions.

In short (to speak reverently) we must deal with our blessed Lord as we deal with a witness in a court of justice. If we want to verify a witness we consider what facts enter into and constitute the essence of his story; and then we look about for evidence as to whether those facts actually occurred. If we find that the facts really did occur, and that they clearly point to the meaning which the witness puts upon them, his truth as a witness is established. It is precisely the same with our blessed Lord. If He professed to be the Son of God, He must exhibit the power of God—if He professed to redeem the world by laying down His life and taking it again, He must lay down His life and take it again; and, finally, if He said that He would not only in His own person overcome sin, suffering, and death, but would also redeem mankind from these evils, He must exhibit His power of redemption by examples. And, in point of fact, the miracles of our Lord and His Church are simply examples of His redeeming power. The conversion and restoration of sinners by His grace, His healing of sickness and disease, His raising of the dead, are so many foretastes of that great redemption which will only be completed when 'He shall change our vile body that it may be like unto His glorious body, according to the working whereby He is able to subdue all things unto Himself.'

It is thus perfectly clear that the miracles of Christianity perform their evidential functions in a way very different from what the author supposes. It is not their function to be the guarantee of the great doctrines which Christ taught. All

that they guarantee is, that He was not talking at random, when He professed to be the Son of God come into the world to redeem the world. Whether he actually were the Son of God, and whether His work was really a redemption, the miracles, taken by themselves, are quite incompetent to decide. No doubt their absence would be perfectly fatal to these pretensions, but their presence does not necessarily involve them. In fact, the miracle is only one element towards the solution of the question. In order to determine whether Christianity is really from God, we must take it into consideration as a whole in all its manifold aspects. Nor is there any difficulty when the matter is so viewed. Christianity so completely opposes the work of the Devil, and is so identified with God's providential working both before and since its promulgation, that the author's objection—the possibility that its miracles might have been worked by Satanic agency—is simply absurd.

We now come to a far more difficult question in regard to miracles—a question with which the author deals in his second chapter. We mean the relation in which miracles stand to the order of nature. It is to be observed that the real problem to be solved in this question is to find the essential and distinguishing mark of the miracle—that which severs it off from all other events and stamps it with the character of a miracle. Unhappily, divines have blundered over this problem. The mark which they have usually assigned as characteristic of the miracle has been that of being 'contrary to the order or course of nature,' 'a violation or suspension of the laws of nature.' Now, not to mention that this definition is, theologically speaking, faulty, as not really hitting the crucial point which distinguishes the miracle, it has had the effect of involving the defence of miracles in a host of artificial difficulties. It is at best but a rough and unskilful mark of distinction, and, however well it might answer its purpose in an unscientific age, its persistent retention at the present day, by very high authorities, is deeply to be deplored.

As this matter is of great importance, it will be necessary to remark upon it before going on to consider the reasonings of our author.

It is easy to see that the terms 'order of nature,' 'laws of nature,' are in the highest degree slippery and ambiguous. For what is it that we exactly mean by 'nature?' Do we include in the term everything which exists, or only a part of that which exists? The universe of things is, plainly, a vast hierarchy, embracing very different orders of

existence. We may note, first of all, the inorganic world, which is ruled by physical and chemical laws. Above this there is the sphere of organic nature, which, though subject to the laws of the inorganic world, is yet characterized by a new set of laws—the laws of life, which profoundly modify the physical and chemical laws. Higher still, there is the sphere of mind in its first beginnings, in which another and still higher set of laws rules, modifying the laws which precede so as to produce still new and different results. Above this we have the domain of mind in its full development—the domain of the human spirit, constituting the intellectual and moral worlds, and ruled by a set of laws which are not only dissimilar to all the preceding, but bear no analogy whatever to them. All these orders of existence constitute what we call the visible world of sense. But higher still, there is the invisible world—the world of created spirits, which must have laws peculiarly its own : and, last of all, there is God Himself, who, since everything must be governed by law, we must suppose, acts in accordance with the laws of His own Being.

Now, in using the phrase ‘order of nature,’ how many of these orders of existence do we include, how many do we exclude ? It is very clear that the phrase will vary in meaning according to the exact place at which we draw the line of demarcation. Suppose, for instance, we were to draw the line at the introduction of life, confining the term ‘nature’ to the inorganic world, then, in that case, all the phenomena of the organic world would be supernatural, preternatural, or contrary to the order of nature. Or suppose, again, that we drew the line at the point where the moral world begins ; in that case, while both inorganic and organic phenomena would be natural, the moral acts of mankind would be supernatural. In point of fact, this is the point at which the Kantian school of philosophy does draw the line, Fichte maintaining stoutly, that the moral world is a supernatural world, and that the law of freedom, which rules in it, is quite contrary to the necessary laws, which rule in what he regards as ‘nature.’

It is plain, however, that in defining the miracle to be contrary to nature, divines meant to include in ‘nature’ both the moral and intellectual worlds. Clearly, the point, at which they drew the line, was at the meeting of the visible and invisible worlds. All the phenomena, which belong to the visible world, or are explicable by the laws of the visible world, they meant to include in the term ‘nature ;’ all above this they held to be supernatural. In fact, what

they meant by defining the miracle to be 'contrary to nature' was simply, that its explanation was not to be found in the laws of the visible world, but in those of the invisible. But now, suppose the sceptic will not accept this line of demarcation—suppose that he understands by 'nature' everything which exists, including God Himself, if there is a God, we easily see the lamentable confusion in which the whole question is involved. In fact, a whole host of misunderstandings and false issues are introduced. When, for instance, the divine affirms the miracle to be contrary to the laws of nature, he does not mean that God in working the miracle acts contrary to the laws of His own Being, or, in other words, that the miracle is an absolutely lawless, abnormal, and unnatural act. But the sceptic, who includes under 'nature' everything which exists, insists that the phrase must mean this and nothing else; and consequently he exhausts the treasury of his rhetoric in affirming, what no sensible person will deny, that everything is governed by law; that law is universal; and that it is quite incredible that a thing should occur, which is contrary to law.

But perhaps still greater confusion has been introduced into the discussion by the introduction of the singularly unhappy expression 'suspension of a law of nature.' It is to be observed that this expression has a perfectly allowable *popular* meaning. When, for instance, any natural force or law is overborne by the presence of a more powerful antagonistic force, it may be allowable, in a popular way, to say, that it is for the moment suspended. But scientifically speaking, the expression is quite inaccurate. In such a contingency the inferior force or law is not really suspended in the sense of ceasing to act. On the contrary, it acts just as powerfully when neutralized by a higher force as it would have done had it acted alone. When, for instance, a piece of iron, contrary to gravitation, is held suspended by a magnet, the pull of gravitation is as strong upon it as if there had been no magnet to counteract it. In fact, whether suspended by the magnet or not, whether lying on the ground, or launched in the air, wherever the piece of iron is, so long as it exists as a separate body, the force of gravitation must act upon it; nor can the scientific mind conceive even the possibility of the force of gravitation being suspended, or ceasing to act, so long as the piece of iron exists.

It is needless to say that the sceptic has availed himself of this popular error. He insists that the phrase 'suspension of a law of nature' used by divines must mean suspension

in the scientific sense ; and consequently he strives hard to hurl against miracles all the weight and authority of science.

But it is evident that divines, in using the phrase 'suspension of a law of nature,' did not use the phrase in the scientific or absolute sense. At all events, it is certain that the popular sense is all that is really needed for their argument. For in the miracle it is not necessary to suppose the suspension or absence of any force or law that would naturally have acted in the circumstances. All that it is necessary to suppose, is the presence of other conditions, that would bring about the desired result by overcoming the resistance or action of the law in question.

Nay, we go further and maintain, that, in the miracle, not only is it not necessary to suppose the suspension of inferior natural laws, but that it is impossible to do so. For such a supposition, *when followed up into its consequences*, would throw the whole miracle into confusion. If, for instance, we explain our Lord's walking on the water by saying that, in that case, the law of gravitation was for the time suspended, how, we ask, are we to account for the fact that He *walked*? Is not gravity an essential condition to the possibility of walking? The truth is, that it is very easy to imagine a new and superior condition, added on to inferior conditions, in the order of nature, and profoundly modifying their nature ; it is quite impossible to reverse the process. We can imagine, for instance, a new condition, such as the law of life, added on to physical and chemical conditions and leading to entirely new results ; but we cannot imagine the law of life acting at all, without presupposing the presence of physical and chemical conditions. Or, to take another example : we can imagine the free action of man added on to and directing the inferior necessary laws of nature, and thus bringing about the most surprising results. It is perfectly impossible to imagine human action at all, without presupposing the necessary and invariable laws of inferior nature. Try, in fact, to do so, try to imagine the suspension or absence of a single natural force, such as gravity, and the utter impossibility of any human act, however simple, will be clearly seen. The truth is, that the invariable laws of inferior nature are the necessary basis, presupposition, and support of the free action of man. And it is precisely the same with the miracle. If the invariable laws of inferior nature are supposed to be reversed or suspended, the miracle has no basis to rest upon. It is thrown into a state of absolute confusion, and becomes quite contradictory and impossible to human thought.

These considerations would seem to be decisive against the policy of retaining as the definition of the miracle the mark of 'contrary to the order or laws of nature.' But the same result will be arrived at if we look at the matter from a slightly different point of view. In the preceding observations we have spoken of a *popular* sense in which we may speak of the suspension of a law of nature, and of a strictly *scientific* sense in which it is impossible to do so. Now it so happens that these two senses correspond to two doctrines regarding the laws of nature which are held by two opposing schools of philosophy. There are, in fact, two senses in which the phrase 'law of nature' is understood by these two schools, which are not only not the same, but are the exact opposite of each other.

In the first place, in the *a priori* philosophy, represented in this country by the late Dr. Whewell, by the term 'laws of nature' are meant those ultimate principles of human reason, to which all the phenomena of outer nature are in the end reducible. Instances of laws of nature in this sense are such as these : that every event must have a cause ; that effects are proportioned to their causes ; that action and re-action are equal and contrary. According to this sense of the term, a law of nature is both *universal* and *necessary*. Now taking 'law of nature' in this sense, we can easily see the solidity of the wall against which divines knock their heads in defining the miracle to be a reversal or suspension of the laws of nature. In the sense of the *a priori* philosophy, the suspension of a law of nature would be equivalent to the suspension of human intelligence ; and by consequence the external event, which was the supposed scene of such a suspension, would be in respect of human intelligence a nonentity, an impossibility.¹ Nay, more, in this sense of the term *law*, we clearly see, that everything, even the thinking of a thought, or the realization of an act of will, happens, and must happen, in accordance with law. To say so, is simply to state a truism ; for everything which happens must happen in a definite way ; and the way in which it happens is just the law which it obeys in happening.

On the other hand, in the *Sense* philosophy, represented by the late Mr. Mill, the term law of nature is used in a meaning which is the exact opposite of this. According to

¹ For instance, it is a mathematical law of nature that every cube must have six sides. Now the suspension of this law would be equivalent to a demand upon us to imagine a cube with, say, five or seven sides, which is clearly impossible.

the Sense philosophy a law of nature is neither *universal* nor *necessary*. To the Sense philosopher a law of nature is merely a classification of an observed order of external occurrences or facts. In this sense of the term it is a law of nature that rose-trees blossom, that gunpowder explodes, and that unsupported bodies fall to the ground. But clearly these laws are neither universal nor necessary. All rose-trees do not blossom, all gunpowder does not explode, nor do all unsupported bodies fall to the ground. There is no necessity that they should do so. In fact, if it is a law of nature that rose-trees blossom, it is likewise a law of nature that occasionally they do not. In truth, nothing is easier than to alter or suspend these laws of the Sense philosophy. We have only to alter the circumstances and the thing is done. Inflate, for instance, a balloon, and though unsupported, instead of falling to the ground, it will rise in the air. But all these laws of the Sense philosophy are excluded by the *à priori* philosophers as unworthy of the title of 'law of nature,' for the simple reason that they belong to contingent matter.

Now if it were so that you could pin a man down to the use of the term 'law of nature' in the meaning of the Sense philosophy, there might be no harm in defining a miracle to be the 'suspension of a law of nature.' In an unscientific age the miraculous character of the resurrection of Lazarus might be sufficiently expressed by saying that it was a suspension of the particular law, that dead men continue dead. But in the present age it is simply impossible to limit the meaning of the term in this way. We have only to glance at our author's reasoning (and it presents a fair specimen of what is common) to see that the two meanings are interchanged just as suits the exigencies of the moment. In fact, nothing is easier than to win the battle of miracles, viewed as suspensions of the laws of nature, on the field of the Sense philosophy. But, unfortunately, the moment you have triumphed, your adversary glides imperceptibly into the conception of the *à priori* philosophy, where the defender of miracles is sure to have the worst of it.¹

A further reason why the definition of miracles, as con-

¹ There is a case in point. Some years ago Professor Tyndall, in certain letters to the *Pall Mall Gazette*, attacked the doctrine of Prayer, from the standpoint of the Sense philosophy. Dr. Mozley, in the second chapter of his *Bampton Lectures*, reasoning from the same standpoint, simply shattered the argument in pieces. Dr. Tyndall replied in the *Contemporary Review*, and the curious thing is that, apparently without being aware of it, he passed completely over to the ground of the *à priori* philosophy.

trary to the laws of nature, should be abandoned, is found in the fact that all the laws or generalizations of science have a tendency to pass over to laws in the sense of the *à priori* philosophy. They begin, no doubt, as an observed order of facts—*i.e.* as laws in the meaning of the Sense philosophy; but gradually as these facts are manipulated, experimented on, and intellectually decomposed by successive minds, they recede more and more from the contingent classifications of the Sense philosophy, and are reduced to strictly necessary and demonstrated principles—*i.e.* to laws in the sense of the *à priori* philosophy. In this way, all the laws of mathematical science, fully one-half the physical laws, and a fair sprinkling of chemical and physiological laws, are already demonstrated principles; and men of science look forward to the time when all the laws of nature will assume the same shape.

Now, as demonstrated principles, it is impossible to represent to the mind the suspension of these necessary laws. And hence for divines to adhere to the definition, 'suspension of a law of nature,' is nothing else than to bring theology into direct conflict with science. It is a conflict, too, which is perfectly unnecessary; for, as we have shown, so far from the miracle postulating a suspension of any of the laws of science, it does just the contrary, it being quite impossible to represent it to the mind, as a real event, without presupposing the presence of all these laws in their integrity.

But it may be said, if we reject the mark of 'contrary to the laws of nature,' what other mark are we to put in its place? Our author holds that there is no other. 'The order of nature,' he says, 'is at once necessary and fatal to miracles. If there be no order of nature, miracles cannot be considered as supernatural occurrences, and have no evidential value; if there be an order of nature, the evidence for its immutability must consequently exceed the evidence for these isolated deviations from it.'¹ But is this assumption really correct? Is there no other mark but 'contrary to nature?'

In order to answer this question, let us consider what it was that divines really meant by 'contrary to nature.' If we can find out the idea in their minds, it may be possible to express it by a different phrase, which is not liable to the same objections.

Now it is plain that by the phrase, 'contrary to the laws of

¹ p. 60.

nature,' they could not have meant contrary to certain specific laws of nature; for this would not mark the miracle off from ordinary events. Every event which occurs in nature is, and must be, contrary to certain specific laws of nature; for on no other condition can it assert its own individuality or existence. The waves of the sea, for instance, can only assert their existence by running counter to gravitation; a house can only remain a house, by setting at defiance the attacks of the weather; and animal and vegetable organisms can only preserve their life by overcoming innumerable laws or tendencies to death and dissolution. In fact, the resurrection of Lazarus is not more opposed to the law or tendency of dead organisms to continue dead than is the life of a living organism to the innumerable laws which tend to produce death. By 'contrary to the laws of nature,' therefore, could not have been meant 'contrary to certain specific laws.' But neither could the phrase mean 'contrary to all the laws of nature;' for plainly this would be equivalent to shutting the miracle out altogether from nature. In the miracle, in fact, as in the ordinary event, there must be some laws verified and some nullified.

It is sometimes said that the miracle is contrary to nature in the sense of manifesting superhuman power. But neither would this distinguish it from ordinary events. In fact, most of the forces of nature are daily and hourly accomplishing effects which far transcend the powers of man; and it is plain that in comparison with natural events the miracles of Scripture are quite puny in their dimensions. Or, if it be said that they exhibit superhuman power, in reference to the agent or ministrator of the miracle, *i.e.* greater power than he as a man possesses, neither would this serve as a mark of distinction, for there are undoubted miracles, such as the rolling away of the stone, or the handwriting on the wall, which a man could easily accomplish.

But if none of these could be the meaning of the phrase, what was the meaning? What was it in the miracle which filled the spectator with awe and made him exclaim that it was preternatural?

The answer to this question may be got by considering what is the peculiarity of all events which are the product of purely natural forces. Plainly it is that they possess the mark of being necessary, or unbending. A cannon-ball will not turn aside to spare the general, neither will it turn aside to kill him. It follows its course with blind, unbending, brutal obstinacy, utterly regardless of consequences; it will

not diverge a single point, unless it is knocked or kicked out of the way. In a word, the action of the inferior forces is blind, irrational; and in this respect it differs strikingly from the rational actions of mankind, which are illuminated with the impress of mind, purpose, intelligence. Now suppose that outside the sphere of man's activity we see the forces of nature no longer acting blindly and unbendingly, but bent in the direction of a visible aim or purpose; suppose we meet in the region of pure nature with an event impressed with a visible purpose, would not such an event be exactly what we mean by a miracle? If this is really the case, miracles would take their place in the same category with the rational acts of mankind; and their definition would be, 'events impressed with a visible purpose lying outside the sphere of man's activity.'

To make this clear, let us first consider *purpose*, in reference to human action. Indeed, the analogy of human action is so completely mixed up with the discussion of miracles, and has been so persistently misrepresented, that it cannot be passed by.

'Purpose,' we have said, is that which distinguishes human acts or products from the acts or products of inferior nature. Now, what is the genesis of purpose? The analysis of Kant is allowed to be the best; and it may be stated as follows. We must first of all presuppose an intelligent will; then, secondly, this will must be in possession of principles, maxims or rules of conduct; and, in the third place, before the will can act, there must be a special aim, end, or purpose towards which the whole action converges. We thus see that purpose is indissolubly associated with a personal or intelligent will, and consequently cannot be looked for in connection with the blind and impersonal forces of nature.

Next, it is to be observed that purpose is not merely an idea or aim subsisting in the human mind when it acts, and confined solely to the mind. On the contrary, the human mind can impress its purpose upon outer nature. We have only to look at any of the products of human industry or art to see that man's purpose is written upon them in perfectly legible characters. While we are writing, there is lying before us a flint picked up in the gravel-pits of S. Acheul, on which is visible and perfectly legible the mark of purpose. This character it has preserved for thousands of years—so completely and permanently can man impress his purpose upon outer nature.

And wherein, it may be asked, lies the peculiarity of pur-

pose thus impressed? There is no difficulty in answering this question. It consists in a special direction or disposition given to the parts of an object, such as they could not have had, had the object been the product of purely natural forces. The parts, for instance, of a house—the rooms, the doors, the windows—have all received a special disposition suited to the end for which the house was built. And further, we see how this disposition of parts, which constitutes impressed purpose, clearly and sharply distinguishes all human products from those of purely natural forces. To see how effectually it does this, we need not look at the more elaborate products of man; the simplest are quite sufficient for the purpose. No one, for instance, while walking in the desert, would have any hesitation in pronouncing a nail, or even a cut stick, which he might happen to pick up, to be a product of man.

And here it is that a most important question arises—a question which bears very closely on the discussion of miracles. How is it that man is thus enabled to impress his purpose upon outer nature? Does he do it by reversing the laws of nature? Certainly not. If we consider the whole process of building a house, we perceive that, so far from reversing the laws of nature, man in every case avails himself of those laws. Throughout the whole process of construction, from the action of machinery to the lifting of the carpenter's arm for the purpose of striking a blow, there is not a single detail which does not presuppose the integrity and irreversibility of the laws of nature. Even the lifting of the carpenter's arm necessarily presupposes these laws. For it cannot be conceived at all, except as a manifestation of energy—energy, which men of science tell us was previously stored up in the tissues, and which is now converted into visible motion. Nor can this conversion be conceived as taking place otherwise than in obedience to the invariable laws which regulate the conversion of energy. It cannot, therefore, be by interfering with, reversing, or suspending the laws of nature that man is enabled to impress his purpose upon nature. But, if not, how is it?

Purpose, as we have explained, is a peculiar disposition given to the materials of nature. Now, if we bear this in mind, we shall see that man can only impress his purpose upon nature upon condition that at some point he has a direct control over the energy of nature. A special arrangement of the materials of nature can only be effected by energy, and if that arrangement is determined by the will, it follows that the will must at some point have control over the energy which is

to effect it. Where then is that point? Obviously it can be nowhere else than at the point of union between soul and body. Formerly it was supposed that the will had a power of efficiency, that is, that it really could create the force which is expended in the bodily actions; but modern science rejects this supposition. It tells us that energy can neither be created nor destroyed by us; and that the energy which constitutes the substance of our bodily actions must previously exist in the tissues of the body. But if the will cannot create energy, it is clear that it must have control over it, for, in no other way, can we account for the undoubted fact that man is able to impress his purpose upon nature.

Even the most extreme advocates of exclusive physical agency in human action have been compelled to admit this to a limited extent. Dr. Tyndall, for instance, admits that the will 'pulls the trigger.' But plainly this is a most inadequate statement of the fact. If the will does no more than pull the trigger, what, it may be asked, is it that determines the difference between the delicate touch of the sculptor and the blow of the blacksmith's hammer? If we consider what takes place in long-sustained action, we shall see that the will does a great deal more than this. It measures out the quantity of energy necessary for the action, and prescribes the direction; and this it does, not only at the commencement of the action, but all through to the end. It has, in fact, an absolute control over the energy in respect of these two points. At any moment it can increase or diminish the quantity, or arrest the supply altogether; at any moment it can alter the direction. In a word, within our organism, or rather within that sphere of it which is subject to the will, we have this undoubted fact, that the energy of nature is under the control of the will; that the will measures out the quantity and prescribes the direction.

Let us now leave human action and turn to miracles. There are two points which need to be determined. First, do miracles, like human actions, possess the impress of purpose? and, secondly, does this peculiarity constitute their essential and distinguishing mark—that which severs them off from all the events of nature, and stamps them with the character of a miracle?

Now that the miracles of the Bible do really, like human actions, contain the impress of purpose, is very evident. Take, for instance, the miracle of the resurrection of Lazarus, and we see how purpose constitutes its very essence, so to speak. The body had been some time dead, and consequently was in

a state far removed from that in which organic life was possible. It was under the dominion of physical and chemical laws, and if left in their power would only have receded further and further from a state of possible life. Now, in imagining the resurrection a real event, we have to imagine that a process took place (the details of which are of course unknown to us) by which the decaying body was brought back into a state of possible life. In other words, the energies or forces which constituted this process were all bent or arranged in the direction of a definite end. Thus, the whole event is instinct with purpose. Purpose, and nothing else, is the key and explanation of the whole.

But not only do the miracles of the Bible exhibit purpose in their inner mechanism, so to speak, the purpose is also expressed. If we take the miracles of our blessed Lord, we see that the purpose to work them was always either expressed or implied. When he stretched forth His hands to heal the sick, or gave command, 'Be thou whole,' that was a clear expression of His purpose, and that which constitutes the miracle was the completion of the action in conformity with His purpose. That this expression of purpose really constitutes the essence of the miracle, is clear from the fact that if it had been absent there would have been no miracle. For instance, we clearly see that the stilling of the storm on the Sea of Tiberias would have been no miracle, but an ordinary event, had the expression of our Saviour's purpose been absent. The crucial point, which constituted it a miracle, was the command to the winds and waves to be still, and their immediate obedience to His will.

That this explanation of the distinguishing mark of the miracle is the right one, is evident from the fact that it really explains the portent, the prodigy of the miracle, and the consequent feelings of wonder and awe with which it is regarded. The portent of a miracle consists in this, that in it the brute and irrational forces of nature are seen to act rationally, or, in other words, converge towards an end. In the miracle it is not the suspension or overpowering of laws of nature that causes the wonder; for, as we have remarked, in every event which occurs, innumerable laws are suspended or overborne. Neither is it the strangeness, or grandeur, or superhuman power of the miracle; for innumerable events are daily occurring which possess these marks. The wonder is caused by seeing forces, which in their nature are blind, brute, irrational, acting rationally, or towards an end. We maintain that this was really the idea in the mind of divines, which they ex-

pressed badly by the phrase, 'contrary to the laws of nature.' What they really meant was, that in the miracle there was this visible impress of purpose, evidencing the presence of the Divine Mind ; that in it the forces of nature were bent or directed as in human actions towards an end.

It may be said : But such a bending or direction of the forces of nature towards an end is quite incredible. We ask why? Is there anything incredible in the supposition that force or energy should obey a rational will? Certainly not : for that such a thing does take place is a plain fact of experience. Within the human organism it is an undoubted fact (let science explain the details as it pleases) that the human will measures out the quantity of energy necessary for the action, and prescribes the direction or end. Surely, if this takes place within the human organism, there is nothing incredible in the supposition that energy outside the human organism may likewise obey a rational will. In fact, are we not obliged to suppose so if we believe at all in Divine Providence? Those who talk so glibly against miracles seem to overlook the great revolution in our conception of Divine Providence that has been brought about by the adoption, in speculative science, of the theory of evolution. They parade arguments which belonged to a previous state of opinion, the premiss for which is now irretrievably gone. The theory of evolution has completely destroyed the old mechanical theory of nature on which their arguments repose. It has made it quite impossible for us to believe that the world was constructed originally like a huge machine, and that it now goes on without the presence or intervention of the Mind that made it. If we accept the theory of evolution, we are compelled to believe that the Divine Mind is never absent from nature; that every event, even the smallest, is individuated by it ; that, in the words of our Saviour—'Not a sparrow falleth to the ground without your heavenly Father, and even the very hairs of your head are all numbered.' In a word, if we accept the theory of evolution, we must believe, that in every event the forces of nature *are bent and directed* by the Supreme Mind ; and the only difference between ordinary events and miracles is, that in the latter they are a little more bent, so as to make the end or purpose *visible*. In the striking words of Archbishop Trench—'the unresting activity of God, which at other times hides and conceals itself behind the veil of what we term natural laws [? events] does in the miracle unveil itself ; it steps out from its concealment, and the hand which works is laid bare.'

With these preliminary observations, which unhappily have extended far beyond what we could have wished, we now proceed to consider the arguments of the author.

He first of all attacks Archbishop Trench. After alluding to the naturalistic explanations of miracles, he introduces to us the Archbishop rejecting these, and earnestly contending that the miracle 'is in fact no miracle, if it lay in nature already, if it was only the evoking of forces latent therein, not a new thing, not the bringing in of the novel powers of a higher world; if the mysterious processes and powers by which those works were brought about had been only undiscovered hitherto, and not undiscoverable, by the efforts of human inquiry.' What the Archbishop says here we look upon as substantially true, though we doubt whether the form in which it is said could be altogether sustained. We must look upon the miracle as the bringing in of the novel powers of a higher world. But what is it exactly that is brought in? If it is meant that the energies or forces which accomplish the miracle are not the same in kind as those which are everywhere distributed in nature, we doubt whether the statement is tenable. Our own opinion as to what is brought in, we have already explained. It is the Divine Mind directing the forces of nature to a definite end. And this seems to be all that the Archbishop's argument really requires. His contention is, that there must be some new or supernatural element in the miracle, otherwise it would be no miracle. It is the supernatural element that he means to insist upon; for the author next quotes him as defining the miracle to be '*præter*,' or '*supra* naturam,' and rejecting the '*contra* naturam.'

It must be confessed that this definition of the Archbishop's is a great improvement upon the ordinary one of 'contrary to nature.' Yet it is easy to see that it is both inadequate and incorrect; and that it involves the defence of miracles in artificial difficulties. For if we take into consideration that incessant control which God exercises over nature, and which we call His Providence, it may be asked, Is it natural or supernatural? If we say 'supernatural,' then there is nothing to distinguish the miracle. On the other hand, if it is said to be 'natural,' must not the miracle of necessity fall back into the old '*contra naturam*?' In fact, will not nature be conceived as an even-flowing course or stream of cause and effect, and the miracle as an abrupt interruption or departure from it; in other words, must not the miracle be viewed as a disturbance of the order of nature? It is right to say that the Archbishop earnestly disclaims the supposition

of the miracle being contrary to order, that being the mark of the ungodly. Yet how is it possible, on the premisses, to resist the author's reasoning? The Archbishop, he argues, repudiates the idea of miracles being natural phenomena, 'and yet attempts to deny that they are unnatural. They must either be the one or the other. If they be not unnatural occurrences, they must be natural, and therefore not miraculous; if they are miraculous, they are not natural, and consequently contrary to the order of nature, and for that reason, as Dr. Trench admits, not Divine work.'¹

But the whole of this difficulty is purely factitious. It arises out of the definition of the miracle as '*præter*' or '*supra naturam*.' Nature, as we have explained, is a relative term, and it depends upon how much we include in it, whether we are to speak of an event as supernatural or not. If we include in 'nature' only the powers or forces inferior to man, then of course the miracle will be supernatural. But in that case the voluntary actions of mankind will also be supernatural, or, according to the reasoning of the author, 'unnatural.' It is plain that the definition '*supra naturam*' is inadequate, and since it is also slippery, and leads to misunderstanding and confusion, it ought to be abandoned. The true definition of the miracle, as we have shown, is purpose. The mark of impressed purpose clearly severs it off from all ordinary events; and since human actions also possess this mark, it will scarcely be argued that it is 'unnatural.'

The author next attempts, by means of an example, to do what he had attempted by reasoning, viz. force the miracle back into the old definition of 'contrary to the laws of nature.' For this purpose he selects the miracle of the feeding of the five thousand with five barley loaves and two fishes, and observes triumphantly—'It will scarcely be argued by any one that such an act of Divine Omnipotence and creative accretion as the multiplication of five baked loaves and two small fishes is not contrary to the order of nature.'² Yet we ask, why should it be? Instead of dealing in assertions of this kind, the author would have done better if he had pointed out the particular law which in his opinion the occurrence violated. Was it any mathematical, physical, chemical, or physiological law? For our own part, we can easily imagine how the miracle was impossible except on the supposition of the integrity of these and all the other laws of nature; it is quite beyond our power to imagine how, as an

¹ p. 31.² p. 32.

occurrence, it could violate any of them. The truth is, that there is a thorough misconception on the part of the author in reference to the matter, and possibly the best way of pointing it out will be by an example.

Suppose that one hundred and fifty years ago some one had undertaken, while standing on the coast of Ireland, to move at pleasure a piece of steel in America. We can easily imagine how gentlemen of the mental cast of our author would have pronounced such an undertaking to be quite a reversal of the laws of nature, absurd and impossible. Yet we now know that the thing can be done ; and that so far from presupposing a violation of the laws of nature, it is accomplished by a beautiful adaptation of those laws.

Now we are in respect of miracles in exactly the same position as our forefathers would have been in respect of the electric telegraph ; that is to say, we are ignorant of the details of the process by which they are performed. But can any one doubt that there is such a process ; and further, that if we only knew it, it would, like the telegraph, be found to be in perfect accordance with the laws of nature ? We maintain that if the process, by which such a miracle as the resurrection of Lazarus was brought about, could be laid before a man of science, he would be able to analyse it into precisely the same laws as he analyses any ordinary event.

What is it that has prevented Divines from taking up this position of vantage in the present controversy ? It is simply the false definition of miracles as violations of the laws of nature. They have supposed that to allow that the miracle was brought about by a process in accordance with the laws of nature would be to destroy its character as a miracle. In reality, however, the admission would have an exactly contrary effect ; for that which constitutes the essence of the miracle is not the breaking of the laws of nature, but the arrangement of a series of conditions, so as to converge upon an end. Suppose that by some catastrophe modern civilization and science were completely destroyed, and the Atlantic cable buried under a geological deposit ; and suppose thousands of years hence a geologist digging it up. If we suppose that the world had re-acquired sufficient scientific knowledge to enable men to understand its meaning and purpose, we ask, whether there could be any doubt as to whether that cable were a product of the unguided and brute laws of nature, or of those laws guided by an intelligent mind ? It is clear there could not. The impressed purpose of the whole, the arrangement of conditions all converging to an end, would show clearly the

intervention of mind. And so it is with the miracle. The miracle lies outside the sphere of human agency; it exists in the region of pure nature; and it is the purpose impressed upon it as a whole, not the broken laws of nature, that indissolubly associates it with God as its Author.

From Archbishop Trench the author next passes on to the consideration of a curious speculation of Dr. Mozley's, viz. the supposition that miracles may possibly not be lawless events after all, but may be due either to some unknown connection with the known laws of nature, or else may be the consequence of laws unknown to us. The inquiry is pursued by Dr. Mozley with great clearness in one of his *Bampton Lectures*, and the result at which he arrives is, that both suppositions are inadmissible. The curious thing, however, is, that the author triumphs over the result, as if it were a gain to his side of the question. 'Known law,' he triumphantly tells us, 'refuses to recognize such astounding statements as those affirming the resurrection of an absolutely dead man, a bodily ascension, or the miraculous multiplication of loaves and fishes; unknown law is equally obdurate.'¹ Our author is quite unable to perceive that had Dr. Mozley succeeded in tracing miracles to either of these two sources, the result would have been the effectual settlement of the question of miracles. Why? Simply because, as we have shown, the essence of the miracle is that it is a personal act on the part of God, and as such its explanation is 'purpose,' not 'law.' Could it be traced to the action of 'law,' that would be equivalent to a proof that it was 'purposeless,' in other words, not a personal or intelligent act, and consequently no miracle at all.

From Dr. Mozley the author next passes to a criticism on Dr. Mansel. Dr. Mansel's meaning is evident enough, and his argument is a substantial one. It is from the analogy of human action to conclude as to the possibility and credibility of miracles. Unfortunately, however, he does not seem to have thought out this analogy in all its details; and the consequence is, that his argument in the form in which it is stated is scarcely tenable. He speaks of the will of man as 'the solitary instance of an efficient cause, in the highest sense of the term, acting, among and along with the physical causes of the material world, and producing results which would not have been brought about by any invariable sequence of physical causes left to their own action.' 'We have thus a precedent for allowing the possibility of a similar interference of a higher will on a

¹ p. 36.

grander scale.' He then gives an example: 'If a man of his own free will throws a stone into the air, the motion of the stone, as soon as it has left his hand, is determined by a combination of purely material laws. . . .' 'But by what law came it to be thrown at all? What law brought about the circumstance through which the aforesaid combination of material laws came into operation on this particular occasion, and in this particular manner? . . . Substitute the will of God for the will of man, and the argument which in the above instance is limited to the narrow sphere within which man's power can be exercised becomes applicable to the whole extent of creation, and to all the phenomena which it embraces.'¹

Now, had Dr. Mansel said that, in the case of a man throwing a stone, we have an instance of an event brought about by physical causes, yet differing wholly from an event due *solely* to physical causes, by the mark of purpose which is impressed upon it; and had he then argued that, with this fact before us, it is irrational to maintain that God cannot likewise impress His purpose on a physical event, or, in other words, work a miracle, his argument would have been unassailable. Instead of this, he speaks of the will of man as an efficient cause, which it certainly is not, seeing that it cannot create energy; and, further, under the inveterate prepossession that a miracle must in some way be an interference with law, he *seems* to represent the free action of man as not subject to law and as being, in some sense, an interference with the laws of nature—propositions which it is impossible to sustain. The author's criticism on Dr. Mansel is, as a whole, confused and irrelevant enough; yet there seems a grain of sense in his rejoinder that, if we substitute the will of God for the will of man, we arrive at no results which are not in perfect harmony with the order of nature. Certainly, both human action and miracles are perfectly subject to the laws of nature; their *differentia* being not lawlessness, but impressed purpose.

Dr. Mozley appeals to the same fact as Dr. Mansel, and brings it out in a different way; but, unfortunately, his argument is also damaged from the same cause—the inveterate prepossession that a miracle is the suspension of a law of nature. He asks, 'Is the suspension of physical and material laws by a Spiritual Being inconceivable? We reply that however inconceivable this kind of suspension of physical law is, it is a fact. Physical laws are suspended any time an animate being moves any part of its body; the laws of matter are sus-

¹ *Aids to Faith*, p. 20

pended by the laws of life.' Dr. Mozley then points out that laws stand to each other in an ascending scale. First come the laws that regulate unorganized matter ; next the laws of vegetation ; then the laws of animal life, with its voluntary motion ; and, above these, the laws of moral being. Dr. Mozley then argues that when in this scale we arrive at man, analogy leads us to expect a higher sphere of law. We thus arrive ultimately at a Personal God ; and, if the existence of God is granted, Dr. Mozley argues, in that case, every miracle in Scripture is as natural an event in the universe as any chemical experiment in the physical world.

The reasoning here is admirable, had it not been weighted by the wholly untenable position that a miracle is a suspension of a law of nature. Surely Dr. Mozley's final conclusion, that the miracle is a perfectly *natural* event, might have led him to see the faultiness of that definition.

Our author, in his criticism of Dr. Mozley, is singularly unhappy ; in fact, his strictures are nothing else but a series of blunders. He first of all objects to the ascending scale of laws, maintaining that all the classes of law work harmoniously together, and that man is as much subject to gravitation as a stone. That is perfectly true ; but it is to miss the point of the argument. It is quite true that all the classes of law work harmoniously, and that man, who, as a moral being, is at the head of the scale, is also subject to all the classes of law below him. *But the converse is not true.* It is not true that a stone is subject to the laws of life, or that a vegetable is a moral being. The very point of the argument is, that as we ascend in the scale new principles are introduced, which completely dominate inferior laws, and lead to different results.

In his second attack he is even more unfortunate ; for he betrays his own case. He is obliging enough to admit that a law of nature may be suspended. 'If,' he argues, 'the laws of matter are suspended by the laws of life, each time an animated being moves any part of its body, one physical law is suspended in precisely the same manner, and to an equivalent degree, each time another physical law is called into action. The law of gravitation, for instance, is equally overcome by the law of magnetism each time a magnet suspends a weight in the air. In each case, a law is successfully resisted precisely to the extent of the force employed.' Exactly so ; but what more does Dr. Mozley want ? His contention is simply this, that, in the miracle, the laws of nature are suspended exactly to the extent of the force exerted by the action of God's Spirit. All that Dr. Mozley is arguing for, is the con-

cession that the laws of nature *may* be suspended, and the author is obliging enough to grant it.

His third attack is equally a blunder to his own disadvantage; for in it he admits, what he had previously denied, the whole of Dr. Mansel's argument, viz. that the will is an 'efficient cause,' and that it intervenes 'to set the forces of life in motion.' If so, there is of course an end to his argument; for why may not the Divine Will do the same? But it is needless to pursue the subject farther. The reader will perceive that, in our opinion, the line of defence is not tenable, being grounded on a wrong conception of the nature of the miracle. Hence, even if the author had gained a complete victory, he would not have been one step nearer his object than he was at the beginning. But he has not gained the victory. His unintelligent criticisms, so far from overthrowing the arguments of his opponents, have only made confusion worse confounded; and the section ends in a tangle from which it is simply impossible to extract one grain of sense.

We gladly escape from this tangle to consider an argument, which the author brings forward in the second section of his chapter. The author here really touches on a momentous principle, though he has quite failed to perceive it in its real character. His contention is, that in order to establish miracles, a presupposition needs to be made: and this presupposition, he tells us, is the 'Divine design of revelation.' In fact, he argues, that in order to establish miracles, the contents of revelation must be presupposed. And he then goes on to draw a caricature of Christian theology in its narrowest Calvinistic aspect; arguing that it is utterly incredible, standing as it does in striking opposition to the 'glorious perfection and invariability of the order of nature.'

It would be quite beyond our limits to rectify the misrepresentations contained in this caricature, and to bring into view the elements essential to the question which the author has omitted. But, happily, this is not needed; for the contents of revelation have really nothing to do with the question. We readily grant to the author that there is a presupposition of the most momentous nature, that must be made before miracles can be defended. But he is quite in error in supposing that this presupposition is the 'Divine design of revelation.' It is not the Divine design of *revelation*, but the Divine design of *nature*. It is, in fact, the principle of 'design' as opposed to the principle of 'law.'

In reading through the author's reasoning on this subject,
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it is easy to see that there is an assumption which underlies the whole. His whole argument is based on the assumption that there is an inherent incompatibility between the idea of design and the idea of law. He professes, indeed, to be arguing only against the special design involved in the contents of revelation; but his argument, in order to be valid, imperatively demands the exclusion of all design. His argument in reality is this—miracles, revelation, rest upon the assumption that this universe of things is ruled by design. But, only look at nature, and you will see the falsity of the assumption. There, everything is ruled, not by design, but by invariable law. On every side we see nothing but the operation of law. 'The survival of the fittest is the stern decree of nature. The invariable action of law of itself eliminates the unfit. Progress is necessary to existence; extinction is the doom of retrogression;' and so on.

That this is in reality the purport of the author's argument is very plain. For, once admit that there is a design or purpose in nature, and the whole argumentation as against miracles is utterly futile. We have, in fact, got in the admission of purpose exactly the presupposition which is necessary to miracles. Once admit that nature is a grand whole, revealing in every successive stage of its evolution fresh purposes on the part of the Creator, and it becomes not at all improbable, nay, in the highest degree probable, that the Author of nature should have some special purpose in regard to man, and something special to say to him in connection with that purpose. This, we maintain, is really all the presupposition that is needed for miracles. We do not need, in order to their defence, to presuppose the contents of revelation; for, as the author himself would allow, any considerations as to the exact purport of that, are quite beside the mark. It is God's business to speak to us; not our business to tell Him what He is to say.

In thus setting 'law' in opposition to 'design,' the author is following in the footsteps of that class of Darwinian reasoners whose words he quotes. It is somewhat significant, however, that Professor Huxley, who is as distinguished for his speculative powers as for his scientific attainments, has declared himself against this supposed opposition. Dr. Huxley, indeed, does not go so far as to maintain that design does, as a matter of fact, rule in nature, but only that the idea of law does not exclude it; that the two ideas are perfectly compatible, and might very well subsist together.

It is not our business to point out that the view of Professor Huxl y might be carried much farther ; for we have attained our object in showing that the pre-supposition of miracles is not, as the author would have us believe, an assumption of the contents of revelation, but really a great principle of natural theology. We may be permitted, however, to point out what we conceive to be the exact position in which this important question stands.

In our opinion, then, it might very well be contended by the natural theologian, that not only are the two ideas compatible, but that they are both absolutely essential to the interpretation of nature. Nature, in fact, has two sides or aspects ; and law explains one of these sides, design the other. Law explains nature to the intelligence. Law is the mental decomposition or analysis of the objects and events of nature ; it is the breaking of them up into mental principles or laws, in order to make them intelligible. Thus an event, such as a peal of thunder, is perfectly unintelligible till it is mentally decomposed into the light and sound of electrical action. Or, again, the path which a projectile describes is unintelligible till it is resolved into three forces—the initial force, the resistance of the air, and the force of gravity. But law cannot explain nature on its individual side. If nature is viewed as a series of individuated objects and events succeeding each other in time, law is quite powerless for purposes of explanation. On this, its individual side, there is one, and only one, explanation of nature possible, viz. design, will, purpose.

The real truth is, that this opposition between law and design is nothing else than what Mr. Tylor quaintly calls a 'survival,' certainly not of the fittest. Under the old mechanical theory of nature design was thrown back to the period of creation. It was not that the mechanical theory got rid of design ; for it is simply impossible to eliminate this idea from our conception of nature. But it threw it back. The action of intelligence was limited to the moment of creation, when the world-machine was constructed or planned. Hence, under this theory, it was possible to attribute ordinary events to law as opposed to design. Ordinary events were held to be due to the mere working of the machine ; and no special design or purpose could be attributed to them, beyond this, that the machine was intended to throw off events of that character. Now it is simply this mode of looking at the origin of ordinary events, which has been carried over, by the school of reasoners above mentioned, into the theory of evolution, where it has no basis to rest upon. Under the

theory of evolution it is impossible to throw back design;¹ and consequently, since design cannot be got rid of, it must coincide with law in the production of every individual event. The theory of evolution, in fact, presents us with the idea of nature as a vast and progressive series of individuated phenomena succeeding each other in time, every detail of which is, and must be, radiant with Divine purpose. It is this which forms the real presupposition for miracles, and so far from its being, as our author maintains, 'a mere assumption,' it comes before the mind with absolutely overwhelming weight.

The author's third chapter is entitled 'Reason in relation to the Order of Nature,' and it is taken up with the discussion of three several points. First, we have a criticism on the second chapter of Dr. Mozley's *Bampton Lectures*; secondly, the author deals with the question of belief in a Personal God, which, as a presupposition of miracles, he characteristically maintains, is 'a mere assumption;' and, thirdly, we have an attempted rehabilitation of Hume's famous argument against miracles, long since dead and buried. Unfortunately, the length to which our remarks have extended will prevent us dealing with all these subjects, and we must therefore make a selection. We fix upon the author's criticism of Dr. Mozley, not because of its importance (though the question is important, if handled according to its essential features); but because it gives the heading to the chapter, and at the same time gives a fair test of the author's knowledge, and his competence to handle these questions.

In order that the reader may understand the nature of the question in dispute, which the author terms 'Reason in relation to the Order of Nature,' a few preliminary observations are necessary.

The 'order of nature' is another name for the principle of 'cause and effect,' the order of nature, as generally understood, being the order in which effects follow their causes. Now, for upwards of one hundred years, ever since the days of David Hume, a fierce warfare has been waged between two opposing schools of philosophy as to the nature of the connection between cause and effect. On the one hand, the *à priori* philosophers have strenuously maintained the necessity of this connection. They have laid down the general

¹ For according to evolution nature has no permanent mechanical constitution, confining it within certain limits. It is rather conceived as a series of progressive events or individuations in time. Now, if we consider that the series of events which make up the succession of nature *in time* is, and must be, a *history*, that is, a contingent series, the impossibility of throwing back design under evolution is manifest.

principle that every finite thing *must* have a cause ; and have also argued that the connection between particular causes and their particular effects is strictly necessary. On the other hand, David Hume, arguing from the side of the Sense philosophy, startled the world by the astounding assertion that there is really no *must* in the matter. For, he argued, since we can easily in thought separate an effect from its cause, it is plain that we can conceive an effect as existing without having had a cause at all. And then he went on to maintain that there is really no necessary connection between causes and effects ; that causes and effects are certainly, as *a matter of fact*, sorted together in a certain uniform order ; but there is no necessity that this should be so ; they might very well not have been sorted at all, or have been sorted in a different way. It is plain that two speculative principles of vast importance issue from this contention of Hume's. *First*, that it is impossible to reason on *a priori* grounds on seeing an effect or finite thing, that it must have had a cause ; for, obviously, on Hume's principle, it need not have had one. *Secondly*, we cannot argue from effects to causes one step *beyond experience* ; for, unless we have been in the custom of seeing the two associated together, we have no rational ground to conclude from the presence of the one to the existence of the other.

The reader may think that these fine distinctions are somewhat in the clouds. But, really, in this he would make a great mistake ; for, speedily, they touch some of the most vital interests of mankind. For instance, the natural theologian reasons : The world and its order must have had a cause. But here Hume steps in with an emphatic No, and says : Your argument is quite wrong. The world need not have had a cause at all ; for there is no necessity which binds an effect to any cause. It is a mere assumption, without any rational ground, for you to maintain that God created the world ; for you have had no experience of the creation of worlds. The only thing which could have justified you in maintaining that God created this world would have been the fact that, for a long time, you had been in the custom of seeing God creating worlds. But, this not having been the case, your conclusion is quite unwarranted.

The Sense philosophy is, in fact, the philosophy of Atheism, although some of its most distinguished advocates, including, probably, Hume himself, have not been atheists. It was the influence of the Sense philosophy in France that produced the atheism of the last century, which led to the French Revolution. It has been, in fact, from its quiver that

most of the shafts have been shot which have wounded Christianity during the last hundred years. But now we would direct the reader's attention to another point. The Sense philosophers have been the great opponents of revelation; and, of course, as they have opposed the inference of natural theology, as to the existence of God, so they have opposed miracles. But here a remarkable inconsistency on the part of the school emerges. They opposed the inference as to the existence of God by dis severing the tie between cause and effect; but, plainly, miracles viewed as suspensions of the laws of nature could only be combated by an opposite policy. Hence, in dealing with miracles, Sense philosophers have been in the habit of tightening the connection. Even Hume, contrary to his own principles, has, in dealing with miracles, tightened the tie to such a degree as to pronounce the miracle incredible; while less logical reasoners, on the same side, have been so unguarded as to pass clean over to the *à priori* side, to pronounce the connection necessary and the miracle impossible.

If these facts are borne in mind, the reader will be able to appreciate the position taken up by Dr. Mozley in the second chapter of his *Bampton Lectures*. His object, in that chapter, is simply to call these reasoners back to something like logic and consistency. It is as if he said: You object to a miracle on the ground that the suspension of a law of nature is impossible or incredible. Why, gentlemen, look at your own principles! He then goes on from the stand-point of the Sense philosophy to trace the question through all its windings, pursuing the inquiry from point to point till he has dragged into clear light the fundamental position of the Sense philosophy—viz. that the sequences of nature are not necessarily connected; that causes and effects are certainly as a matter of fact sorted in a certain uniform way, but that we have no rational ground for believing that they might not be differently sorted. As a specimen of accurate philosophical reasoning, of clear piercing logic, without one flaw from beginning to end, it is simply unrivalled.

And now, how has the author treated the question? It is certain that he had a reply to Dr. Mozley had he known where to find it. He might, for instance, have taken up the line which Professor Tyndall took up—that is, have passed over to the side of the *à priori* philosophy, and maintained that causes and effects are necessarily connected. Even this, however, would not have been really effectual as against miracles; for, as we have shown, if laws of nature are taken

in the meaning of the *à priori* philosophy, miracles, so far from postulating their suspension, actually presuppose them. Still, the position was arguable; and he might, as Professor Tyndall actually did, have given a colour of plausibility to his reasoning, and have left the question in such a position of entanglement that it would have required a whole article to set it right.

As it is, nothing could be more unintelligent than the way in which the author deals with the matter. In the first place, in utter ignorance of the history of speculative thought, he treats the theory as if it were an invention of Dr. Mozley's! Then, as if this were not enough, he displays his inability to comprehend the very bearings of the discussion by describing it as an 'attack upon the order of nature!' But, perhaps the most striking exhibition of ignorance is found in the idea under which he labours, that the defenders of miracles have, as a rule, indulged in these attacks. 'The argument,' he tells us, 'of those who assert the possibility and reality of miracles, generally takes the shape of an attack upon our knowledge of the order of nature.'¹ Now, so far is this from being the case, that the very reverse is the fact. Ever since the days of Hume the attack has, as a rule, proceeded from the Sense philosophy, and the defence has been conducted from the side of the *à priori* philosophy. In fact, with the single exception of Dr. Mozley's treatise, we do not know of an instance in which Christianity has been defended from that side. Indeed, the brilliant thing in Dr. Mozley's defence was his boldly storming the citadel of the enemy, and turning their guns against themselves.

But is the theory of the Sense philosophy really an attack upon the order of nature? Nothing but sheer ignorance of the problem could give occasion to such an assertion. The problem to be solved is not whether there is an order of nature, for both the contending parties admit that. The real point of controversy is whether the order in which phenomena succeed each other is a necessary one, or only a mere matter of fact without any necessity. In arguing with the Sense philosophy that the arrangement is purely a matter of fact, without necessity, how can Dr. Mozley be said to be attacking the order of nature? If he had argued that phenomena do not succeed each other in a uniform order—that, for instance, the sun's rays sometimes produce in us the sensation of light, and sometimes the sensation of sound; that the regions of the equator sometimes produce tropical vegetation,

¹ p. 54.

and sometimes icebergs—he might have been accused of attacking the order of nature. But Dr. Mozley has not done this. On the contrary, he admits in the fullest sense the uniformity of succession, his only point being that we have no *rational ground* for believing that the order of succession is necessary.

But the author goes on to argue that the position which Dr. Mozley has taken up has compromised the evidential function of miracles. He says:—

‘Dr. Mozley’s argument, however, is fatal to his own cause. It is admitted that miracles, or “visible suspensions of the order of nature,” cannot have any evidential force, unless they be supernatural, and out of the natural sequence of ordinary phenomena. Now, unless there be an actual order of nature, how can there be any exception to it? If our belief in it be not based upon any ground of reason—as Dr. Mozley maintains, in order to assert that miracles or visible suspensions of that order are not contrary to reason—how can it be asserted that miracles are supernatural? If we have no rational ground for believing that the future will be like the past, what rational ground can we have for thinking that anything which happens is exceptional, and out of the common course of nature? A miracle consequently becomes a mere isolated effect from an unknown cause, in the midst of other merely isolated phenomena from unknown causes, and it is as irrational to wonder at the occurrence of what is new, as to expect the recurrence of what is old. In fact, an order of nature is at once necessary and fatal to miracles. If there be no order of nature, miracles cannot be considered supernatural occurrences, and have no evidential value; if there be an order of nature, the evidence for its immutability must consequently exceed the evidence for these isolated deviations from it.’¹

Now we cannot accept the position of Dr. Mozley, that the sequences of cause and effect are not necessary, nor his further position that miracles are violations of these sequences; consequently we have no personal interest in the question whether the position he takes up does or does not compromise the evidential function of miracles. But if the reader will permit us to make these necessary reservations, we shall be happy, in the mere interest of logic and common intelligence, to point out the utter inconsequence of the author’s reasoning.

We have first of all to rectify the author’s mistake in supposing that Dr. Mozley, and the Sense philosophers generally, do not believe in the order of nature as a fact. On the contrary, they accept the fact in the fullest sense. The

¹ p. 58.

order of nature, they say, is there, it exists. We see before our eyes the sequences of nature following each other in a uniform order. The only point in which we differ from other people is in believing that this order is not necessary. It is a matter of fact, but nothing more. Now this being the case, it is obvious that a further question immediately arises. Since the order of nature is not necessary, how are we to account for the fact that it exists, and that it exists as an order or uniformity of sequence? In the *a priori* philosophy no such question arises; for in believing the sequences to be necessary the *a priori* philosophers have sufficiently accounted for them. But in the Sense philosophy, where the possibility is admitted that a different arrangement might have subsisted, or that events might have followed each other without any order at all, it is evident that some explanation is needed of the fact that the order exists in the precise way in which it does exist, and that it is uniform. What may that explanation be?

If we think over the matter, we shall see that after the exclusion of *necessity*, there remain two, and only two, alternatives. Either the sequences may have fallen into this order from pure accident, or they may have been put in it on purpose. Now we conceive Dr. Mozley might argue that the supposition of accident is wholly inadmissible. The very uniformity of the sequences excludes it. Had accident ruled in the matter, we should have had, not order, but confusion. We might have expected for instance that the sun's rays should one day produce the sensation of light, on another that of darkness; that fire should one day produce the feeling of heat, on another the sense of chill. And besides this, if we consider that the simple uniformities of cause and effect, when compounded together in concrete phenomena, give rise to all the beauty and order of the external world, it is simply impossible to resist the conclusion that they have been put together on purpose; and that nature marches on in a uniform order because it was meant to do so.

Now this being the case, what must be our impression if on some occasion we see a deviation from this order of nature? Clearly, since the order of nature is intentional, we must believe that the deviation is intentional also; in other words, the miracle is radiant with Divine purpose. Thus, so far from Dr. Mozley's position destroying the evidential function of miracles, it leaves that question exactly where it found it.

But it is time to draw our remarks to a close; and we cannot help saying, in conclusion, that our opinion of the

author's performance is far from favourable. We are really sorry to be obliged to say so; for we think that a really able handling of these questions from the side of scepticism would have been useful. There is a great deal of doubt hanging in solution in the public mind; and nothing could be more desirable than that the difficulties, which perplex people's minds, should be brought to a head. That the author has failed to effect this object, is very clear. There are points, which he ought to have taken up, which he has altogether passed by; and those which he has treated of, from his want of knowledge and his want of intelligence, he has not brought to a definite issue. It is very clear that he is quite ignorant of the history of speculative thought in modern times; and, in consequence of this defect, he has no true conception of the real bearing of the problems he has undertaken to handle.

And yet the book has met with great acceptance as an exposition of the grounds of scepticism. How are we to account for that fact? The question really suggests important reflections. May it not be that we have over-estimated the character of modern scepticism; that while we have supposed it to be based on those great difficulties, which must always subsist as a trial of faith, and which in different ages assume different aspects, it is not really based on them at all? May it not be that a great deal is due to want of knowledge, and perhaps something to mere unintelligence?

In regard to the special difficulties of the author, it is clear, as to the evidential function of miracles, that had he had a little training in Catholic theology, or even had he looked at the Bible in a common-sense way, he could have had no difficulty at all. The whole mischief was occasioned by the narrow Calvinism, possibly of early training. Then in regard to the relation of the miracle to the order of nature, had he had as much training in modern philosophy as to be able to distinguish between the ideas of the Sense philosophy and those of *à priori* systems, his difficulty never could have occurred. Miracles are perfectly defensible on *à priori* grounds, and, as Dr. Mozley has clearly shown, they are also perfectly defensible on principles of the Sense philosophy. The whole difficulty in regard to the order of nature is occasioned by the ignorant lumping up of the incongruous ideas of the opposing schools. And so it is with the other difficulties. A little more information and a little more intelligence, and they would have vanished wholly.

ART. II.—SUNDAY-SCHOOL AND LENDING-LIBRARY LITERATURE.

1. *Report of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, for 1875.*
2. *Seventy-sixth Report of the Religious Tract Society.*
3. *The Jubilee Memorial of the Religious Tract Society.*

WE are not great believers in the good old times. Every one who works in a parish is met by the assurance that in spite of all pains, it gets worse and worse; that men are more drunken, defiant, and pauperized, women, more idle, false, and indifferent, lads, ruder and more unruly and vicious, lasses, more dressy and less modest, and children, more spoilt, pert, and unmanageable.

Some *laudator temporis acti* will throw in our teeth an excellent old man or woman who never knew such doings, or some picture of a whole parish walking to church with prayer-books in white pocket-handkerchiefs, or some model farmer who sat in the kitchen with his men, and read family prayers to them; or, again, our six standards are unfavourably compared with the dame-school that did such a quantity of needlework, with an infinitesimal amount of reading, 'and yet look at the servants it turned out.'

We do look at some perfection in the way of housekeeper or nurse, and we do not look at nor hear of the number of failures, or rather we see cottage women more or less softened and improved by time and motherhood, and we do not know what their career in early youth has been.

It is true that the dregs of cities do become worse and worse as civilization corrupts itself, and in all villages where there is some land not in the hands of owners resolved not to tolerate nests of vice, there will be certain sinks of iniquity that no one can reach. But we feel certain that no one who has really been able to trace the history of a parish will find that it has retrograded in civilization, except where there has been recently some unusual instance of neglect, or bad example on the part of clergyman or squire, coming after some equally exceptional instance of care and cultivation.

When one curate attended to six villages ;¹ when the average rector was a sort of squire, who read prayers on Sundays ; when squires were only just emerging from the Osbaldiston type ; and when farmers met at the village public-house for their evening's amusement, and the old Poor Law was destroying all self-respect in the poor, it certainly was not to be expected that their condition would be much above the animal. Probably their actual sustenance was more plentiful at times, but it was more liable to pressure from scarcity ; and of other comforts they knew scarcely anything else. It seems as if the life was almost like that of the colonies, with food, but nothing else. When Mrs. Trimmer began her career of charity at Brentford, in 1786, she found that the wages of a man in full work went almost entirely in food, and clothing was so expensive that a thrifty mother is mentioned who bought rags by the pound, and dressed her child in patchwork therefrom ; and the wool left on the thorn-bushes by the sheep was regularly gleaned, spun, and then sent to some handloom-weaver, to supply warmer garments. Hannah More's experience at Cheddar was much the same, and therewith hardly a child at twelve or fourteen knew who made it.

Gray's 'rude forefathers of the hamlet' must have been rude indeed. The old man who directs the kindred soul to his supposed monument utters the parenthesis, 'for thou canst read,' in pointing out his epitaph ; and throughout the eighteenth century, it seems that though some country places had small endowed schools, and there was in almost every one a 'private venture' kept by some old dame, like Shenstone's school-mistress, or by some disabled man, yet the attendants thereat were not the poor, but the children of the farmers, of the village tradesmen, and often of the parson himself. Now and then an exceptionally bright or favourite child was 'put to school' by the clergyman or the squire's lady, but when there, the utmost that was acquired was a certain power of reading, and sometimes of repeating the catechism. The Lenten catechizing in church was kept up by most of the clergy, and sometimes a Bible was given for its complete repetition ; but of explanation no one seems to have thought. Mrs. Hare's letters speak of an old woman who confessed to her that she had never understood any more of the catechism than as far as the explanation of the Lord's Prayer, and that the part about the

¹ 'In one particular spot, for instance, there are six large parishes without so much as one resident curate. Three commonly gifted curates cannot serve eight churches.'—1789. Hannah More to Elizabeth Carter.

sacraments had always seemed to her 'most like nonsense.' This, however, was only on the principle on which teaching was universally conducted. No doubt, when there was no printing, and teaching was oral, the doctor and professor must have caught from their pupils' eyes whether their words went home, and found an echo; but when books multiplied, they must have been supposed to do the work of the teacher, and the system on which the world went was, to learn first and understand afterwards. Perhaps the Elizabethan intellects were strong enough, and the seventeenth-century ones eager enough, to find the treatment a wholesome stimulus; and, indeed, the language of the literature of the first of these periods had not so far diverged from that of common life as to make books incomprehensible. But the Augustan age of Anne added a passion for Latin words to the lengthy composition of the former age, and amid the general depression of morals and cultivation, owing to a coarse-minded, frivolous court, the language of instruction became more difficult in proportion as the energy to understand it on the part of the learner fell flatter.

It was, probably, to Rousseau that we owe the first touch to the pendulum when it began to swing back towards simplicity and nature, and the change affected educational writing for the poor later than it did that of the rich; chiefly because the dignity of religion, the only subject thought worth teaching them, seemed to require a greater dignity of language. It was the old objection over again against translating the Latin services into a vernacular which seemed irreverent, only in this case the common speech of the educated had grown more abstruse than the standard formulas of devotion, so that the Bible and Prayer-Book were happily, so far as diction went, a hundred times easier than any comment on them. Nay, people did not know what simplicity meant. If we try to read Mrs. Trimmer's *Fabulous Histories* with a child of our own time, we shall find that after all it is Johnsonian for children. And in our earliest Sunday-School days, we recollect a fearful little tract, stitched into a milk-and-water-coloured wrapper, containing about twenty yellowish pages, printed in yellowish type, as an introduction to Scripture history. There was a tradition that it had been used in the school as a reading-book, and one sentence (or rather a part of a sentence) impressed itself on our mind by its enigmaticalness, namely, one in which we were told that after the Flood (we beg its pardon, the Deluge) Heaven 'gave a new sanction to the law of Nature.' In after-times it dawned on

us that this meant the permission to eat flesh. We also remember sentences a page long; probably due to its German origin, for it was a translation, and what ideas the children could have derived from it, it is hard to say.

Sunday Schools were commenced between 1785 and 1790, by Mr. Raikes at Gloucester, by Mrs. Trimmer at Brentford, and by Hannah More, in the Cheddar district, and both ladies found themselves obliged to supply the books that were needed. Hannah More was probably the first inventor of the modern tract. She was a woman of real talent, and her *Cheap Repository Tracts* were a power in their day, and a valuable counteraction to the flood of cheap Jacobin publications which had been poured forth. Bishop Porteous begged of her to write an antidote to Tom Paine's publications, and a dialogue called *Village Politics* was the parent of a series of books, published three times a month at twopence apiece. One bound-up volume survived long enough for us to recollect its coarse paper, pale type, and the grimly frightful woodcut outside it, but the tales by Hannah herself were of real literary excellence. *The Shepherd of Salisbury Plain* has a fresh grace about its opening; *Black Giles the Poacher and Tawny Rachel his Wife* furnish a capital story, and *Hester Wilmot, the History of a School-Girl*, is probably the story of Mrs. More's own experience of many a pupil at Cheddar. It was very interesting in its day. We remember seeing two girls (old women now) reading it with interlaced arms, when it was far from being a new book, and was only new to them because cultivation had but recently begun in the parish. Mrs. Trimmer wrote also, but school-books rather than tales, and in 1793, her *Scripture Histories and Questions* were accepted by the S.P.C.K. There were two books of tales which we think were hers, of the same date: one a set of conversations in a servants' hall, and accounts of the servants; and another, founded on the custom at Dunmow of giving a flitch of bacon to the wedded couple whose first year has been spent in harmony. The idea was good, but it was not carried out with sufficient spirit or dramatic interest to make the story attractive. Indeed, such elements might then have been thought disturbing and undesirable, for Dr. Wordsworth writes to Joshua Watson:—

'Even in many of the Cheap Repository Tracts, merit as many of these have, there is much so novelistic, so partaking of distorted, high-wrought, and extravagant representation in regard to action and manners, that I should be unwilling to contribute actively in their extensive circulation.'—(*Mem. of J. Watson*, vol. i. p. 132.)

The mention of Joshua Watson brings us to what we may call the orthodox revival. It may perhaps surprise those of our readers, who fancy that there were no strong men before Gyas, to know that long before the *Tracts for the Times* came into existence there was a staunch body of devout, earnest, and well-instructed Anglicans, working hard in the cause of the Church, revivifying the two old Church Societies, and creating the National Society, which commenced in 1811. The names of Christopher Wordsworth, Van Mildert, Mant, and Middleton show—in company with that of the devoted merchant, Watson—that there were true and earnest sons of the Church, toiling hard for her in the times which we are apt to slur over as darker than the dark ages. They were in fact the direct continuation of the Caroline divines, working as much as was then possible in the lines traced by good Robert Nelson, and were the true parents of what we now call the Catholic revival.

If Hannah More was a sort of precursor of the Evangelical school, so Mrs. Trimmer was of the Orthodox. Both parties felt the need of care and instruction of the poor with equal force, and both were setting about it vigorously, the one with the more fire and dash, the other with more caution, staidness, and reverence; but on either side there was much less sense of discordancy of principle or practice than there is in their respective parties at present. An 'earnest man,' whatever his way of thinking, was as sure to be classed with the Evangelical school, as a religious poor man to be called a 'Methody,' and in the externals of services there was then little scope for difference.

Soundness of faith was the great care of these excellent orthodox men, and therewith great distrust of all profession without practice. They made the Prayer-Book their manual, without full consciousness of all that, so used, it would become to their sons and grandsons, but holding by it, and working for it and by its guidance with all their might, and resisting all that was found wanting when tried by its test.

If we must confess their weak point, we think it was that their taste was too fastidious to make their productions popular. They were mostly men of middle age and high cultivation, with all the grave reverent reserve of the English nature, and the wives and daughters who carried their work among the poor, were ladies of the same high tone of breeding and refinement. They had grown up under schoolmasters who expected them to write English—ay, and to translate *vivâ voce* in Addisonian language—and accused them of spoiling their

taste with the Waverley novels (now a serious holiday task). And they had a strong feeling that everything relating to religion must be grave and dignified, which was perfectly true ; but partly from the general bald and denuded classic taste for simplicity of the age in which they lived, partly from the old Puritan traditions, they had little notion of connecting any but intellectual beauty with holiness. And, above all things, they were enamoured of ' the sobriety of the Christian religion,' and looked with dread upon excitement as almost sure to be coupled with instability. Effervescence seemed to them a thing to be deprecated, and they did not see that there might be souls lost for want of the appeal to the feelings which they distrusted as unreal and fugitive. And, on the other hand, the dread of dulness is one of Satan's strongest implements.

To hearts like theirs, the services of the Church in their utmost plainness were precious and beautiful, and they would have resented with loyal defiance any hint that others could find them tedious. 'The fault must be in those who found them wearisome.' There was real truth in what they said, and their own children grew up to the same fervent attachments, and felt the benefit of the discipline of the stillness and reverence of their youth.

But in dealing with the uneducated, they scarcely succeeded as well. There is a certain class of peasant, now passing away, belonging to the same mould as these men themselves, men and women both of a gentle, serious, grave mould, such as they themselves term 'solemn.' These accepted gladly such training as theirs. The old labourer would sit (he was seldom taught to kneel) with his chin on the top of his staff, looking like Jacob, and would worship faithfully.

' Dim or unheard the words may fall,
And yet the heaven-taught mind
May learn the sacred air, and all
The harmony unwind.'

These and their children gathered up such fragments as reached their understanding, loved the echoes, and grew in that devout comprehending by the soul, which is a different thing from that by the intellect.

The literature supplied was of the kind to suit this frame of mind. It was quite unimpeachable both in matter and manner, but very scanty, and adapted to a very select few. It must have chanced to some of us to fall heirs to the lending libraries presented by former clergy of this type. There are usually from twenty-five to thirty books, all bound alike in stout brown

calf, with red-letter pieces, and very strong meat they are ; Bishop Wilson's *Sermons* and Nelson's *Fasts and Feasts* being as invariable as Hume and Gibbon in the library of a country-house, and the only approach to narrative being a judicious selection from Hannah More's *Cheap Repository Tracts*.

One or two were in the catechetical form, with answers extending through a whole page, standard divinity of course, but it is difficult to imagine how they were supposed to be used in cottages. Perhaps the readers were then only superior people who would really care to make these books a study, and find out the references ; but for this the time allowed for keeping the books was too short. It is more likely that when they were read, it was in a dreamy manner, with the finger under the line, the lips forming the words, the mind occupied with the difficulty of conning them, and a general sense of performing a sacred duty, but with an infinitesimal amount of new impression. Yet, that such books as these had their use and value is shown by such an anecdote as the following, which we extract from a privately printed memorial of the Rev. Duke Yonge, Vicar of Cornwood, Devon, who died in 1823 :—

‘ He left a sum to be spent in books for distribution among the parishioners of . . . —bread sown upon the waters, of which at least a crumb might be said to be found after many days by one of his sons and his nephew, who going into a small outlying cottage belonging to . . . there found an old infirm crippled man, one of those beautiful instances of peace and content based on the highest and surest grounds, which are sometimes met with, shining brightest in the depths of poverty and suffering. His delight and comfort were his Bible and a book named *The Pious Parishioner Instructed*, one of those of Mr. Yonge's bequest, and these he valued above everything. Dissenters had striven to shake his faith, had offered him newer books, and had laughed at him for adhering to these alone, but he held fast to them, his only comfort, saying, “where should he be but for them?”’

This was in 1849 or 1850. *Per contra*, in an excellent paper on ‘Parish Lending Libraries,’ which appeared in 1873, in the *Monthly Packet*, the *Pious Parishioner* is cited as the *ne plus ultra* of dreariness. And certainly the sound and cleanly condition in which the volumes descended to new comers, did not speak much for their popularity. Indeed, the very fact of being able or willing to read such books at all in the labouring class bespoke an exceptional superiority of intellect and perseverance which might be capable of grappling with the difficulty.

Literature for children there was almost none. Even for children of the upper classes there were hardly any religious books, though secular ones had begun to multiply, and Mrs. Hemans made a true representation when she mentioned Miss Edgeworth's *Parents' Assistant* as the most suitable book the little gentlefolks could lend to a poor boy. Mrs. Trimmer's books were read and her expositions yawned over in the dining-rooms, where children did their lessons before school-rooms became an institution ; but besides this, there was little that was orthodox.

There were two standard books on the Catechism, for schools. Gentlemen's children were supposed to understand it by the light of nature. They generally did really learn it, and repeat it every Sunday ; but as to any special instruction in it, even before Confirmation, we have often heard a lady, who was confirmed about the year 1810 or 1812, say that her examination consisted of ' Well, my dear, I suppose you know all about it ; ' and that a little later her godfather, a clergyman, wishing to know if she had been confirmed, politely said, ' Has any Bishop had the honour of laying his hands on your head ? '

She, like many another, discovered her lack of knowledge on becoming the manager of a Sunday School, where the two above-mentioned books were the authorised S.P.C.K. ones, namely, the *Broken Catechism*, which merely made the answers into fragments, and *Crossman's Catechism*, which dealt in explanations. They were not bad, but rather ' cut and dried,' and when the children once learnt them by heart, the answers came parrot-like, and served to darken knowledge by obviating all need for thinking, and concealing the entire incomprehension. But there was much excuse for these learning-by-rote fashions. Every lady alike was so taught before the Edgeworth days, on the principle that if the memory were supplied, understanding would follow. There was no such thing as a trained teacher ; masters and mistresses were retired servants or tradespeople ; no one expected a mistress to do more than teach reading, working, and correct repetition. If she could write or sum herself, it was an extra, paid for at a high rate by the *petite noblesse*, but not encouraged by the patrons of the school. Sense and meaning were left to be put in at the Sunday School, and if the clergyman or a lady or two could ask original questions or awaken intelligence themselves, their helpers, if they had any, had no notion of anything beyond the barest words of the book. So, much of the children's time was spent in

sitting learning by heart these little catechisms, while other classes were being heard. *Faith and Duty* and *First Steps to the Catechism* were other varieties, generally learnt in the Sunday School itself, and, it may be feared, serving more to occupy time than give much instruction to unawakened minds.

Hymns were another difficulty. Dr. Mant attempted them, but was far too scholarly, and had not swing enough to be popular. Heber wrote perfect hymns, but not enough. Dr. Watts and Jane Taylor, being Dissenters, were looked on with doubt. The lady's theology is—if we remember right—not distinctive enough to have anything dangerous. Watts had too much point, and here and there too much beauty not to make his way. He has been too much decried by those, who have fastened only on his vehement Calvinist verses. We should be sorry for a generation of English children to rise not knowing 'The Little Busy Bee,' nor 'The Rose.' And his 'Sunday Hymn' has a vigour in its simplicity which always makes it the first note of joy in our own somewhat old-fashioned mind on Easter Day.

'This is the day when Christ arose
So early from the dead;
Why should I keep my eyelids closed
And waste my hours in bed?
This is the day when Jesus broke
The powers of death and hell;
And shall I still wear Satan's yoke,
And love my sins so well?

The latter part is not so successful, and stories are told, with what truth we know not, of children who derived no pleasant impression from 'Tis like a little heaven below' applied to a weary service, endured either in a conventicle or stewed up in a narrow gallery, unable to see or hear, or if they did, to understand, with no change of posture, but standing, or sitting on an uncomfortable little bench.

Still Watts furnished the pleasantest part of the old Sunday-School programme. For reading—except in the favoured Bible class—a superior few—was so severe a labour and so unconnected with the meaning, that we remember great discomposure at an attempt to substitute some S.P.C.K. reading-books about the patriarchal history for some containing 'the discourses,' because the latter, having no proper names in them, were considered the easier.

Unsatisfactory as was the system, it was the beginning of better things. Personal influence did much, the holy Word

itself more, and the good old and elderly people of our parishes, 'dear to the pastor's aching heart,' are the children thus taught, nay, who often seemed to have slipped through the meshes, but on whom old recollections have returned. We are convinced that the real estimate of the benefit of Sunday Schools is to be made rather from the old than from the young. Even as we write, a newly issued Parish Magazine, in its 'Parish department,' produces some verses from the recitation of an old woman who learnt them at school more than fifty years ago. We have found them in the *Cottager's Monthly Visitor* for 1821; and only two lines and one epithet have been forgotten in the half century. This same *Cottager's Monthly Visitor* was one of the first—if not the very first attempt at Magazines for the poor. It was begun in 1821, by Dr. George Davys, then Dean of Chester, and afterwards Bishop of Peterborough, who acted as tutor to her Majesty.

As Bishop, we are used to think of him as one terrified by the advance of Catholic principles, and holding the helm with a timid hand, having in effect made up his bundle of opinions long ago, and not being able to undo them to admit fresh ones. But in these younger days, when it was possible for a man to be of no party, he was in many respects in advance of the time, and this same Magazine was a real boon to parish workers. Nor do we think it compares unfavourably with Mr. Erskine Clarke's, to which every one comes in time, though everybody wishes for a better. The contents of one number are, a little paper on the Church Service, more elementary than would now be required by grown-up readers; a letter with a history of the Kings of Rome, with some rather funny elucidations and moralizings, both these being parts of a series; another paper of good advice how to act in case of fire, and a very pretty explanation of Burns' 'Cottar's Saturday Night.' Next stands 'Cowpock,' reminding us that vaccination was still a matter of choice; a conversation on the benefits of reading, a protest against fairs, an extract from a sermon, a bit of natural history, a cottage receipt, a few religious extracts, and 'extracts from newspapers,' the first being the account of the death of Princess Elizabeth, Queen Adelaide's only child. There is no serial story. If a tale went on into a second number, it was unusual, and thus each number was complete in itself. Probably the readers had not then that peculiar memory of the imagination which can carry on the interest from month to month, and which seems to be a matter of cultivation, since the same lack is found both in younger children and in the lower and rougher classes to whom ladies read.

The *Cottager* had a career of about twenty years, and we do not think it has been equalled in some respects by any of its successors, as a village 'monthly.' The 'useful information,' about accidents and emergencies, gardens and the like, was relished by the cottage readers, and was often valuable to them. The fault was the feebleness of both the theology and the history, but part of this was owing to the period, and it seems to us to have had the best framework of any of the Magazines of the kind. Its lesser companion, *The National School Magazine*, was not its equal, and did not last long.

By this time (from 1820 to 1840 roughly stated) all tolerably cared-for parishes had their Sunday School, and almost all decent families educated their children. The exceptions were the rough wandering ne'er-do-weels, those who had a quarrel with the parson or the ladies, and among the better sort the eldest girl, who was often made the family drudge while her sisters got all the schooling. Boys too were taken away so early that, unless they had a real turn for their book, they forgot everything. But there was a reading public wherever a good school had been a few years in operation, and not much for it to read.

The books that every one had heard of and cared to read were *Robinson Crusoe*, the *Pilgrim's Progress*, *Pamela*, and the translation of Gesner's prose idyll of the *Death of Abel*. The S.P.C.K. supplied the first, on the supplemental catalogue, and at a high price, but it could not adopt John Bunyan because of his doctrine. We own that we should much like to see an edition, in which all that is really Calvinistic were omitted, and in which a brief preface or notes might point out what is defective in the most masterly of all allegories. Such a course, if frankly avowed, would not be liable to the objections urged (whether justly or unjustly, we do not pause to consider) by Lord Macaulay against Dr. Neale's treatment of the *Pilgrim's Progress*; though that treatment had, on Macaulay's own showing, been anticipated in a different direction by an ultra-Calvinistic editor of the book. As to the other two books, they are consigned to the oblivion in which they may very well rest.

In the meantime the Evangelical school was much more active in providing for the young and uneducated. The Religious Tract Society had been set on foot in the first year of the century, by Mr. Burden, a Congregationalist minister, of Coventry, and a number of other good and devout men, both of the Church and out of it, who deserve the praise of having done much to keep the spark of religion alive in the

slumber of the Church. What they termed their 'golden rule' was, that each tract should convey an outline of the way of Salvation, so that a person who never saw any other book might still see that faith was the means of being saved. This was their one watchword, no more bond was required, and some of their most active agents sat so loose to all forms, that people doubted to what denomination they belonged. Simplicity and adaptation were their first study, and the Committee, we are told, often changed long words for short ones, and tried to reach every class, as they certainly did. It was not, however, till after nearly twenty years that children's books began to be studied, and the stories brought out that so enlivened the Sunday. Legh Richmond's *Dairyman's Daughter*, though not written for children, was eagerly read, and was the favourite Sunday-School prize for many years; indeed, even now we believe, 'Little Jane's' grave is an attraction to Brading churchyard. Nor is there any doubt that to many the history did lasting benefit. There were useful Scripture catechisms, hitting off the style of language required, though not always what could be otherwise wished. We remember one, which to the question—'Who was Eutychus?' replied, 'A young man at Troas, who, falling asleep at sermon, fell down and was taken up dead,'—in which condition it left him, apparently for fear of weakening the awful warning against 'falling asleep at sermon.'

Stories abounded, and were often very good, but it is a curious fact with regard to both poor people's and children's literature, that what pleases one generation seldom suits another, unless they are intelligent enough to receive it as matter of curiosity. Perhaps the reason may be that the very best of such literature is only at the utmost second or third rate, and by the hands of women, to whom it seems to be given to speak effectively to their own contemporaries, but to fall short with posterity.

Mrs. Sherwood seems to have been one of the first to discover the art of writing for the poor from their own point of view, not sentimentalizing about them. *Susan Gray*, the book with which she began, is what would now be called sensational—the story of the temptations of a young seamstress by a man in the rank of a gentleman. She runs away from the mistress, who had purposely left her unprotected, is caught in a thunderstorm, and dies of the wetting. The descriptions of Ludlow and of the surroundings are written with that grace of simplicity which made Mrs. Sherwood so successful. It appears by her life that she had no idea that it would be taken up as a re-

ligious tale for the poor ; she simply wrote it under the compulsion of the imagination, and sold it to a local bookseller before she went to India, and then returned after many years to find it immensely popular. This led her to write other tales for the poor, with plots of a more desirable style. None were devoid of talent, and most had a certain sort of pathos, which only suffered by being too often repeated. Two of her stories—*Henry and his Bearer* and *Lucy and her Dhaye*—were the male and female counterparts of one another, both turning on the child's longing to send the Gospel back to the much-loved Hindoo attendant. A third, *Emma and her Nurse*, was much the same thing in an English dress, but it had a charm to a child reader in the minute account of the little lady and the awe-struck village girl in the great mansion, veiled and only inhabited by the nursery establishment since the death of the lady of the manor.

Mrs. Sherwood's doctrine was of a strange shifting description, and thus the religious part of her books was not to be depended upon. People used, however, in the days of dearth of all easy religious literature, to have her stories, and others of the same tendency, in their nurseries and schools. Some were excellent. Nothing could be said against a selection from them, and there are some which we recollect with pleasure to this day, though what pictures they had ! Woodcuts were expensive luxuries then, and the illustrations in children's books were almost as hard worked as the portraits in the *Nuremburg Chronicle* ; and after we had learnt to accept one big-headed boy in a monkey suit all over buttons as good Charlie being instructed by his uncle, we met him again as wicked Dick mocking his grandfather. Wherever there was a missionary story there appeared the same black man kneeling before a clergyman in gown and bands, with a book in his hand, which he is apparently presenting to the negro. (Though, by-the-by, these pleasing incongruities are not yet gone by. This very Christmas we encountered Cinderella and her prince in stage mediæval costumes, being married by an English bishop in lawn sleeves.)

Three books on the Commandments, *The Week*, *The Guilty Tongue*, and *The House of the Thief*, stand out in our recollection as having conveyed distinct ideas of duty. One or two of Charlotte Elizabeth's were also very worthy, but, going back to our own childhood, we are quite sure that we imbibed a great deal from this our Sunday literature, that was never suspected by those who provided it, and that required correction by definite teaching. We say this, because we wish

to impress that the doctrinal tendency of such books is not so unimportant as people are apt to think when giving them to the young and partly educated, and we think it quite possible that the Dissent into which young people trained in Church schools used to lapse twenty or thirty years ago, was rendered attractive, not only by their awakened spiritual needs, which the Church system was not then expansive enough to satisfy, but by the whole drift of their reading, which made conversion; whether through Church or meeting, the paramount matter of importance.

All these agencies for spreading good books have always been liable to one fatal, though amiable error. The really able start them with clever and valuable works in their way, not without literary value, and with a power and force of application which renders them like the best hymns, common to all. But these are sure to be swamped in a marsh of imitators, the good by the goody. There is a fatal leniency to 'what can do no harm and is on the right side,'—written 'by a very deserving person, either in great need,' or 'who would be so much pleased.' So weakness is accepted, and 'the right side' is represented by writings of limited views, which give nothing but its lower and feebler border.

So the Tract Society, we fear, forgot the salutary sternness with which a member in the olden days denounced before the author's face a tract as 'a very poor thing *indeed*.' It came to deal in an endless and proverbial supply of small children who accosted strangers with 'Are you a Christian?' of ladies in white feathers one day on horseback, and white feathers on their hearses on another; of consumptive young ladies and gentlemen, and little boys and girls who so uniformly died as to lead to a conviction that it was very dangerous to take to early piety. Most young people do like the contemplation of melancholy, and delight in dreaming of the breaking of blood-vessels and slaughter of little children, in widows in their weeds, with bright locks escaping when at play with their children, and in young widowers embracing the babe that has cost them so dear, and the gratification of these tastes diluted the fiction of the Tract Society; while its tracts themselves, sown broadcast in strange places, may here and there have done good, but in general excited antagonistic feelings. They had the fault of being almost all aimed at conversion, rather than at subsequent building up, and they somewhat travestied S. Paul's determination of the only thing he would 'know' in his preaching, not seeing that what should always underlie all teaching, should not be constantly and even tritely

overlaid. So most of these little books were either beginnings or endings, conversions, or death-beds, and the practical effect came to be, that the second generation, after avoiding the fatal effects of infant conversion, thought themselves at liberty to amuse themselves as they pleased, without any attention to devotion, until they should 'get religion' like an infection. Miss Simpson's Yorkshire experiences among farm lads, as detailed in *Ploughing and Sowing*, show several instances of this frame of mind.

The secular books of the time were the *Penny* and *Saturday Magazines*, which were eagerly relished by young artisans, and by young people of any education. Many of us still look back to the pleasure their admirable papers gave us, such as those on the *Robin Hood Ballads* and the *Nibelungenlied*. But the country labourer was not educated enough to care for them, and, indeed, the first notes of the movement for his advancement were sounded so defiantly as to fill with alarm and hostility those with whom his training rested. The fallacy of education without religion was manifest enough to them, and they appealed to experience in favour of religion without education; or, rather, with only just enough to read the Bible and Prayer-Book. They failed to fathom the ignorance and misapprehension of their average scholar, and did not see how much his religion wanted intelligence; while, as to those of higher ability, it could only be exceptional saints who would feel the narrow bounds assigned to their minds suffice them. It would have been wiser sooner to have seized on the Mechanics' Institute and the popular science lecture, and to have wakened the village school into more intelligent teaching, instead of keeping writing an 'extra,' lest girls should write to their sweethearts, and making needlework the aim and end of the school-girl's existence. After all, however, it was rather the elderly Ladies Bountiful who erred in this respect, and who had really seen good servants and housewives grow up under their régime, to whom needlework was the most valuable acquisition brought from school.

The younger clergy and the younger ladies were anxious to take up the cultivation of the intellect at the same time as that of the soul, but they had no tools to work with until the days of training schools. One master, in a remote country village, we confess, was heard, about twenty-five years ago, explaining the slides of a magic lantern: 'This, my dear children, is the howl, the king of birds, so called because he is the only bird what can look at the sun without winking';—

deceived, we suppose, by the regal looks of the great eagle-owl.

In general, too, it was found that though the brighter village children, girls especially, eagerly listened to the small explanations of geography, grammar or history made to them, it was but writing on sand when taught in this amateur way. There was nothing to keep it up at home or abroad, in school or out, no associations to give it reality, and it was not remembered from week to week; being, indeed, viewed by mistress and mothers as the lady's fancy, interrupting more useful things, and 'not fit for poor people.'

Meantime there was a great accession of excellent matter for the reading to and of the children. Their intellectual capacity had been gauged at last, and by people who had literary talent and discrimination, and wrote in the thought of the great purpose ever with them, but without obtruding it.

About 1840 there began, under the auspices of Mr. James Burns, then a member of our Church, that issue of little books, life-like as the best of the Tract Society, and avoiding the didactic parents who had begun to appear in S.P.C.K. books, making children a judicious speech of a page long, when the very best cottage mother of real life would have merely used the more striking eloquence of 'the stick.' Now, the mothers in the *Apple Tree* (ominous name), *The White Kitten*, *The Red Shawls*, and the like, were not at all above the average cottage woman. When Bill is found with a surreptitious apple in his pocket, 'father' takes him out of 'mother's hearing,' and executive justice follows. The overworked mother in *Margaret Fletcher*, whose children on hot summer nights tumble out of bed, and roll about the floor crying, sends her daughter to be little maid at a small public-house, just as mothers do, simply to get rid of one hungry mouth, and then freely confesses that it is a bad place for a girl. The young lady who comes as a stranger even makes a mistake as to who ate the jam, and the mother's indignation is rough and motherly, until the real lady of the school comes home, and character overcomes the force of supposed circumstantial evidence.

There were very useful little books of conversational teaching, too, upon the Prayer-Book, the Burial Service, &c., which we are sorry to miss from the lists, for they were useful to read with younger classes. *Conversations on the Church Service* and *Conversations on the Saints' Days* were very useful in the same way; indeed, we do not think the last have been equalled, for a tender poetry of dealing with the

spirit of the day, being often either the *Christian Year* or Dr. Newman's *Sermon* reduced into easy language.

High thoughts in plain words were the characteristic of much of this literature. *Conversations with Cousin Rachel* has the *Christian Year* for the fifteenth Sunday after Trinity beautifully simplified, so as to read like one of Mrs. Barbauld's prose hymns. Bishop Wilberforce's little classic of *Agathos* likewise belonged to this period, and so does an anonymous story called *Ivo and Verena*, a sort of La Motte Fouqué for children, not exactly an allegory, but a story of the dawn of Christianity in the North.

There were two Magazines started at this time: *The Penny Post*, and *The Magazine for the Young*. The first was intended to be an improved *Cottager*; it is still flourishing, but it has somehow missed of the function of supplying cottage reading. It has become too archæological, and not simple or practical enough to interest country poor; the type is too small, and the whole seems to suit more with the class who ask small and curious questions on the dedications of churches and the histories of obscure saints. There is almost always a little allegory in it, and the serial stories seem to be always about the great rebellion. We cannot fancy a labourer after his day's work caring to sit down and read it; but it has its own field among a somewhat more cultivated class, who have acquired what it is the fashion to call Catholic tastes.

The Magazine for the Young was better adapted to the purpose it undertook. The papers in it were so excellent of their kind from the first that many of them have been republished. We think, however, that after the first ten or fifteen years, it was allowed to drift a little out of the school-child level, and to have more than a due proportion of young ladies and gentlemen, though all were thoroughly clever and sensible stories. We are very sorry that the rage for illustrations has led to this excellent little book being supplanted by others, which, to our mind, are far from equalling it in ability, so that 1875 saw its last number, after a course of thirty-three years of well-sustained excellence.

To review the literature of this class for these thirty-three years would be impossible. We have pointed to the principal sources, and we will now try to classify the kind of reading they provide.

First, however, we must observe that there is a great change as to the power of reading. The exceptions are now those who cannot read. Girls have seldom left school for

many years past without being able to read well ; and boys, though the vocal performance may be as bad as possible, can read enough to be able to understand the meaning of a paragraph in after life. The intelligent ones will eagerly read anything that interests them, but, on the one hand, we no longer have the monopoly of cheap reading for them ; and on the other, that patient steadiness which would toil through a long book in long words, as a serious solemn task, has nearly vanished from all classes alike. If we wish to catch the attention of the many, and give them pure examples from an undefiled well, we must make it as attractive as the undesirable literature in flaming covers which is poured on them, or the serial tales in cheap and inflammatory newspapers.

For this reason we are glad of the recent requirement of the Code for Elementary Schools, that a classical piece of English poetry should be repeated and explained, since this becomes the key to much language, cultivates the taste and prevents absolute want of comprehension from barring the way to all but the idlest and most easy reading. Still too much must not be expected—masters and mistresses and pupil-teachers, who are exerting their minds all day, should hardly be blamed if they are too wearied for ‘self-improvement’ in the intervals, and though it is easy to say that a good walk or a little household work would be the best thing for the young woman, she can seldom walk safely out of school-hours in the winter, and there often is no domestic business for her to do, especially by candle-light. And if she be harassed and inclined to work her brain overmuch about her examination, or troubles about her pupils, needlework leaves the thoughts free for perplexities, while a wholesome and moderately interesting story diverts the mind much more effectually. Indeed the female readers can hardly be expected to read for intellectual self-improvement’s sake. A girl with a true thirst for knowledge is very rare, and there is nothing to awake it or keep it up in women of the lower and lower middle-classes. All that even well-taught young women of the dressmaker and artisan degree are likely to care for is, what is either ‘interesting’ or ‘sweetly pretty ;’ but it is quite possible so to cultivate and refine their tastes as to make them dread and turn aside from low sensational reading, and by tales and poetry, the kind of pathos and sentiment that they can relish, to make them love what is pure, devout, and noble, and to set high-minded and elevating examples before them. The good ones, too, will read directly religious books, some as a duty, and others as a pleasure.

Lads, on the other hand, who have some intelligence and ambition, especially if put to trades that only occupy their hands, often do like instructive reading, and will pursue it in after life. They need a full supply of such books as may so preoccupy them that they need not go for excitement or for information to literature where they would get it intermingled with attacks on their faith and principles.

It is of no use to try to keep exclusively to books written for any class in these days. The savour of condescension in such books is very distasteful to those for whom they are meant, and considering that almost every book that has any name or fame soon comes within their reach, it is better to provide them with whatever is really and intrinsically good, without going into the minutiae of agreement with our own opinions. If these are freely conceded, they are more likely to trust those who withhold from them what is really mischievous or degrading, and what no one ought to like. Books with much slang in them, with a poor weak style of sentiment, and such as indulge in the repetition of bad language in conversation, even where the moral is not amiss, should, however, be excluded. Whatever tends to exalt, purify, and refine the ideas of courtship and marriage is likely to be valuable. The horror with which the last generation looked on novel-reading left young girls to the very poorest and most unwholesome sentiment on the subject that most excites them, and good sound examples, even in a higher rank than their own, is more likely than anything else to improve their tone and raise their ideal. Such novels as Dinah Muloch's *A Noble Life*, Mrs. Gaskell's *Mary Barton*, some of Lady Emily Ponsonby's best, and the like, are really desirable reading.

Delicate, humorous character-drawing is not appreciated without a very different amount of cultivation, sometimes not then. Some people do not care for close portraiture of the Austen school, but want what feeds their imagination and takes them out of themselves, and the love of exact delineation is much more frequent in the upper classes than the lower—and, reason good, they find themselves described from their own level and point of view, whereas no writing about or for a shop-girl or dressmaker can be other than at the very best patronizing, often satirizing, and with about as much truth as a foreigner's delineations of natives, and we all know what they are. Therefore we believe a sensible story of a lady by a lady likely to be twice as useful to a maid as the lady's endeavour to portray an ideal maid.

The so-called 'tale,' of which Miss Sewell's and Miss

Yonge's are the types, is eagerly devoured and is a sort of medium between the novel and the child's book; it is one that is apt to be accepted without question, and a few years ago, the mere fact of a book being in one or two volumes, instead of three, would decide that it was 'a tale;' and therefore supposed to be innocent. But fashion has altered this a good deal. We have all seen very mischievous books in this lesser line, and on those that profess to be mildly useful, we should recommend library managers to exercise a sharp supervision, and to condemn mawkishness and twaddle as ruthlessly as more serious evils. Their girl-readers may like it, but it will only lower their taste, and it is not well that they should be reading what their fathers, brothers, and lovers can only see through and deride. Their books on every account should be rather *above* than *below* them. Their age is full of enthusiasm and sentiment. That which girls of the upper ranks are now apt to disdain, with some harshness and rudeness in their scorn, is to this lower degree the gilding of life, and to kindle their admiration for anything really noble and worthy may save them from those silly and inferior forms of romance which are the special bane of their station.

The semi-educated enjoy tears; and pathos like that of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which is rather in excess for us, is a great recommendation to them. Anything really good of its kind is to be accepted, while poor and weak stories should not be tolerated, because they are written to uphold our own opinions in Church matters. Hesba Stretton's *Bede's Charity* or Mrs. Whitney's *We Girls* are, for instance, far better reading than stories that the *Churchman's Companion* has sometimes too readily admitted, and which are only poor novels with a dash of daily services, early Celebrations, and Sisters of Mercy.

Nothing that actually leads up to Dissent, or tends to confound the idea of the need of a distinct dogmatic faith, ought on any account to be admitted, though absolute direct enunciation of our own opinions is by no means necessary, provided the morality be sound. Miss Kavanagh's *Madeleine*, an old book now, giving the story of the noble exertions of a French peasant girl to found a hospital, has always been found most popular and stirring, and though of course her Roman Catholicism is taken for granted, it simply comes in as the religion of her country, and would do nobody any harm. None of this lady's other tales approached this one in excellence, or would be useful to lend, and we mention this one as an instance of

the way in which the superiority of the tale outweighs all difference of opinions.

We do not know how often to reiterate that caterers for lending libraries should be intolerant of mediocrity. The difficulties are great, for, on the one hand, the readers are apt to be eager devourers of all that requires no effort, and, on the other, critics are so merciful to the well-intentioned that their praise is not always faint enough to imply condemnation, while hundreds of writers think that at least they can write a child's religious tale, and contentedly repeat and dilute somebody else.

For instance, *Michael the Chorister* was written in early days, while yet Burns was the chief publisher of Church literature. It was a thoroughly touching simple story of a little Cathedral chorister, who, after a few trials from bad companions, gets run over, partially recovers, goes for the last time to the Cathedral, and dies.

He was the precursor to a swarm of affected little choristers, always with angelic feelings, generally persecuted, uniformly sentimental about their surplices, with some tendency to confound them with the snow, and sure not only to sing better than anybody else, but to die early. Whereas those who know the British chorister as a tough little mortal, addicted to bolting bulls'-eyes, apples, or any other delicacies of the season, at the last moment, if not to concealing them under his surplice, to shirking practice, to playing marbles in unexpected places, to staring wildly about, and on a recall to order, to bawling as if he were scaring birds, it seems as if it *might* be wiser and more useful to depict him as neither quite an angel nor quite a fiend.

Again, the late Mrs. Gatty opened a new and almost original mine of treasure in her *Parables of Nature*, which she could give to perfection, both as being a student of natural history, and a person of deep and varied thought and reading. But ever since we have been inundated with talking rivers, discontented primroses, moralizing robins, &c. &c. &c., *usque ad nauseam*, till the imitation almost spoils the reality.

So with allegories. John Bunyan, Bishop Wilberforce, Mr. Adams, and Mr. Monro (the last at a long interval, and perhaps only in the *Combatants*) have given real substantial interpretations and ideas that echo and re-echo in our minds; but they have provoked a swarm of imitators, who, taking a most unwarrantable liberty with the angels, as something between showmen and fairies—introduce us to endless children in boats, on mountains, and in swamps, all weakening the

original impression, and creating an impatience of the very name of allegory.

In all these things, and many other branches of reading, the essentially good first model is the thing to have and keep to exclusively, for the ill-written, loosely-put-together, half-digested work that is freely poured out as fit for poor children, can—even for those who like it—only prevent the taste from rising to accept better food, and sometimes confuse the mind. Happily, the really good is sure to be cheap, and the price of a book is generally in inverse ratio to its worth, so that it is easier to supply the cream of literature than the scum. No—we will not call it scum—but buttermilk.

Street Arabs have become very popular subjects. We can point to two or three excellent stories of this class, such as *Little Meg's Children* and *Froggy's Little Brother*, which will dissolve a whole class, and still more, a whole mothers' meeting, in tears; but, there is a strong tendency to write of lovely waifs with shining hair (spite of being unkempt) who wander into churches, and there show an appreciation of the service, such as experience would be thankful to detect in their schooled and trained contemporaries; after which they either die a pious and edifying death, or are proved to be the children of the long-lost daughters of their patrons' cooks.

The need of a catastrophe is the bane of the unoriginal in these stories, and thence arises a pernicious sort about the troubles of young servants. It began in the early days of the Evangelical school, when all large houses were assumed to belong to fashionable and worldly people, with wicked servants. The little nurserymaid regularly tried to teach the children to say their prayers, was rebuked by the mamma for making them melancholy, spited by the nurse for refusing to connive at her drinking wine in the butler's pantry, was all but convicted of theft on the evidence of her mistress's jewellery, hidden in her boxes by the other servants' malice, and finally established her innocence by saving some one from being burnt to death.

This class of story is not quite extinct, and must send little girls out in a nice frame of mind for being put under the upper servants who have to train them. There is a capital story, named *I do not Like It*, which exactly shows the probable career of the spoilt pet of a village school and an easy home.

The principal supplies of books are at present from the S.P.C.K., the Religious Tract Society, and the Sunday School Institute, besides the host of 'private venture' books. S.P.C.K. is admirable in a negative point of view, but to the negative

it has far too often sacrificed the positive. Its supervision is too timid, minute, and arbitrary for it to be able to secure first-class authors, but it never drops into the absolutely foolish, and here and there has something of real merit. Its tracts—properly so called—are greatly improved of late years, and there is a series on the Offices of the Church, which, compared with Bishop Davys's *Village Conversations*, would be a curious landmark of the average intelligence of the supposed reader.

Hymns are pretty well provided for by Mrs. Alexander's beautiful work in that line. We are sorry that the Rev. Isaac Williams's *Hymns on the Catechism* are out of print, for they are rarely excellent as expositors of doctrine, and not too long, the only fault of Mrs. Alexander's.

The Religious Tract Society has an excellent collection, not only of tales, but of books of natural history and travels ; and those who are collecting prizes or lending-library books ought certainly to make a selection among these, though, if they are ordered without examination, we may chance to light on something that exalts conversion at the expense of Sacramental Grace, or which makes it a hopeful sign in a Romanist to die without the sacraments. These, however, are becoming the exceptions, and there are many admirable stories on the list, conveying Catholic truth. We do not mean what some people call 'distinctively Catholic teaching,' but much that is really sound and orthodox, and useful to members of the Church. Indeed, we fancy it would have somewhat startled the excellent founders !

The Sunday School Institute puts out good books for teachers: to use, but what we have hitherto seen of its tales have been feeble and much too controversial. It would be giving a mere catalogue to attempt to mention the books we have found best adapted for village use ; besides, parishes vary much in taste and intelligence, so that what is popular in one may be useless in another, and a judicious caterer will acquire a sort of second instinct as to what will be liked and be useful. This is the only way of doing the thing. To order down a Society's collection and disperse them, is not likely to produce healthful assimilation, but people's needs and likings must be known and cultivated, and in a varying manner, according to their understanding, *e.g.* the young children, and any parish where the people are still very simple and little in the way of anything but what the clergyman gives them, need receive only what is fully accordant with his views, but the growing youth and men of towns will not be content with this, and he will do

them more good by showing them how to read a book with undesirable portions in it than by withholding it altogether.

After all, some will say, what has all this trouble done? There is a long way between reading a book and acting on it. Sunday-School children flock for their books, tracts are exchanged at every door by district visitors, but is the population better than when, one hundred years ago, Mrs. Trimmer, Hannah More, and Mr. Raikes began the work? The towns, taking them as a whole, are possibly in some respects worse. There has been the factory system, there were fifty years of torpidity of the Church, and besides the general tendency to corruption in masses, infidelity has come down to the populace.

But, on the other hand, the Church organization has now so penetrated these regions, that no one who wishes for better things can fail to know where to look for them, and any upward aspiration is met and fostered.

And in the country, though the machinery has often been sluggishly and insufficiently worked, and can only be so thoroughly where the clergyman and the squire are devoted, zealous, and united, yet the average standard has risen. The foul nests of shameless vice that used to be acquiesced in in a sort of hopeless way in the early years of the century are seldom to be found in villages now, and where they exist, the decent neighbours are not callous to the scandal. The standard of morality is not what it ought to be, but most of those, who can look back for a good many years on the same place, will allow that there *is* shame now instead of absolute indifference, and that village public opinion once required far less respectability than at present. Drunkenness is the evil still most rampant and untouched by all our efforts, setting in as it does just when youths are most jealous of being held in check by the influences of their earlier age, and kept up by the many attractions of the public-house. But in speaking of the average cottager, it is to be remembered that he is generally the dull one, or the idle one, of the family. The superior lads and girls find promotion in other lines through the improvement of education and communication, and it is only the unenterprising who remain at home as tillers of the soil; and of their children, the brighter ones go forth into the world, leaving the duller ones to swell the group of unruly lads and rude girls that most parishes can, alas, still produce.

Yet, even thus, the entire class ignorance and indifference is gone. There is a tolerable comprehension of the language used in Church, and with the destruction of galleries and high pews, and the silencing of parish clerks, much of that com-

fortable abstraction of the elders, and sportiveness of the juniors, has been done away with. Most can and do use prayer-books, and, in truth, one of the popular delusions is that people 'go to Church to read their book,' but this granted, the book does a good deal for them. They most of them know the theory of their duty pretty well, and there is not an utter blank when trouble or danger brings them in contact with their pastor. No one will attempt to say that the mass of them are all that they might or ought to be, but what we are contending for is, that they have, in general, made a great advance, not only in material comfort, but in their notions of decency and respectability; and that, wherever there is a stirring of real and active religion, it finds food and support, and is not left to struggle in the dark, or seek supplies of light from the self-kindled sparks of Dissent.

And in every parish there are sure to be thoughtful, conscientious men and women who have never let drop the training of their childhood, imperfect as it may have been; there are those who have turned aside for a time, but are ready to come back again; and there is much of bright and ready intelligence and promise in the young.

In all endeavours to do good to the multitude, what is to be expected is, that only a very few will derive to the full the benefits offered to them, and that there will be a large proportion scarcely, if at all, the better for them, while the greater number will, to a certain degree, accept and be ameliorated more or less by that acceptance, although to a much less degree than they might and ought to be.

And in writing of this last half-century's movement towards the religious cultivation of the poor, we have spoken more of this unsatisfactory mass than of those who have profited to the utmost, as there is no doubt that many have everywhere done. We fail sometimes to recognize them, because they are no longer the poor. The best of the poor we have to deal with are either the homely and unsuccessful, or those who are returning to better courses in old age. Those of the elder generation who really made use of their education are everywhere in superior situations of trust, and their children in the way of rising higher.

We do not know that to elevate a peasant into one of the lower middle class is a great achievement, though it may of course lead to further elevation in another generation: but it is the most frequent outcome of the best education a village can give, and we mention it as being exactly what the promoters of secular education held out as an object. The deeper unseen

work cannot be gauged, but that one test which is now usually applied as to the spiritual progress of a population does not fail. What was the number of communicants in almost any place compared with what it is now? Does not the recollection of our elder readers go back to the scanty three times, or at most four, at which the clergyman's and squire's families, and the very aged poor, with one or two good women, were the only attendants, and when the general notion of church-going is that described in *Silas Marner*? Allowing for much that is disheartening, and which has ever been the same, we are quite sure that the efforts made in National Schools and village libraries have had a great effect for good even on the generality, and that they will tell more and more as the children are more prepared to receive cultivation, provided only that the same endeavours are successful in keeping Divine Wisdom the ruler of the studies of our children, and secular instruction only her handmaid. And the persons on whom this chiefly depends are the clergymen and ladies in every parish, and its greatest foes are—not the School Boards, nor the six standards, but those breakfast hours which, coinciding exactly with the time allotted for religious instruction in schools, prevent any external help from being given, and throw the teaching of several classes on pupil-teachers or on mere children, who ought to be learning themselves.

ART. III.—THE UTRECHT PSALTER.

1. *The Athanasian Creed in connexion with the Utrecht Psalter, being a Report to the Right Honourable Lord Romilly, Master of the Rolls, on a Manuscript in the University of Utrecht*, by Sir THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, D.C.L., Deputy-Keeper of the Public Records.
2. *The Utrecht Psalter. Reports addressed to the Trustees of the British Museum on the Age of the Manuscript.* By E. A. BOND, E. M. THOMPSON, Rev. H. O. COXE, Rev. S. S. LEWIS, Sir M. DIGBY WYATT, Professor WESTWOOD, F. H. DICKINSON, and Professor SWAINSON. With a Preface by A. PENRHYN STANLEY, D.D., Dean of Westminster. With three facsimiles. (Williams and Norgate: London and Edinburgh, 1874.)
3. *Further Report on the Utrecht Psalter, in answer to the Eight Reports made to the Trustees of the British Museum, and edited by the Dean of Westminster.* By Sir THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, D.C.L., Deputy-Keeper of the Records.
4. *The Photogram of the Utrecht Psalter.*

NONE of our readers will have forgotten the signal defeat of the attack on the Athanasian Creed in 1873. It seems hardly too much to say that the question of displacing or mutilating that Creed has probably been settled once for all by the decisive action then taken by Churchmen.

Those who so pertinaciously urged on the attack little knew what would be the remote consequences of their act, and when the battle began, even the most strenuous defenders of the Creed had formed no conception of the strength of their side. In 1872, when the matter was discussed at meetings of Churchmen, there seemed to be so much ignorance of the subject, and so much misconception, that the greatest anxiety prevailed lest Convocation should be induced for the sake of peace to concede something. The attitude of the Upper House was most alarming, and the Lower House seemed inclined to take very different ground from what, after mature deliberation, they thought fit to occupy. The altered tone of the debates, after the matter had been thoroughly discussed

at meetings of clergy and laity, and in leading articles and letters in the public prints, is one of the most remarkable events in the history of the English Church during these last few years ; and hereafter the result will seem wonderful to those who shall not have time to read the account of all that passed between the first mootings of the question and its final settlement. The subject, indeed, came to have quite a literature of its own, and exhibited an immense amount of learning amongst the English clergy, who came forward to write on one side or the other. It is probable, indeed, that the proposal to dislodge the Creed from the place which it occupied in the English Prayer-Book produced a great deal of the learning that was displayed on the occasion, and that many of the writers were instructing themselves in truths, of which they had but a faint appreciation before, at the very time when they were teaching others the veriest elements of theology.

The gist of the attack of course rested on the so-called damnatory clauses—and it formed a very plausible argument, especially when coming from the mouth of an Archbishop, that no one could be imagined to sign or subscribe these clauses in their literal sense. And when one of the Archbishop's suffragans endorsed the sentiment, giving that as his reason for objecting to the recitation of the Creed in the service—no other Bishop being found bold enough to contradict the premiss, however averse some may have been to the intended conclusion—it was evident that if the Creed was to be saved at all, it must be by the exertions of members of the Lower House, whilst the expressions of opinion amongst many of the members even of that House were extremely unsatisfactory. There can be no doubt that the Creed was practically saved by the meetings which were held all over the country, and by the knowledge diffused at those meetings by the few who were competent to speak upon the subject, and to instruct others. And the *coup-de-grâce* to the attempt to dislodge the Creed was given by the overflowing meeting at St. James's Hall, Piccadilly, on the night of January 19, 1873. Those who were present at that meeting will never forget the enthusiasm displayed, or the unity of sentiment that prevailed, amongst delegates sent from every corner of the country to represent the feeling of Churchmen.

The attack upon the Creed has recoiled upon its originators with tremendous force—and it was currently reported at the time that one of the chief members of the latitu-

dinarian party expressed his opinion that their cause had been retarded for twenty years. For ourselves, we are inclined to think that is a modest estimate. Now that the danger is past, one can safely contemplate the crisis, and estimate the fears of those who knew full well that if any alteration in the status of the Creed had been carried, the next step would have been an attempt to get rid of the Nicene Creed, and that afterwards people would have proceeded to take to pieces the Apostles' Creed, beginning with the article on the descent into hell, and ending, perhaps, in the proposal to do away with creeds altogether, and establish the principle of ultra-Protestantism *pur et simple*, viz. the adoption of the text of Scripture as the test of Church membership.

We need not dwell on circumstances, which might have happened, especially as there is no probability of their happening now. But now that the battle has been fought and won we may sit down and calmly reflect upon its results. And amongst these results we may place first and foremost the increased appreciation amongst the clergy and the educated laity of the meaning of creeds, and their relation to Holy Scripture. We do not, of course, mean by this that any new view on this subject was developed by the controversy, but only that truths of the most evident character, which, unfortunately, have been overlaid amongst us by the Protestant principle of proving everything by private interpretation of Scripture, have again reasserted themselves, and have been recognized amongst a much wider circle of laymen, and, we may add, of clergy too, than had been accustomed to such views before. The discussions as to the antiquity of the Creed brought prominently before people's minds the fact that the Faith and the Creed is itself older than Scripture, and that the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed, and the Athanasian Creed really rest upon surer grounds than those asserted in the Eighth Article, viz. that they could in the judgment of those who drew up that article be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture. And in this relation even the paradoxical statement of the late Bishop of St. David's has done good service. When Bishop Thirlwall astonished the Upper House of Convocation by his assertion that transubstantiation might also be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture, not only his hearers, but the English people who read the report of his speech in the next morning's paper, must have asked themselves the question—What is meant by most certain warrants of Scripture?

and many would have gone further into the question as to the sufficiency of Holy Scripture as stated in the Sixth Article. And here is only one of the many interesting questions suggested by this debate, which we can only just allude to in passing, for even the most cursory view of it might well occupy a whole article. We do not here care to express any opinion on the subject. All we wish to draw attention to now is the number of questions which have been brought out and presented to many minds, for the first time, by the interesting crisis through which the English Church has just passed. It is a subject which will, no doubt, in some form or other, come before readers of this Review before very long—and we shall only say now that a commentary on the Sixth and Eighth Articles, explaining not so much the view, whatever that was, of those who drew them up, but giving a reasonable account of the Church's reference to Scripture in defining dogma, is a desideratum in the literature of the Church of England.

But though this is a subject we cannot enter upon here, we may say a few words as to the meaning and value of Creeds, and certain expressions in those Creeds, which, though they will not commend themselves to readers of this Review on the score of their novelty, yet will represent that clear insight into truth which, perhaps, for the first time dawned on the minds of younger students as they read the debates in the two Houses of Convocation, and the able letters with which the *Guardian* newspaper was flooded at the time.

For instance, we are persuaded that many had never considered, at any rate with much attention, the different grounds on which these three Creeds make their appeal to be received by the Church at large. Many, we are sure, were quite startled, when the question came up as regards the acceptance of the Creed of S. Athanasius in the Eastern Church, to be told that the Greek Church does not use the Apostles' Creed in her public offices at all. Many, who had thought that the Apostles' Creed was nothing else but a convenient summary of Scripture doctrine, would, nevertheless, have been glad to fall back upon some Œcumenical Council that had established it, when they were finding fault with the Athanasian Creed, because it wanted this sanction—and they learned something from their own inability to reply to the allegation that in this respect the Apostles' and the Athanasian Creeds stood on exactly the same ground.

Again, how many students in theology were there who, wishing to be orthodox, were, nevertheless, sorely puzzled to defend either the truth or, if not the truth, at least the expediency of the assertion of the so-called dam-natory clauses. But it will not be possible in time to come for a Bishop or an Archbishop to assert that he does not take these words in their natural sense, nor again to broach the startling objection to these clauses being inserted in the Creed, inasmuch as nobody believed them. We shall in our day hear no more of banishing the Creed into the position of the Articles, which are, as it were, bound up with the Prayer-Book on sufferance, though forming no integral part of that Prayer-Book. And if we shall still hear the murmurs of those who object to dogmatic teaching in general, expressing their dissatisfaction with these clauses, and venturing to designate them uncharitable, the proper answer will now come to the lips of its defenders more easily than before. And one part of that answer, we venture to think, has been drawn out in bold relief, in consequence of the misconceptions about it that prevailed in the Upper House of Convocation. The defenders of the Creed were driven, in the first place, to the argument from the analogy of Scripture, viz. to the passage where our blessed Lord (as recorded in the received text of S. Mark) commissions his Apostles in the words—‘He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved: he that believeth not shall be condemned.’ And from this it was easy to parallel the expression of the Athanasian Creed, and argue—to the satisfaction of all such as really believe that salvation depends in any degree upon faith as well as works—that the clauses in the Creed were warning, minatory, or dam-natory, exactly in the same degree as the words of our Lord. But neither was this all. The various suggestions made with regard to the Creed showed what crude notions had been formed as to the power of a National Church to deal with a creed of the Universal Church in the way of mutilation or excision. Admitting the fact that a National Church could alter the mode and the frequency of use in her offices, admitting that she could discard it altogether from public recitation, it was a more serious question whether such a body was competent to alter certain passages in it. But the proposal to omit the warning clauses, as forming no part of the Creed itself, showed both an utter misconception of the powers of the Church of England, and also an ignorance as to the nature of a Creed, which we trust we

shall never see in such high quarters again. And many will have learned from the mistakes made by those who, one would have thought, might have known better, that it is, so to say, an accident whether a Creed contains, or does not contain, such warning clauses as are found in the Athanasian Creed, or such an anathema as that appended by the Council of Nicæa to the Creed there drawn up. There are many, to whom a few years ago such thoughts were new, who have come to recognize that the convert in the early Church, in accepting the Creed imposed upon him, in whatever words it was recited, accepted also its anathema in case he should ever fall away from his professions and become an apostate. Many again have, perhaps, realized, what they had scarcely understood before,—that in submitting their reason to the faith they not only adopted the words put into their mouth and interpreted, as best they might be, by their own judgment, but accepted also all else that the Catholic Church believes and teaches as implied in, or developed from, these words. Another very important point was gained from the debate in which so many foolish things were said, as regards the dropping of the anathema used at the Nicene Council, by the Fathers assembled at Constantinople. We do not suppose that there were many Churchmen who would have taken up the Protestant argument of the opposition between the decrees of one Council and another, especially as regards the first two Councils, which all admit to be œcumenical. But the very suggestion that the anathema was designedly omitted from the end of the Nicene Creed only served to draw out more plainly the harmony of the two Councils, and to illustrate the idea of the infallibility of the Church when truly represented in an œcumenical Council.

Churchmen may be disposed to smile at our representation of all these things as being so much gain, but they must remember how much the people of this country have had to unlearn as regards religious matters in the last forty years, since the appearance of the first *Tract for the Times*, and how, what appear to them the veriest truisms, have a very different aspect in the eyes of those who have not had the same opportunity of learning that they have had. But we can scarcely be wrong in estimating the spread of the knowledge of these truths (truistic as they may seem), if only it be remembered what mistakes were made in certain quarters with regard to them. Probably in the next generation it will be wondered at that persons high in authority

should have made such mistakes. There will then, perhaps, not only be a few greater theologians amongst our clergy than any we can count at the present day, but it is almost certain that the mass of clergy will be far better acquainted with the elements of the faith than we are warranted in supposing them to be now. At the commencement of this century an Archbishop, and he, perhaps, the most learned ecclesiastic of his day, belonging to the Communion of the Church of this country, committed himself by the serious mistake of speaking of the Church of England as founded by Cranmer. And yet Archbishop Laurence's *Bampton Lectures* of 1805 have exerted a most material influence in forming the minds of this generation. No set of *Bampton Lectures* has had a larger sale, or has had greater influence in counteracting the Calvinistic tendencies that were being revived by the Clapham sect. And yet so inveterate were the prejudices that had clung round the union of Church and State, that twice in that volume is the same expression repeated. It was not that the author seriously thought a new Church had suddenly sprung into existence in the reign of Henry VIII., which reached its final development under Edward VI., but that he had not distinctly before his mind's eye the continuity of existence of the Church in this country. That was a truth reserved for the next generation to draw out; and perhaps the late respected Dean of Chichester (*clarum et venerabile nomen*) did more to popularize and diffuse this doctrine than any other of his contemporaries. Still, if Archbishop Laurence could in 1805 fall into such a blunder of expression, we need not wonder at any mistakes of a less serious kind, such as were made during the discussion of the case of the Athanasian Creed in 1872. And surely we have everything to hope for from the present state of things when learning and piety are so remarkably combined amongst our clergy, as contrasted with the earlier days of this century, when, unfortunately, there was almost a total severance of the two, when orthodoxy was usually associated with coldness or lukewarmness, and piety seemed to dwell in a region utterly removed from the paths of theology.

But we must return from our digression. We have yet more to say as to the advantages that have accrued to us from the late controversy. And the next point we shall mention follows very directly upon the last. We have been warned—and we in this country and in this part of the Church especially needed the warning—that isolated sentences are not to be taken and pressed in their exact letter to mean all that the

words in logic can be forced to apply to. The whole argument against the damnable clauses of the Athanasian Creed turned upon this fallacy—and the latitudinarian party turned it to account, and made capital out of the allegation that we had no right to condemn others for differing in opinion from ourselves. And very many who did not at all agree with them in their objections to dogmatism, were led away by this specious plea, and though fully believing in the absolute necessity of preserving the Creed in the same use in which it has been employed since the year 1558, were willing to sacrifice expressions which seemed uncharitable if only they could preserve the faith itself intact. Many years have elapsed since the Dean of Chichester, at that time Vicar of Leeds, published his full explanation of this Creed—and great service was done by him not only as regards these clauses, but also by the brief account he gave of the meaning of other parts of it. Yet objections take new forms, and require a new answer adapted to the form which they take; and the reference to the similar modes of expression in Holy Scripture where general truths are asserted, without implying that there can be no conceivable exception to their application, gave to many, we have no doubt, a view of these clauses which, if not altogether new, was at least a great help to their apprehension of their meaning, and still more to their power of replying to objections brought against the Creed. And thus it has come to be understood, that the language of the Church in laying down what is necessary for everlasting salvation is subject to exactly the same kind of limitation as that of her Divine Founder; and that as individual cases of invincible ignorance are reserved for His merciful judgment when He expresses the truth in language which seems to admit no exception, so it is no real objection to the Church's mode of expression that her definitions, from their very conciseness, seem to imply more than can really be gathered from the words themselves, or than was ever intended by those who drew them up. And the charitable construction which Dr. Newman claims for recent Papal utterances, viz. that they shall be interpreted by their real meaning—which meaning has to be ascertained from the character of the statements which they condemn—holds with at least equal force in regard to the ancient definitions of the faith, which have been received throughout the Church.

There is no instance in the history of the Church where the existence of heresy or objections to her teaching, or

misunderstandings of her meaning, have not been of manifold use both in clearing and developing her dogmatic teaching. Unless this were so, theology, the queen of sciences, would stand quite alone and apart from all other sciences. In theology, as in all other sciences, a false principle once admitted will show itself again and again, and produce vitiated results till it has been expelled. Now, though we are far from wishing to class amongst heretics many who, in the profoundest ignorance of what they were about, took exception to the Athanasian Creed, or to certain portions of it, or to the desirableness of its being recited in the public service of the Church, yet the recent course of events has served to illustrate the fact that truth establishes itself the more firmly by virtue of the attacks that are made upon it. And in the present instance, not only have we to chronicle the gain that has accrued to the Church in this country by virtue of her members having come to understand the theological aspect of the matter, but there has also been a clear gain as regards the historical view, as distinct from the theological.

Few people, probably, had noticed the apparently unimportant change in the rubric prefixed to this Creed in the Prayer-Book of 1552, which has been kept in our present Book of Common Prayer, and which differs from that which appears in the first Prayer-Book of the reign of Edward VI. It was of course natural, that when the Creed came to be discussed, reference should be made not only to the history and period of its composition, but also to the position assigned to it by the Reformers, when they altered the ancient offices of the Church. And the fact that it was recited in the office of Prime on Sundays in the Western Church was frequently alluded to, as was the limiting of its use to the six great festivals—Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, and Trinity. Neither was it forgotten that the number of days on which it was to be recited was enlarged in the second Prayer-Book of 1552, from six to thirteen. But, as far as we remember, no one noticed the fact that in the Salisbury Breviary the Creed had been ordered to be recited at Prime, not on every Sunday only, but on every day of the year. Now the mere knowledge of this simple fact it was quite worth while to have drawn out, as it has since been done, and that especially if it leads inquirers to study further the connection of our present services with the ancient offices of the Sarum Breviary and Missal, in relation to those which appear in other office books of the Western Church. But beyond this, which may perhaps be looked upon as a mere single item of know-

ledge gained by the present generation in the course of the debate, there is another curious piece of knowledge, which has been brought to light. Though the change in the number of times in which the Creed was used was so often insisted upon as a fact, no one seems to have asked himself the question whether any account could be given of so remarkable a change in the opposite direction to that in which religious belief and practice had in general been moving during the six years of Edward the Sixth's reign. The cause of the change was mentioned for the first time in one of the provincial meetings, and was brought up again by the same speaker at one of the London meetings. And we have no doubt that it was then correctly stated that the increase of the Anabaptists, and the development of the Arian and kindred heresies, which is a marked feature in the history of the period, induced the Reformers in this single instance to retrace the steps they had taken, and to recur to a more frequent repetition of the Creed as a safeguard against heresy, and as a means of instructing the people in the true faith. And as the second Prayer-Book was taken in preference to the first as the basis of operations when a further return was made to more Catholic practice in some few other points, the same order for the recitation of the Creed on the thirteen festivals has remained to the present day. If this allegation is true, as we have not the least doubt it is, it formed, of course, a most important element for consideration, when attempts were made to dislodge this Creed from its place in the Prayer-Book, or to sanction the allowance of its use as optional. Happily those attempts have failed, and there is no occasion here to insist upon the folly of an optional use on the part of the clergyman as a means of pacifying an ignorant congregation, who object to the Creed, or again upon the necessity of its retention, if we are to preserve in the minds of the laity a right belief as to the mystery of the Holy Trinity. Whilst we are still upon the ground of history, we may draw attention to a very remarkable publication of the reign of Edward VI., which probably is unknown to all our readers. It was issued some time after the publication of the Prayer-Book of 1549, in the same year, and is entitled *The Fal of the Late Arrian*. The author seems to have been a man who was disposed to go with the times, and (what is very curious) dedicates his work, which is written against an Arian of the day, and exhibits Protestant rather than Catholic principles, to the Princess Mary. He is probably the same person who afterwards published a work much better known to historians, viz.

The History of Wyatt's Rebellion, 1555. There is nothing at all remarkable in his way of treating the subject beyond the one point for which we have mentioned it, viz. that the author's treatise winds up with a reprint of the Athanasian Creed *in extenso*, and this appears to us to confirm the view which we have been taking of the order enforced by the new rubric as to the recitation of the Creed in the public service of the Church having been suggested to those who drew it up by the spread of the Anabaptists and of the Arian heresy, which followed so close upon their heels.

Whilst we are still upon the ground of history, we wish to point out a very large and important field, which this last consideration opens to our view. We can scarcely say that the first suggestion came from the disputes about the Creed ; but at any rate those disputes have brought the matter out into greater prominence. The point is this—that the existence of the Anabaptists and the spread of their heresy exercised a most salutary influence, especially in this country, in stopping the onward course of the Reformation. There is, we believe, no point in the history of the Reformation that has been so much overlooked as this. There is no occasion for us to do more than just allude to it. In some future article we may perhaps go more fully into the subject. We must be content here to state our firm belief that the existence of a sect, which pushed the principles of Protestantism further than either Luther or Calvin or the English Reformers liked, together with the apparently accidental connection of this sect, or of certain members of it, with such great political extravagancies, saved both the doctrine and the practice of infant baptism from falling into abeyance. If the Lutheran way of teaching justification by faith alone were true, then there was no harder question for the Reformers to answer than that of the baptism of infants. If Scripture, as interpreted by everybody for himself, was the sole appeal, how was this practice to be defended on any other ground than by degrading the Christian sacrament of Baptism to the level of the Jewish rite of circumcision ? But the fear of the Anabaptist sect as a political body compelled the Reformers to hold together against them in spite of their own principles, and unquestionably saved the baptismal service of the Church of England, which had been mainly adopted from Archbishop Herman's *Consultatio*, from being altered to correspond more nearly to the forms of the French and Swiss Reformation.

But of all the questions that arose out of this attempt to get rid of the Athanasian Creed, none perhaps exceeded in

interest the question of determining its date and its authorship. The well-known work of Waterland had almost exhausted the subject, but most people, after reading this valuable treatise, must have felt a little disappointed that its author should have volunteered a conjecture for which scarcely a particle of evidence could be produced, that it was compiled by S. Hilary, bishop of Arles. As regards its date, we think the proof that it existed before the Council of Chalcedon is conclusive, and the researches of modern divines seem to us to throw it back with some probability to even an earlier period, though a later origin of the eighth or ninth century had been hotly, not to say rashly, asserted by more than one writer who had recently given his attention to the point.

In the midst of all the disputes, which lasted for so many months, and, indeed, long after the question was practically settled, this subject of the date and authorship of the Creed continued to occupy the attention of many. There were some who remembered the account given by Waterland of the earliest known manuscript of the Creed and its disappearance from its place in the Cotton Library, where a century before Archbishop Ussher had seen it; but few probably expected to hear of its re-discovery in the library at Utrecht, or to see it represented in a photogram. The hopes of Churchmen were naturally excited, and, whatever may be the issue of the new controversy to which the publication of the Photogram of the *Utrecht Psalter* has given rise, we must be allowed to class the appearance of this sumptuous volume as one of the many fortunate results of the discussions on the Athanasian Creed.

For the sake of some of our readers who may perhaps not be familiar with Waterland's treatise, it may be as well here to say that, at the time when Waterland wrote his elaborate work in 1724, the manuscript which Archbishop Ussher had seen in 1646 in Sir Robert Cotton's library had entirely disappeared. Whether it had been stolen, or had been lent to some one who had forgotten to return it to its proper place, or whether it had, after being returned, been one of the losses which that famous library experienced in the fire of 1731, was mere subject for conjecture. All that was known of it was, that it had disappeared, and that two or three different causes of its disappearance might reasonably be given. When the volume turned up, it appeared with the press mark Claudius C. VII., and with a manuscript note on the fly-leaf stating that it had been presented to the University Library at Utrecht, in 1718,

by Monsieur D. de Ridder. Upon turning to the Catalogue of the Cottonian Library, published in folio (London, 1802), it will be seen that the volume, which ought to have occupied the place designated Claudius C. VII., is marked as a desideratum. We should only be wasting our readers' time by attempting to prove that the *Utrecht Psalter* is the same manuscript, which Archbishop Ussher saw, and spoke of as being as ancient as the days of Gregory the Great, *i.e.* not later than the end of the sixth century. We do not wish to insist upon the value of Ussher's judgment in a case of palæography, which we suppose could hardly be brought into competition with that of competent judges of the present day. Nor need we allude to the mistake made by Montfaucon as to what Ussher had said as regards this and another manuscript which he compared with it. All this may be seen in Waterland's treatise, and as the Deputy-Keeper of the Records observes, 'The discovery at Utrecht of the missing manuscript annihilates all the theories and suppositions of Montfaucon and others, and verifies the conjectures of Waterland.' It only remains for us to express our regret, that we have only the well-executed Photogram to refer to instead of the splendid original, which is now lost for ever to this country. And we cannot even solace ourselves with the contemplation that its having been missing from the Cottonian Collection at the time of the great fire has perhaps been the cause of its preservation, for we observe that it does not appear, if the volumes of that library were arranged in their proper places, to have been likely to suffer from fire, none of the adjoining volumes having been destroyed or injured in this way. We fear we must fall back upon the supposition that its disappearance is connected with some very great carelessness at least, if not of fraud, on the part of those into whose keeping it fell. At any rate, we cannot be too thankful that the interest in the subject has been so great as to lead to the multiplication of copies of the *Psalter* by the process of photography, and that all persons, whether skilled or not in palæography, have now the opportunity of judging for themselves, or at least of appreciating the arguments of others, with regard to the text and the drawings of this beautiful book.

For some months the general public, with the exception of those who could go to London for the express purpose of seeing the original, which had been, by the courtesy of the Utrecht authorities, transmitted to England for a time, were obliged to content themselves with the two pages which were photographed under the direction of the Master of the Rolls

and appended to the First Report made by the Deputy-Keeper to him. Soon after, there appeared, under the auspices of the Dean of Westminster, three more pages, executed in the same style, together with the opinions of several persons whose opinion as to the antiquity of the document differed from that of Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy. It would be useless and absurd to attempt to conceal the fact that people's prejudices here, as in all other cases, somewhat influenced their judgments. Churchmen not unnaturally wished that the *Psalter* might prove to be as old as Waterland and Ussher had represented it to be, and those who wanted to get rid of the Creed of course found it for their interest to represent it, if possible, to be of a later date, thereby damaging its authority in the eyes of English Churchmen, who are fond of appealing to antiquity against modern innovations in the Church. It was not surprising, therefore, that the Dean of Westminster, who had been foremost in the Lower House of Convocation in opposing the retention of the Creed in its present position and use in the services of the Church, should appear as the patron of the palæographers who assigned the latest possible date to its execution. We do not know whether he pretends to knowledge of palæography. He has not discussed the writings or the drawings critically, and, indeed, all he has contributed to the discussion of the subject is a few blunders in the description of the drawings and the Psalms which they are supposed to represent.

Before we go on to notice the publication which came out under his auspices, we must say a few words as to the Deputy-Keeper's Report, which was prior to it in point of time of publication, to which, indeed, it may be said to be a reply. Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy at least was not one of those whose theological prejudices inclined him to overrate either the antiquity or the importance of the Creed. Whether rightly or wrongly, he decided on pure grounds of palæography that the document in question belongs to the sixth century, chiefly founding his argument on the character of the handwriting, though of course it must be remembered that the Deputy-Keeper, at the time of writing his First Report, had not seen the original and was obliged therefore to form his opinion from an examination of the very accurate photographic copy of the leaves which contain the Creeds of S. Athanasius and the Apostles, Simeonis and the *Gloria in Excelsis*, and of the first and the last Psalm, and of the copies of the which exist in the British Museum. It must, however, be in mind that the Deputy-Keeper has since seen

the original, and adheres to the opinion which he expressed at first, as will appear from the account which we shall presently give of his Further Report on the *Utrecht Psalter*.

The manuscript, though not known to be identical with that which had once been in the Cottonian Collection, had been seen at Utrecht by Gustavus Haenel, who describes it, though apparently after a hasty examination, as being of the sixth century. This opinion was published at Leipzig in 1830. Three years later, Baron van Westreenen van Tiellandt gave his opinion that it was of the sixth or seventh century. This opinion has also been adopted by Professor N. J. Royaards, and was at first also the opinion of Professor Westwood, though he subsequently, on the strength of the drawings appearing to have been executed later, and partly also judging from the initial letter B of the first Psalm, which he considers to be of Anglo-Saxon origin, assigns the manuscript to as late a date as the eighth or even the ninth century, and the drawings probably even to as late a date as the tenth century. We shall see presently that the opinion, which represents the drawings as altogether later than the text, cannot hold. An attentive examination will convince the most incredulous person that they were going on simultaneously, the scribe and the artist being occasionally each in advance of the other.

A similar opinion as to the later date of the manuscript has been given by Dr. J. P. Vermuelen, the librarian under whose care it at present exists; and is printed at the end of the Deputy-Keeper's First Report. We must here remind our readers that the question of the date of the *Utrecht Psalter* is simply a question of palæography—that whatever date may be assigned to it would not in the slightest degree affect the evidence for the antiquity of the Creed. No one would think of arguing that the New Testament was written in the fourth or fifth century because no copy of it now exists of a date earlier than that period; and it would be no disparagement to the antiquity of the Athanasian Creed if it could be proved ever so conclusively, that this or any other manuscript copy of it was of the ninth or tenth century. Neither, on the other hand, would it make any difference in the certainty of the estimate formed by theologians of its composition in the fifth century, or even earlier, if it should appear certain that the *Utrecht Psalter* was written in the sixth century or at the commencement of the seventh. There would only be this advantage—that an argument would be producible for the antiquity of the Creed which would be not only complete, but also intelligible to the vulgar, and to

those, who might not understand the theological grounds on which Waterland assigned it to a date prior to the Council of Ephesus, or those on which some have thought it to be of an earlier period still.

The Deputy-Keeper has not only given us his opinion, but he has taken the trouble in his First Report to answer all the objections, which had at that time been produced against his opinion. Some of these objections appear at first sight to be serious, and others of some importance have since been raised ; but as far as the First Report and the objections there answered are concerned, the Deputy-Keeper appears to have made out a very good case for a sixth-century origin of the whole document. And both in the statement of his opinions and in the answering of objections, the reader is introduced to a great deal of interesting matter. And first as to the Latin version of the Psalms adopted. It is the Gallican, of which we shall quote the following account, from p. 12 of the Report :—

‘The *Gallican Psalter* is S. Jerome’s more exact Latin translation, made from Origen’s Hexapla, or rather, perhaps, from the Greek Septuagint, corrected from the Hebrew where the Greek was supposed to be faulty. This work was executed by S. Jerome in the year 389. Proof exists of its use in Gaul or France during the sixth century. Hence it is called the “*Gallican Psalter*.” From Gaul it passed over into England before the year 597, for we find Augustine specially alluding to it in his letter to Pope Gregory. It is not a little curious that, although the *Gallican Psalter* and ritual prevailed in England before Augustine’s mission, yet it made but little way in the Church of Canterbury. The Popes of Rome, though they themselves used the *Roman Psalter*, yet connived at the use of the Gallican version. (The Athanasian Creed is found in the earliest *Gallican Psalters*’)—p. 12.

In a note he adds that this use prevailed—

‘down to the year 678, when Pope Agatho sent John the Arch-chantor of St. Peter’s into Britain to teach the Roman mode of singing and reading ; from which time the Roman ritual began to supersede the Gallican ; and here I may be permitted to remark that this *Utrecht* or *Gallican Psalter* must have found its way into Britain before the year 678’—*Ibid*.

Sir Thomas Hardy refers the manuscript without any hesitation to the sixth century, comparing it with the Prudentius numbered 8084, in the Imperial Library at Paris, which has been attributed to an earlier age, but which is beyond all controversy as early as the sixth century ; but we confess it seems to us rather a hazardous assertion to speak of them as

being so like in the formation of the character 'that both might readily be supposed to be the writing of the same scribe.' The scarcity of manuscripts of the sixth and seventh centuries of course causes considerable difficulty in ascertaining the exact or even approximate date of a document such as this, which it is not denied is written in a character which prevailed up to that time, and which was afterwards disused, except for headings and colophons, or at least only used under exceptional circumstances. Sir Thomas Hardy states that, with the exception of the *Vespasian Psalter* (MS. Cotton. Vesp. A. I.), the British Museum contains no manuscript of the sixth and not more than four of the seventh century; and he seems to argue as if no such document as this could have been produced in the ninth or tenth century except for the purpose of forgery, *e.g.* palming off the Athanasian Creed, then first written, as if it had existed at an earlier date than that of its real composition. On this point, nothing more need be said, as this is not the contention of those who assign the later date to the manuscript, their view being that the style of writing in Roman rustic capitals was continued even down to the ninth century, and that there are internal evidences in the kind of contractions used that this document is of that age, the writer having copied from some previous document in a style which was not quite natural to his hand, and this for the purpose of producing a volume *de luxe*, there being no idea of deceiving either readers of that day or of any subsequent generation. Any one who is interested in the subject, and does not know the distinction between rusticated Roman capitals and uncials as distinguished from cursive characters, such as became common afterwards, may see specimens in Astley's work; or if he wishes to see an exact resemblance to the handwriting of the *Utrecht Psalter*, he will find it in the foreign edition, or in the English reprint of Cardinal Mai's *Fragments of Cicero*. The first plate the Cardinal has given of the Ambrosian palimpsest of the Oration for Scaurus is wonderfully like the character of the *Utrecht Psalter*, and the limits of the date of this may be fixed with some degree of certainty from the fact that the writing over it is of the seventh century. However, the real question is not whether the handwriting is like that of the sixth century, for that cannot be denied, but whether it is probable that a whole volume written in the ninth century would be written in this handwriting, no single mistake being made by the scribe, who was writing in a hand certainly not common at that time, such as substituting a letter of more common form in place of that which was the

ordinary formation of the sixth century. We shall recur to this point presently. We now continue the account of the First Report. In further confirmation of the early date of the *Utrecht Psalter*, the Deputy-Keeper of the Records proceeds to compare it to the Harleian MS. No. 603, which has generally been supposed to be a tenth or eleventh century copy of the *Utrecht Psalter*. And it is remarkable that in this manuscript, whilst the drawings have been closely imitated, the Harleian manuscript in its text follows the Roman and not the Gallican version of the Psalms. This was natural and what might have been expected at a time when the *Gallican Psalter* had been superseded in England by the Roman. But then this affords strong evidence of the very early date of the Utrecht manuscript, which follows that Gallican version which was superseded about the middle of the seventh century.

‘But,’ continues the Deputy-Keeper, ‘even here the inferential evidence is not completed. There is a manuscript at Trinity College, Cambridge, commonly known as the *Eadwine Psalter*, also written about the eleventh century, which contains the drawings in the Utrecht manuscript more elaborately executed; and here again the Utrecht or Gallican text only occupies one of three columns, the other two being the Roman and Hebrew versions. This manuscript was also written at Canterbury, so that though the drawings were imitated, though not very successfully, the Gallican text was placed in the same predicament with the Hebrew. It was evidently a class-book, and not intended for the Church service’—p. 19.

After giving his reasons for assigning the document to the sixth century, the Deputy-Keeper proceeds to answer certain objections on the score of the initial letter B of the first Psalm, the punctuation, and the drawings, all of which had been spoken of as indications of a later date. He also takes notice of the assertion of the objectors to the antiquity of the manuscript, that the writing overruns the drawings, and that the initial B must have been inserted before the words surrounding it were written. In opposition to this he asserts that these drawings were added after the text was written, because in several places they have exceeded the space which had been left for them by the scribe, and have encroached upon the writing. We shall recur to this subject presently, contenting ourselves with observing here that the Deputy-Keeper not having seen the original, and only judging from Mr. Westwood’s *facsimile* plate, was not able to form such a judgment as he might have done as regards this point, after minutely following the whole of the manuscript. We have

already said that we have no doubt at all that the text and the drawings were executed nearly simultaneously, the scribe sometimes being ahead of the artist, though sometimes, and not so often, being behind him. Lastly, to the objection to the forms of the organs which are inserted in illustration of Psalms 150 and 151, it is urged that if the method of making such organs was not known on this side of the Alps till the time of Charlemagne, the existence of such a picture may show that it was executed south of the Alps; and it appears, moreover, that a similar organ is 'carved on one of the early Catacomb stones, now inserted in the upper corridor leading to the library in the monastery of San Paola Fuorimuri, near Rome, in which the player is depicted with outstretched fingers'—p. 27.

Again, it has been objected that the use of the terms *matutinum* and *completorium*, as affixed to the Canticles in the *Psalter*, prove it to be of later date than the sixth century; but in answer to this it is alleged that both terms were in common use at the beginning of the sixth century, between 520 and 527, when S. Benedict issued his celebrated Rules for the government of the great Order that he founded. For instance, we have the following:—

'In matutinis dominico die in primis dicatur sexagesimus sextus Psalmus sine antiphona.'

And again—

'Ergo his temporibus referamus laudes Creatori nostro super judicia justitiæ suæ, id est matutinis, prima, tertia, sexta, nona, vespera, completorio.'

The last objection noticed is that of the mention of the descent into hell in the Apostles' Creed, which appears on the leaf just preceding that which is occupied by the Athanasian Creed. This article is inserted in the form *descendit ad inferna*, not as we are accustomed to it in our modern use, *descendit ad inferos*. Those who have read Pearson on the Creed, which we suppose is one of the books required for every candidate for Holy Orders in the Church of England, will remember the quotation from Ruffinus (390—410): 'Sciendum sane est quod in Ecclesiæ Romanæ symbolo non habetur additum *Descendit ad inferna*, sed neque in Orientis Ecclesiis habetur hic sermo: vis tamen verbi eadem videtur esse in eo quod *sepultus est*.' The Deputy-Keeper insists a good deal on Archbishop Ussher having found no difficulty in assigning the manuscript to the time of Gregory the Great, though he must have been aware that it contained this article in the Apostles'

Creed. Fortunately, however, it is not necessary to insist that this point had not escaped Ussher's observation,—a thing which is scarcely conceivable—nor again need we urge the argument from authority that because so great a palæographer saw no difficulty here, neither ought we in the present day to stumble at it. We have once already demurred to having Ussher put into competition with the palæographers of this day, who must of necessity be much more expert in their art than he could have been. It is quite enough for our purpose to be able to show that, though not occurring in the Roman Creed, it was in the Creed of the Church of Aquileia long before the earliest date that has been imagined for the *Utrecht Psalter*. We need not insist upon the fact of its being found in the Creed drawn up at Sirmium to be presented at Ariminum, because this would be nothing to the point of its being found in an orthodox Creed. It is more to our purpose that it is an article of the Creed of Aquileia, though it is not to be forgotten that it appears again in the time of Venantius Fortunatus, bishop of Poitiers, towards the end of the sixth century. It is remarkable, too, that the form in Venantius Fortunatus is *descendit ad infernum*, whilst the *Utrecht Psalter* copy follows the older version, *descendit ad inferna*, the form *descendit ad inferos* being perhaps altogether of later date. And here the Deputy-Keeper has presented us in parallel columns with the Creed as we have it on folio 90 b of the *Utrecht Psalter* and as it appears in an earlier Gallican Psalter, which he attributes to the year 560. The latter agrees precisely with the former in this article, using the words *descendit ad inferna*, and scarcely varies from it in any particular, saving in about six instances, the most important of which, perhaps, is the substitution of *filium ejus unigenitum sempiternum* for *filium ejus unicum dominum nostrum*.

The writer of the Report concludes with throwing out a suggestion, which is extremely interesting and for which we should be glad to find additional evidence produced. We shall confine ourselves to saying that we hope it may be true, but the conjecture must be taken at present for what every one may think it is worth. He suggests, then, that the M.S. came over to England with Bertha, daughter of Chariberct, King of France, who married Athelberct, King of Kent, and brought with her Bishop Luithard as her confessor. When Augustine arrived in Britain, he was permitted by Gregory the Great to choose for himself whatever might tend to edification from the Roman, Gallican, or other forms. The splendid way in which this volume is got up plainly proves it to have been intended for some royal or other great personage,

and undoubtedly it would have had an interlinear Anglo-Saxon version if it had been for the use of an uneducated native of this island, whilst Bertha, being a French princess, would not require any such aid. It is further conjectured that it may have been bequeathed to the monastery at Reculver. And here we shall allow Sir T. D. Hardy to speak for himself:—

‘As it was written in some foreign monastery, and was brought into England by Queen Bertha, so I am inclined to think it was bequeathed by her to the monastery at Reculver in Kent.

‘King Æthelbrecht is said to have built a palace at Reculver, and it was there that Queen Bertha, with her Christian instructor, Luithard, the Gallican Bishop of Senlis, worshipped. She had previously performed her devotions at St. Martin’s, Canterbury, but when that ancient church was given by the King to Augustine and his followers, she removed to Reculver, where, it is said, her husband built a small monastery at her request. Bede, however, makes no mention of this monastery; but be this as it may, we know that Ecgbert, King of Kent, in the year 669, gave lands there to one Basse, a nobleman, who had become a priest, for the purpose of enlarging the monastery at Reculver; and we have evidence that Lothair, who succeeded Ecgbert as King of Kent, granted, in the year 679, certain lands to Bercuald, the abbot there; this very charter having been originally inserted in the *Utrecht Psalter*. [The original charter is now in the Cottonian Collection (Augustus II. 2.), and seems to have been removed from the *Utrecht Psalter* by Sir Robert Cotton himself when the volume was rebound.] The manuscript, in all probability, remained at Reculver as a memorial of its royal donor, and was either carried to Canterbury when Bercuald left the abbey and became Archbishop of that see, or when the monastery was dissolved, and all its possessions and effects were removed to Canterbury in the year 999, and hence it is that the drawings in this noble and beautiful MS., which would be justly prized at Canterbury, were copied by the writer of MS. Harl. 603, and by Eadwine, a monk of Canterbury, whose work is now preserved in Trinity College, Cambridge’—p. 35.

Upon the whole, the Deputy-Keeper has expressed a very decided opinion (which we shall presently see, when we come to notice his Further Report, he has not seen any reason to change), that the *Utrecht Psalter* was written, as other palæographers before him had said, in the sixth century. It must not be forgotten, that other great authorities have assigned a much later date to it, and that in particular Professor Westwood, who had once considered it to be of that age, upon further inspection decided against his first impression, that it was as late as the eighth, and was possibly even of the ninth century.

The Report of the Deputy-Keeper of the Records, ad-

dressed to Lord Romilly, is dated November 28, 1872. The next contribution to the literature of the subject is the eight Reports, beginning with that of Mr. Bond, ending with that of Professor Swainson, which are introduced to the world under the patronage of the Dean of Westminster. In the interval the volume itself had been sent to England, and had been inspected by all these gentlemen. They had, therefore, far more ample opportunities of judging than Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy possessed when he first wrote upon the subject. The Dean of Westminster's preface bears no date. The letters themselves are all dated in July or August, 1873, and the title of the work bears the date 1874, and with it were issued three more pages photographed from the *Psalter*, containing the backs of folios 2, 56, and 68. Folio 2 *b* contains the last part of the 2nd Psalm, the whole of the 3rd, with the drawings belonging to the 3rd and the 4th Psalms, and the stain of the initial letter B of the 1st Psalm showing very plainly through to the other side of the vellum. Folio 56 *b* has the drawing of Psalm 96, followed by the Psalm at length, with its number and title as usual between the picture and the Psalm, following the picture, and preceding the Psalm, and at the bottom of the page the drawing which belongs to the Psalm, which would follow on the next page. Folio 68 *b* has the last few verses of the 105th Psalm, followed by a drawing which illustrates the 106th, and the first twelve verses of that Psalm, the remainder occupying the next page.

These three pages have been somewhat happily chosen, partly from design, partly from mere accident. The second was selected, we suppose, from its containing one of the four instances of final *ur* being omitted in the middle of a line, and the omission being supplied by a small mark, somewhat resembling a small *r* or *z*, or the figure 2, about which the battle on the antiquity of the manuscript rages most hotly. Both this and folio 2 *b* have the advantage of showing two pictures each, whilst the remaining page of folio 68 *b* has one drawing only in the middle of the page. The possession of these three pages will enable any reader to follow most of what we have to say without having recourse to the Photogram of the whole document, which is too expensive to be in the hands of many private individuals. The first page selected exhibits a remarkable instance, though it does not appear to have been chosen for any such purpose, showing that the drawing of the 4th Psalm not only was executed before the scribe wrote the Psalm to which it belongs, but even is prior to the 3rd Psalm, which is written above it. It also illustrates a point we shall

insist on more presently, viz. how the scribe very seldom resorts to contractions, except when absolutely compelled to do so. The existence of the picture placed an inch, or even two inches, higher than it need have been on the page, forced the scribe to write his first two columns of eight lines each, and to place nine lines in his third column, whilst he was then only enabled to steer clear of the picture by introducing four or five contractions, two of them being of a kind which he seldom uses.

We have already noticed the blunders of Dr. Stanley's preface. We may mention another singular mistake made by the Dean, in saying that great stress was laid upon the Deputy-Keeper's expressed opinion in a public meeting held at St. James's Hall. Now there was no allusion whatever made to the subject by any of the speakers at St. James's Hall on that memorable night, which may be said to have sealed the fate of the proposed alterations in the Athanasian Creed. Neither was it alluded to, except in the most casual way by two of the speakers, at the off-shoot meeting, which accommodated those who could not find room in the great hall, at the Hanover Square Rooms. Such a mistake as this shows the *animus*, if indication of *animus* were wanting, in the publication of these Reports. The Deputy-Keeper's Report exhibited no such *animus*. He had no theological prejudice one way or the other, but of course it was to Dr. Stanley's purpose to disparage the Creed, whether as regards its antiquity or in any other way. We do not find fault with this. It was but natural that one, who wanted to displace the Creed from its position in the Prayer-Book, and who does not, apparently, like dogmatic utterances as to the necessity of holding the true faith, should grasp at any argument which should make for his point; and it would have been something to disprove the antiquity of the Creed, because of its affording an *argumentum ad hominem* to those, who are fond of resting the claims of the English Church upon her supposed agreement with primitive antiquity. We also plead guilty to this much of prejudice,—that though nothing would shake our belief in this Creed being prior to the condemnation of the Eutychian heresy, we should nevertheless have been glad to find an argument for its antiquity, which could be rendered applicable to the vulgar. Of course if there is a manuscript of it demonstrably of the sixth century, there is an end of the case. The Creed itself must be still earlier; but we could quite afford, as far as theological grounds are concerned, to allow the document to be proved of the ninth century.

However, we are not concerned here either with prejudiced or with unprejudiced expressions of opinion. And so, having disposed of five of these Reports with the general remark that one expresses no opinion, and that four others do not enter into any reasons which appear to have much weight, we shall just notice the three which appear to have considerable weight, and one other which, though it enters somewhat fully into details, seems to us very confused and unintelligible. The first two are given by the Keeper and the Deputy-Keeper of the Manuscripts in the British Museum. They seem to be drawn up in concert. At any rate they so nearly agree, that we shall speak of them together, only observing that Mr. Bond's is the longer and more distinct of the two. His first page consists of an excellent description of the whole volume and its contents, drawn up in separate paragraphs, without any other comment than upon the character of the vellum, of which the writer, after describing it as leathery, says that it 'wants the fine surface of a very ancient manuscript'—p. 1.

The description is in many respects much more complete than that of Sir T. D. Hardy, who was obliged to give his Report from photographic and lithographic copies of very small portions, and from a meagre description of the rest of the document. After detailing the facts of the case, Mr. Bond gives his opinion as follows :—

'The use of Roman rustic capitals and the arrangement of the text in three columns in themselves might be taken to indicate a time prior to the seventh century, but the abbreviations, the forms of contraction, the punctuation, the coloured initial letter of the first Psalm, the writing of the first lines in golden letters, are unmistakable evidences of a date so late at least as the end of the eighth century'—p. 2.

Mr. Thompson enumerates nearly the same particulars, instancing also the colour of the ink, in support of his opinion that the document is an imitation of a date not earlier than the eighth century. Both of these gentlemen speak of the weakness and irregularity of the writing as indicative of a scribe writing in an unusual hand.

And here we are bound to admit that the opinion of an expert for which no reasons are given, and for which, perhaps, no very easily intelligible account can be given, is, and ought to be considered, of great weight ; and in the opinion expressed by the two Keepers of the Manuscripts in the Museum and by the Bodleian librarian, coinciding as they do, we should perhaps almost have felt bound to acquiesce, if there

were not such great authorities opposed to them. This being the case, we must form our judgment, partly by a comparison of the arguments and facts alleged, and partly, perhaps, may be allowed to give the impressions we have derived from our own minute examination of the Photogram. For the present we confine ourselves to the objections alleged against its antiquity by Mr. Bond and Mr. Thompson. And first, as regards the punctuation: both think the inverted semicolon (:) and the semicolon (;) erect are contemporaneous with the rest of the manuscript, and have the appearance of having been inserted by the reviser of the manuscript, here flatly contradicting the Deputy-Keeper, who was of opinion that no one could 'examine the punctuation with attention and believe it has been introduced by the original scribe.' 'It is clearly,' he says, 'a subsequent addition; for the punctuation is not carried on through the manuscript.' To this he adds (p. 33), that 'in reality no just conclusion can be drawn as to the age of a manuscript from its punctuation.'

Again, Mr. Bond expresses a very decided opinion, in opposition to that of the Deputy-Keeper of the Records, that, 'though it might be argued that, granting that the *Psalter* is a manuscript of the ninth century, it has every indication of having been copied from one of far higher antiquity, and that this would also have contained the Canticles, Creeds, and Apocryphal Psalm,—nevertheless the *Psalter* is a copy of an older manuscript, and that the Canticles, Creed, and Apocryphal Psalm were added to the document at the time of its transcription.' We forbear to comment upon this for the present till we have given some account of the next volume whose title is placed at the head of this article, and conclude our notice of Mr. Bond's Report with quoting the piece of information he has supplied as regards the pedigree of the document:—

'Archbishop Ussher, in his treatise *De Romanæ Ecclesiæ Symbolo*, published in 1647, speaks of having examined the MS. when in the Cotton Library. And in fact a letter from him to Sir Robert Cotton, dated on the 12th of July 1625, is extant, in which he speaks of having borrowed four Latin Psalters, three of which were of the Gallican use, and no doubt this manuscript was one of them, and that he examined it at this time. But he returned it to Sir Robert; for among some later memoranda at the end of the Catalogue of 1621, already referred to, under a general heading of "A note of such books as have been lent out by Sir Robert Cotton to divers persons and are abroad in their hands at this day, the 15th of January 1630-1," is a list of volumes lent to my lord the Earl of Arundel, among which occurs the *Psalter*, under the description of "An ancient copy of the

Psalms, literis majusculis, in Latin and pictures ; bound in red leather, with Sir Robert Cotton's arms, fol." It is not entered in the classed Catalogue of the Cotton Manuscripts of the year 1674, and in the printed Catalogue of the Collection published in 1696 it is still wanting. It appears, therefore, that the *Psalter* was lent to the Earl of Arundel between the years 1625 and 1631, and had not been returned by him at the later date. Nothing is heard of it from this time till the year 1718, when it was presented to the Library of the University of Utrecht, as recorded in a memorandum on the fly-leaf of the manuscript. The identification of the volume as formerly of the Cotton Collection, and the first public notice of it in England, are due to Professor Westwood, of Oxford, who wrote an account of it for the *Archæological Institute* many years ago—p. 5.

Notwithstanding this distinct assertion of the identification of the Cottonian MS. Claudius C. VII. with the *Utrecht Psalter*, Dr. Swainson speaks of himself as 'the fortunate medium in identifying it with the long missing manuscript.' It is no concern of ours to reconcile these statements, nor is it of the slightest importance, so long as we know that the documents are identical. It reminds us of Puff in *The Critic*—'Shakspeare and I both thought of this, only it was a pity Shakspeare made use of it first.' The Professor says he shall, with one exception, avoid arguments of a palæographical character. Perhaps when we present our readers with the one he has ventured on, they may be of opinion that he had better have avoided them altogether.

According to Dr. Swainson, it is an entire mistake to suppose that the handwriting of the *Utrecht Psalter*, i.e. the rusticated Roman character of the sixth century, had become obsolete in the ninth. Nevertheless, it is exactly as obsolete as the black letter used in the sixteenth century is in the nineteenth ; that is to say, it is only occasionally used in title-pages and for the sake of embellishment. That we may not misrepresent him as regards the drawings, we must quote his exact words :—

'But a comparison in another respect must be drawn between the manuscript and the Harleian 603, which is considered to belong to the tenth or eleventh century, and which contains a large number of illuminations similar in outline to those which occur in the *Utrecht Psalter*. It has been considered that the Harleian pictures must have been imitated or copied from the Utrecht drawings. On careful examination, I discovered some time ago that this could not be ; because of the drawings in the *Utrecht Psalter*, to which I have on another occasion begged attention, as belonging to the ninth or tenth century or later, not one occurs in the Harleian Psalter ; thus, taken as a whole, the Harleian pictures must be regarded as exhibiting an earlier type than

the Utrecht drawings, and if the former are of the tenth or eleventh century, the latter must be brought down much lower'—p. 12.

We believe Dr. Swainson is singular in this opinion, but we leave our readers to judge of it for themselves: as likewise we must leave them to make what they can of his argument from the title of the 151st Psalm. As we do not see the force of it ourselves we must give it in his own words—'The title is, *per se*, unintelligible. But it bears evident marks that it was made up of two older titles which I find elsewhere, and must therefore be of later date than both of them,—which fact seems again inconsistent with the theory that the book was completed in the sixth century'—p. 13. We may thank him, however, for drawing attention to the MS. Galba A. XVIII., which we believe was copied from the *Utrecht Psalter*, but which requires more examination than has yet been given to it, before that point can be decided.

We come now to the Further Report of the Deputy-Keeper, of which we must say a few words before passing on to the Photogram of the *Psalter* itself, which we shall describe from a minute examination of every word in it.

This Report is dated April 12, 1874, and consists of a direct answer to all the allegations contained in the eight Reports issued under the protecting wing of the Dean of Westminster.

The Deputy-Keeper, we think, insists too strongly on what he calls the contradictory opinions of these gentlemen. There are, indeed, variations in their Reports, and they do not exactly agree in all their particulars. But, upon the whole, they are in substantial agreement that the document which he assigns to the sixth century is at least of two centuries later date, some thinking it may possibly be of much later date. But he undoubtedly makes a strong point against them all when he insinuates his doubts as to their having had such training in palæography as to be able to judge of a sixth-century manuscript, from familiarity with manuscripts of that age. Their acquaintance has been for the most part with such as are to be met with in England, and if the number of manuscripts of that age which exist in foreign collections are counted up, they may still be reckoned upon the fingers.

His own opinion, since he has seen the original, is amply confirmed, and undoubtedly the paucity of manuscripts of this age forms a very considerable element in the estimate we must form of the opinions of two palæographers, who assert that there is a weakness and uncertainty about the execution of the letters of the *Utrecht Psalter*, which distinguishes it from

the genuine productions of the sixth century. Such argument might have been conclusive if, of a hundred different documents, this was in this point specially distinguished from the rest ; but as the comparison lies between three or four others and this, their opinion, confronted as it is by that of other palæographers who differ from them, does not appear to us entitled to much weight. And we may observe that, though perhaps some of the writing appears to us to bear out their description, some of it affords a remarkably beautiful specimen of careful writing of the period. Indeed, this argument seems to us to be reduced absolutely to nothing by comparing the characters of the Utrecht manuscript with those of the palimpsest, of which Cardinal Mai has given a facsimile in his edition of the parts of the three orations of Cicero, which he discovered. No one can look at the letters as exhibited there without seeing that the feebleness and irregular setting are exactly matched by the poorest parts of the *Utrecht Psalter*, whilst many parts of the latter are really beautifully written. The manuscript has all the appearance, both by its variation in the style of writing, and by its numerous mistakes in words and letters, of having been written by a scribe who was careless, and frequently grew weary of his task, and took much less pains about some parts than he did about others.

In addition to this, it must be observed that Professor Westwood, who had changed his opinion as to the antiquity of this manuscript, apparently on the strength of the drawings and the initial letter B, still entirely fails to see, or at least says nothing about, the 'irregular setting' and feebleness of imitation, for he says,—'Supposing the drawings to be later additions by an Anglo-Saxon artist, copying from an early classical series of drawings, *we should have no difficulty* in referring the text to the fifth or sixth century.'

A very large part of this Further Report is occupied with the drawings, but we pass this subject by for the present, confining ourselves to the reply which is given to the allegations of the eight reporters as far as regards the text. We proceed, then, to the initial B of the first Psalm. If it could be proved that no B shaped like this ever existed in the sixth century, the argument against the antiquity of the *Utrecht Psalter* would be very strong indeed. We are not, however, obliged to fall back here on the paucity of manuscripts of that age, for the Deputy-Keeper has produced two instances of B from manuscripts of the sixth century which exactly resemble this one, and amply vindicate the statement of his First Report, in

which he assigns its execution to an Irish artist of that period. As regards the quality of the vellum on which the writing is executed, since we are only acquainted with the surface as exhibited by the Photogram, and can only judge from the letters frequently showing through from the other side, that it is extremely thin, we must be content with stating the two absolutely contradictory opinions :

‘That it has none of the smooth crispness which one looks for in very ancient manuscripts,’ and ‘the vellum of that period,’ *i.e.* the ninth century, ‘was as far as possible removed in surface, substance, and opaqueness from the vellum of the Utrecht manuscript.’

As to the general character of the handwriting, it is not disputed that it is of the sixth century, or an imitation. But in defence of the later date Mr. Bond had asserted that instances can be produced of the use of rustic capitals even for the greater part of a manuscript so late as the ninth or tenth century. And to this the Deputy-Keeper’s reply is very complete, for he says that the instances are reduced to one, and that one uncertain. But granting that it were ever so certain that the copy of the Aratus No. 647, in the Harleian Collection, is of the beginning of the tenth century, Mr. Bond supplies an obvious reason for the use of this character of writing, in that part of the manuscript in which it is adopted. The manuscript was copied from a much older one, and in order to keep up the likeness of the figures, it was found convenient to preserve the form of the letters in the writing within them. It is certain that no such reason can be produced for the Roman rustics in the *Utrecht Psalter*, as we shall see when we come to describe the volume. We shall also see good reason to doubt another assertion of Mr. Bond’s, ‘that in the case of the *Psalter* there is evidence in the illustrative drawings that it was copied from an earlier original.’ As likewise we shall find some evidence against his opinion, that the *Psalter* was copied from an earlier document, to which the Athanasian Creed was now for the first time added.

The next point in debate is the punctuation, from which the two Keepers of the British Museum Manuscripts argue for the modernness of the *Psalter*. Mr. Bond observes that ‘the use of what may be called the semicolon proper and inverted, which is common throughout the *Utrecht Psalter*, is hardly ever seen in manuscripts before the end of the seventh century ;’ but to make this argument of any value, it is absolutely necessary that for *hardly ever* we must be able to substitute *never*. He adds that the two forms are common throughout, and have every

appearance of having been inserted by the reviser of the manuscript. Of these stops the Deputy-Keeper observes that they are simply the musical notation used in chanting, and that they were not inserted when the manuscript was written for the purpose of directing the sense, but long subsequently for the purpose of denoting the rise and fall of the voice. And here is a point which is patent to the observation of every one who has eyes. A reader has only to look attentively through the manuscript in order very soon to become convinced that the punctuation for the most part is in a different coloured ink from the rest of the document.

And here, before we go on to the next point, we will quote a passage from the Further Report with which we entirely concur :—

‘For a ninth-century scribe to imitate for any length of time a fifth or a sixth century manuscript without betraying himself, would be next to impossible, unless indeed he had a full copy before him, of which he was making a facsimile. If this were so, the copy must have contained the Psalms, Canticles, and Creeds, but a mere copyist or forger would inevitably betray himself by occasional slips, which would be easily detected. The artist, too, and the rubricator must likewise have been trained and practised, and all this for no ostensible purpose.’

We shall see presently that, whatever this *Psalter* and Creed were a copy from, the scribe by no means servilely followed his copy, but wrote his letters and his words after his own fashion, and to suit his own purpose, sometimes contracting, sometimes not, according to the exigencies of the case, and the space he had at his disposal.

The next objection raised by the British Museum authorities, and replied to in the Further Report, is that alleged from the frequency of the marks of contraction. Mr. Thompson observes that they are used throughout the manuscript, and that they are not limited to the abbreviation of sacred names and titles which occur in the most ancient manuscripts, but comprise many forms which are only found in those of the eighth and subsequent centuries ; and Mr. Bond distinguishes them as consisting of—first, a horizontal, slightly curved line, fine and raised a little at the extremity ; secondly, a line turned in opposite directions at the ends and slanting upwards obliquely to the right ; thirdly, a modification of the same, in which the ends are both turned inwards. Sir Thomas Hardy considers that these minute variations of form are due in one case to the original scribe, in another to the corrector and examiner of the manuscript. This, however, correct as it may be, is not an adequate account of the three

forms used, and which appear to be indiscriminately applied for the omission of various letters and combinations of letters. On this point we must withhold our opinion. If there are more than two of these modes of contraction, we are unable to say there are only three, so completely do the three run into each other, the extremes being a perfectly horizontal straight bar, as —, and a curve line somewhat resembling this figure ~. There is, however, another mark of contraction, on which both Mr. Bond and Mr. Thompson lay great stress. It is that used for final *UR*, being a figure somewhat resembling a small *r* or *2* placed a little above the preceding consonant of the word. This is the only form of abbreviation, which the Deputy-Keeper does not profess to have found 'in the Codex Amiatinus, in the Vulgate of the Vatican and Medicean Libraries, in the Prudentius,' &c., precisely as in the *Utrecht Psalter*; and of this they say that 'the frequent use of the contraction for *UR* is alone conclusive evidence of the late date of the *Psalter*, because it is never found in the earlier centuries.' These gentlemen do not, however, venture to pronounce when this form of abbreviation first was adopted, nor do they seem to have considered that if it is a difficulty in the way of regarding this manuscript to be of the sixth century, it is also difficult to account for its introduction in a ninth-century document which professes to copy the character of the sixth century. If it was not, as by their hypothesis it could not be, in the exemplars of the sixth century, whence arose the necessity for adopting it in the copy which was made two or three centuries later? It is not likely that a scribe would in this instance alone have diverted from the style in which he was copying. If it is said that he had made a mistake in the sixteen instances in which this contraction occurs, and that he then remedied the error as best he could by using the form of contraction common in his day, we ask, is it not just as likely that the scribe of the sixth century made the sixteen mistakes of omitting *UR*, and that a subsequent corrector long afterwards remedied the difficulty in this way? It seems, indeed, more likely that a contemporary reviser of the manuscript would have used one of the same forms which do duty for so many different combinations of letters—but in the scarcity of documents of the sixth and seventh centuries it must be difficult to speak with absolute certainty on such a point—and we should have been glad to know, what none of these palæographers have told us, what is the earliest known instance of the

appearance of this symbol as an abbreviated form of the termination *UR*.

On this point Sir Thomas Hardy states his deliberate conviction, 'without the slightest doubt or reservation, that these abbreviations of *UR* were added long after the manuscript was written, as the colour of the ink plainly shows; perhaps, at the time when the musical punctuation was added'—p. 34.

To illustrate this assertion it must be remembered—first, that the Utrecht manuscript is full of blunders of writing, spelling, and omission; that the scribe who wrote it must have been extremely careless, and not very familiar with Latin; that he might very easily have mistaken the deponent form *operantur* for *operant*, and have omitted the last syllable by mistake without finding out his error; that the words terminating thus amount to 425, in sixteen only of which the abbreviated form is used, twelve of them being at the end of a line where such mistakes were most likely to occur, the other four being in the middle of a line. As regards some of these instances, they are almost certainly mistakes of omission, as on fol. 11 a, where *audiant* has been written and the next word begins with (*u*) at the beginning of the next line, and thus the *ur* final of *audiantur* was left out, and supplied, whether by the contemporary corrector or one of a subsequent age we do not pretend to determine; and here we may remark the frequent omission of exactly two letters in the like predicament throughout the *Psalter*. This mistake is in most other MSS. more common if there is a recurrence of the same letter or letters after a longer interval when one or two words or more have intervened. It has here to be remarked that besides the single stroke, whether plain or curved, which does duty for so many different cases both in the middle and at the end of words, there are used this (*r*) for *ur*, and (*'*) for *us*, and sometimes (*;*), the semi-colon for *us* and for *ue* after *q*, as in such words as *usquequaque*, which is sometimes written *usq;quaq;*. In further illustration of the opinion that these sixteen instances are errors of omission which have been supplied by a corrector long afterwards, Sir Thomas Hardy has adduced other similar instances of omission, and he might have adduced very many more; but it is not plain, to an unpractised eye at any rate, in several of these instances, that the colour of the ink is different, as we have said it is in the case of the punctuation. As regards this objection, then, we should say that if the other allegations had not been so completely

answered, that is to say, if they had been of sufficient force at all to prejudice the antiquity of the *Psalter*, this coming upon their back would have been entitled to considerable weight. There are other less important points upon which a debate has been raised, but our review is running to so great a length that we must pass them by. But we must say a few words about the drawings, which we have not yet noticed, though they form the principal subject of the criticisms of one of the eight reporters, viz. Sir M. Digby Wyatt, and nearly half of the Further Report is occupied with them. And here both the writer on art and his critic are agreed in opinion against what we may suppose is the singular opinion of Canon Swainson, that the Harleian manuscript No. 603 is a copy of the *Utrecht Psalter*, so far as the drawings in the two are alike.

Sir M. Digby Wyatt decides that 'the majority of the pictures have been copied from a much earlier and probably less profusely illustrated painted Psalter produced under a decidedly classical influence; and again, that the drawings were taken from much more ancient models, with freely painted illustrations, originated under strong Latin early Christian influence—from such a volume, in fact, as we may readily suppose one of the two *Psalters* to have been, which S. Augustine may have brought into this country in the year 597. In reply to this, it has been remarked that in several instances there are drawings in imperfect outline at the foot of the page, which look very much like directions given by a superior artist to the subordinate, who was to execute the drawings in the page above. As against this, it has to be observed that Mr. Thompson says that he does not consider the marginal drawings which occur here and there to be designs for, but rather sketches taken from, the illustrative drawings; but as regards this point we must think the Deputy Keeper's opinion more likely to be true. It seems improbable that one who could draw so artistically, as these outlines seem to show, would have defaced the vellum of this beautiful document by copies from inferior drawings executed on its margin. And if this supposition is correct, there is an end of the argument in favour of a copy from which the artist was executing his drawings. Such a supposition was, of course, not in itself incredible, but in the absence of any such producible pictures we may be excused for treating this as a mere hypothesis wholly destitute of evidence; and the less probable as there are manifest indications of the artist

in many cases accommodating himself to the scribe, as likewise there are many instances in which the scribe was obliged to use many contractions to get the Psalm into the space left for it by the artist who had preceded him.

But as regards this point, by far the most interesting part of this volume is the letter by Mr. Howard Payn, which is printed at full length as Appendix II., much of which has been, however, incorporated in the Report, and presented in a popular and easy form by the Deputy-Keeper. The opinion which Mr. Howard Payn has formed, which seems gathered only from the drawings, without any reference whatever to the text of the manuscript, is that they are original compositions, not copied from any previous collection of paintings or drawings, and of the latter part of the sixth century. These two opinions as to the text and the drawings suit exactly with the judgment we have formed from examination, that the scribe and the artist were working at the volume at the same time.

DESCRIPTION OF THE UTRECHT PSALTER.

It is a volume which may be described as of the size of a small, somewhat square folio, or large quarto, 12 inches high and about 10 broad, consisting of 105 leaves, the first 92 of which are of vellum, of so fine a kind that in many places both the drawings and the text can be seen through on the opposite side of the page. It contains a Psalter according to the Gallican version, followed by twelve Canticles, mostly the same as those which appear in the Alexandrian MS. of the Septuagint, the Gloria in Excelsis, the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, and the Athanasian Creed, at the end of which is the Apocryphal 151st Psalm, which in the Alexandrian manuscript precedes the Canticles. They are not arranged in the same order as in the Septuagint, and the third has been wrongly entitled *Canticum Isaiaæ Prophetæ*, being really the song of Anna.

The last 23 leaves are of an entirely different handwriting, and on a different kind of vellum. We need not concern ourselves any further with these, as they belong to a different book, and have only accidentally been bound up with the rest of the volume.

The character of the handwriting is that which belongs to the sixth and earlier centuries, being entirely of rustic Roman capitals. There are three columns on each page, and the

words are not separated from each other, except that each verse ends, leaving, as it may happen, part of a line unoccupied, and that in the middle of each verse there are one, two, and sometimes three breaks at the end of a word, marking the end of a clause or sentence. In most of these cases an inverted semicolon has been inserted thus (;), and at the end of the verse a semicolon proper has been added. This punctuation is not absolutely continuous throughout; in several of the verses the semicolon at the end has been omitted altogether; in others there appears only a full stop. The faintness in the colour of the ink in most of these semicolons is apparent to any eye, and in this respect stands in marked contrast with the colour of the semicolon (;), which is used sometimes, though rarely, by the original scribe, as an abbreviation for *UE* after *Q*, and for *US* of the dative plural. The titles of the Psalms, their initial lines, and the initial letter of each verse, and the initial lines of the portions of the 118th Psalm which begin Prime, Terce, Sext, and None, are written in red uncials throughout, in a hand somewhat larger than the text, which varies in size, some of the letters being larger than others for several verses together, even on the same page. Sometimes, also, the writing is thick, and sometimes fine, as if either the writer or the instrument had been changed. The insertion of the titles appears to have been an after-thought, after the first five, or probably even more, Psalms had been written. There are none, neither are there any numbers, till Psalm 5, when it may have been suggested to the scribe by the fact that there was room on the third column for three lines, and also room across the whole page for one line above the drawing which illustrates Psalm 5. Accordingly the number of the Psalm and the title has been somewhat awkwardly inserted; *V. In Finem* appearing in uncials in the third column of fol. 3 a at the end of the 4th Psalm, after which, with the omission of a line, come the words—

pro ea quæ he | reditate con | sequitur

arranged across the page corresponding to the ordinary tri-columnar arrangement. It should have been mentioned that the drawing always precedes the Psalm it illustrates, so that there is no special reason why the title should be, as in this case, at the top of the drawing, or, as in most other cases, below it. It precedes the drawing uniformly till the 14th Psalm, where for the first time it is inserted under the picture. The drawing illustrative of the 15th Psalm is at the bottom of folio 8 a,

and runs up over the six vacant lines in the third column, plainly showing that it was drawn, and at least in part designed, after the text of folio 8 *a* had been written. On 8 *b* follows the 5th Psalm, which was begun so high up that there is no room for a title, which has consequently been omitted altogether. The same remark applies to folio 9 *a*, at the top of which the 16th Psalm begins, leaving no room for the title, which has consequently been omitted. At the foot of 9 *a* is the drawing illustrative of the long 17th Psalm, which has its long title inserted in space at the top of the page evidently left for it specially; but probably by a mistake of the scribe the number of the Psalm has been omitted. And this page exhibits also the remarkable mistake of the second and third columns having been begun in a line with the second line of the first column, the scribe having forgotten that the first line of the column had yet to be inserted by the rubricator. The second column also is unaccountably short at the bottom of one line, where it is probable some erasure has been made of a repetition of the words *tabernaculum ejus*, which begin the third column, and end with the same word as the preceding line, *in circuitu ejus*, the next line to this showing another erasure of a word; probably *ejus*, as is evidenced by the half-erased inverted semicolon which follows the vacant space. Here also for the first time the long title has been written down the columns instead of across the page. In the 18th Psalm the title and number have again been placed at the head of the drawing on 10 *b*, there being no room for the title at the top of folio 11 *a*, which was plainly written under difficulty after the drawing for the next Psalm had been inserted at the foot of 11 *a*, the length of the columns being of 20, 21, and 22 lines respectively to match it. It must here be observed that the scribe appears, unless he has some reason to the contrary, always to arrange his columns so as to be of equal length, as nearly as possible, the shortest by one or two lines, when necessity arises for a different length, being the third. This may be seen in the 1st Psalm, where the third column is one line short, in the second, where it is three lines short, and in the 4th, 7th, 9th, 10th, and 12th; whereas in the 3rd and 14th Psalm, the deviation is easily accounted for by the scribe attempting to accommodate himself to the already drawn picture. The title also precedes the drawing in Psalm 20 and 21, though that of 19 is inserted after the drawing and before the Psalm. And here we have the most remarkable confirmation of this view. On 11 *b* the drawing had been first inserted at the bottom of the page, and it had been intended that the title should follow on the

next page, 12 *a*. The scribe preferred leaving five lines of his third column vacant to leaving a large space vacant across the whole of his paper, and wrote his first two columns close down to the head of the picture, and the rubricator, finding no room at all on the next page, where the title ought to have been, placed it with some difficulty between the bottom of the first two columns and the drawing, and the same description applies exactly to 12 *a*, where the same awkward arrangement was adopted from the same cause. From Psalm 22 forward the headings always occupy their proper place between the drawing and the Psalm, till Psalm 38, where the title has been inserted on the third column of Psalm 37, followed by the drawing at the bottom of the page and by the Psalm itself on the next leaf, begun so high up as to leave no room for a title. The usual method is resumed till Psalm 45, which is treated in exactly the same way and for the same apparent reason. From the 50th Psalm onward it is quite certain that the insertions of the titles and numbers formed part of a plan henceforward to be adopted, but it is perhaps doubtful whether up to this point they are not an addition made as best it might be to the original design after the text had been written and the drawings executed. Or this arrangement may have been entered into as early as Psalm 44, and forgotten for the ensuing Psalm, or possibly as early as the 16th Psalm. At least we may be certain that a change in this respect was adopted some time after the 4th Psalm was written, and the drawings of the first four Psalms executed. Other evidence of arrangements not having been completed at the time the *Psalter* was commenced may be found in the earlier titles of the Psalms, where the scribe, in case of the title being long enough to run over more than a whole line, wrote across the three columns instead of, as he did afterwards, down the first column two or three lines, then two or three on the second column, and one or two, as the case might be, on the third. An instance of this appears in Psalm 7, on folio 4 *a*.

It has been already said, that the initial lines of the Psalms and the initial letters of the verses are in red uncials, done by another hand, and by a person who was evidently inferior as a scholar to the scribe who executed the rest of the text. This is shown by continual mistakes of grammar, which do not occur in the text, which, however, is otherwise full of mistakes of carelessness, some of which have been rectified afterwards by alteration, erasion, or addition, and some have been left, which either were not discovered or which it was impossible to alter without disfiguring the manuscript too

much. In some cases the corrector seems to exhibit deficiency of scholarship, as in the recurrence of the words *generationem et generationem*, he leaves the first word *generatione* without the correction *ē* for final *m*, as if he confused this expression with *à generatione in generationem*.

The text and the drawings were done nearly simultaneously, as there is unmistakable evidence to prove that the drawing in some cases followed the text that is above it, and preceded that which is below in point of time of execution, and almost certain evidence to show that it sometimes was made before the text of the preceding and succeeding Psalms was written. The drawing on 11 *a* of the 19th Psalm, as has already been observed, was unquestionably inserted at the bottom of the page before the text of Psalm 18 was written above it, not only because of the unequal length of the three columns, but also because the artist might have placed it an inch lower, and so have avoided running it up as he has done into the columns of the Psalm above it. Still more forcibly does this argument tell in the case of the drawing on 11 *b* belonging to the 28th Psalm; which would never have been placed so high if the line

In finem | Psalmus | David

had been on the page before it was drawn.

The drawing for the 1st Psalm occupies the whole of folio 1 *b*, and represents every part of the Psalm—which begins with the only very large initial letter there is, the B, the first letter of the word *Beatus*, which was evidently intended to be of the shape which it now has, for the lines of the manuscript are arranged so as to fit it. The abbreviations are few and are seldom made except under some necessity; but the commonest words, such as *Deus*, *Dominus*, *Spiritus*, *Sanctus*, and their cases, are invariably, or almost invariably, contracted. Other words, such, for instance, as *non*, and the final *us* and *ur*, are abbreviated, as it were under compulsion, the necessity of space accounting for their sometimes being written in one way and sometimes in another. *Quoniam* is often contracted, being represented as *qm*, and sometimes *qnm*, but on a page where the scribe, having no picture to accommodate his writing to, and where he was at liberty to expand, as on 17 *b*, he wrote this and other words at full length, though even in this case the words *Deus* and *Dominus*, *Sanctus* and *Spiritus* are almost invariably abbreviated. When a Psalm was long, as for instance in the 17th, the artist seems to have got ahead of the scribe and to have

drawn his pictures in advance at the bottom of the three or four following pages, leaving as much room as was conjectured to be necessary for the text to occupy. Perhaps the best instance of this may be seen in Psalm 77 on fol. 47 *a*, where on half a page the scribe has had recourse to about forty contractions, besides those of the sacred words, evidently to get the Psalm in above the drawing for Psalm 78, which is at the bottom of that page, and has only been able to accomplish his purpose by making the third column longer than the other two. If there had been no drawing already executed, and he had had to arrange for a drawing which was before him, and of which a copy was to be executed afterwards, he would have lengthened his first column by two or three lines, and would then have left ample space for the insertion of the drawing an inch lower down on the page. There are not more than about half as many contractions in the whole of the preceding Psalm, occupying nearly six times as much space. It may be added also, that the following Psalm, which is even longer than Psalm 78, has only six of such contractions, for the simple reason that it occupies a page by itself, and there was no purpose to answer in contracting words or syllables. And again it may be observed of Psalm 12 on fol. 7 *a*, that the picture was there before the top line containing the title and the last words of Psalm 11 were written, because these have been added on a line considerably above where the first ruled line must have been, as any one may see who will measure the length of the page from the last line of the manuscript to the top of this line. The space for thirty-two lines, which is always the length of the page, falls short of this line by half-an-inch. This remark also seems to apply to the 118th Psalm, after which the short Psalms and the text interfere with each other more than in any other part of the manuscript.

As distinguished from the scribe who wrote the rubricated portion, the original scribe and the artist must have been well-informed ecclesiastics, as the latter was evidently acquainted with the traditional interpretation of the Psalms as referring to our Saviour, and the other was familiar with the day-hours, especially with the office for Prime, Terce, Sext, and None, which take in the whole of the 118th Psalm, and which, as being said every day alike, would be more familiar than most of the rest of the *Psalter*. Accordingly, whereas the rest of the *Psalter* has several mistakes in almost every page, there is scarcely any committed in transcribing this Psalm. The mistakes most frequently occur at the end of a line, where a letter or two have been omitted or have been repeated at

the beginning of the next line, and there is a considerable tendency to leave out the syllable *ur* at the end of the third persons singular and plural of deponent and passive verbs. Thus at the beginning of the 118th Psalm it looks as if the original scribe had written *operant*, and the additional syllable, to make the word *operantur*, extending beyond the limits of the column, had been made by a corrector. *Non* has on the same page been written *N* by mistake, and the contemporary, or some subsequent corrector, has remedied it by placing the *~* over the letter *N*, and the following word has been written *reppellas* instead of *repellas*, by a common mistake of the original scribe, and again in the same page a letter inserted between *retribu* and *e* has been rubbed out, apparently by a pumice-stone. And on the following page, possibly the (*re*) at the end of the word *confundere* is an addition of the corrector's. Further on in the Psalm, on page 70 *b*, the syllable *bui* had been omitted in *prohibui* at the end of a line and has been added, and the syllables *um in bon* have been erased, being repeated in the next line. The drawing at the end of this Psalm, at the foot of its last page, was executed before the Psalm, because of the crowding of letters in the last column to get the verses into the small space remaining for them—and the same must be said of the few following drawings; and the title of the 118th Psalm was forced to be above the drawing, contrary to the usual custom. In fact, the artist has quite miscalculated the space necessary for the text of the Psalm he was illustrating, and has obliged the scribe to write Psalm 119 partly over his drawing, as well as to accommodate the columns of 120 to the drawing placed before them. This same mistake of the artist's not making room for the text is apparent in the 121st Psalm and in the 122nd, in both which the third column is longer than the other two, and in the 123rd, the 124th, the 125th and 126th, and possibly in two or three more which follow and in which the text and the drawings run very close upon one another. But the most remarkable instance in which the scribe found himself in a difficulty was in getting in the conclusion of the 135th Psalm, where, after using five contractions in the last line, he absolutely left out the last words *cordia ejus*, to avoid interfering with the sacred symbol of the Almighty's hand which was just below the line. The last line is written

Norūq̄mīnaťnūmisiri ;

the *e* in *æternum* having been left out by mistake and *misiri* being an error for *miseri*. Perhaps the most remarkable

instance of the text of a Psalm having preceded the drawing for the next Psalm and the artist altering the design to accommodate himself to the space left by the scribe, occurs in the case of the 115th Psalm, where the Almighty, instead of being represented as usual with three attendant Angels on each side, has only one on his right hand, to avoid interfering with the second column of the page, whilst there are three on the space left vacant after the six lines of the third column.

There are many more indications, especially towards the end of the *Psalter*, to show that sometimes the text was written first and sometimes was not done till after the drawing. But enough has been said to prove to little short of a demonstration that the volume was planned and executed by the scribe and the artist simultaneously.

As regards the style of the letters used, it is perfectly uniform. There is never a single instance of variation from the type of Roman rustic capitals, such as would be likely to occur if a scribe, careless as this one manifestly was, had attempted to copy a handwriting with which he was not familiar. There are two kinds of G used, one with a point, one with a cedilla, G and G; and two kinds of Q, one with the tail turned to the right and one with it curled round to the left, Q and Q; and both these forms of both these letters are used quite indiscriminately, sometimes both forms appearing in the same word. The different usages are not, therefore, to be attributed to two scribes, though the different degree of fineness in the writing on different pages seems to point to that conclusion elsewhere. The diphthong æ is written in separate letters, *ae*. The word *facie* is very commonly written *faciae*, especially at the beginning of the manuscript. The *ji* and *ii* are always written with a single *i*, as in the 1st Psalm *proicit* for *projicit*. The verb *intelligo* is always written with an *e* instead of *i*. In compound words the laws of euphony have not been attended to, and we have, generally, though not invariably, *adfero*, *conlocavit*, *inlustra*, and *obprobrium*, and the like. There is a frequent insertion of *h*, both at the beginning of words, as in *harena*, and in the middle, as in *Israhel*, which is uniformly so spelled, and *o* is frequently substituted for *u*, especially where the syllable is short, as in *fulgora*, *postola*. *Oportunus* is always written with a single *p*. *Exsurgo* appears sometimes with, sometimes without the *s*, and again frequently with the *s* obliterated after having been inserted. Sometimes, again, the *h* is omitted, both in the middle of words and at their commencement. Instances occur in *deacordo*, 80 *b*, and *aurietis*,

83*b*, *ymnis*, 34 *b*; and *f* is sometimes written for *ph*, as in *allofili*, *orfanorum*. The preposition *à* is generally accented, as is also the word *òs*. Two marks, a straight line and a line curved upwards towards the right, do duty for nearly all the contractions used, and sometimes the scribe and the corrector have both forgotten to add it, as in the abbreviated word *Dne*; fol. 83 *b*. The abbreviation of a semicolon for *us* is not uncommon, and sometimes at the end of a line the *nt* is contracted into a single letter by crossing the last upright stroke of the *n*, thus *ñ*.

The most common kinds of mistake are those of repeating a syllable and of omitting a syllable, the latter usually where there was a recurrence of the same termination, as in *justiæ* for *justitiæ*, *reddi* for *reddidi*, on fol. 4 *a*. Another very common error is writing the diphthong *æ* where there ought to be only *e*, as in *constituæ*. And here it is important to remark that the scribe had a great tendency to make mistakes at the end of a line. And this would be a very natural account of the twelve out of sixteen omissions of final *UR* being in this position, four only out of more than 400 instances of this termination having been contracted in the middle of a line. This also illustrates the opinion of the Deputy-Keeper of the Records that the *N* for *non* at the end of a line is a mere mistake, afterwards remedied by the corrector of the manuscript. Certainly there is a remarkable instance in Psalm 43 on fol. 25 *b*, where the letter occurs at the end of a line where it is almost impossible to avoid the conclusion that it is a mistake, for not only is there no reason for such a contraction, but throughout the whole of this Psalm, occupying more than a whole page, the scribe almost entirely avoided contractions. There are in fact more of these corrections at the end of a line than at first sight appear, some words having been very skilfully erased, as for instance on fol. 65 *b*, at the top of the page, the words *fidelia omnia manda* had been written, and *mandata* having been repeated in the next line, the syllables *manda* have been so obliterated as only to be traceable by one who knows beforehand what the letters probably were. A similar skilful correction is made in the prayer of Habakkuk, which, though it occupies only a page, exhibits ten blunders of writing, to be accounted for by the writer being less familiar with this than with the Psalms. The particular mistake and correction we are alluding to here is at the end of a line where *æ* occurs followed by *quos* in the next line, the *æ* having been carefully erased, and *e* inserted correctly, making the right word *equos* in the next line, but it is easy

to see that the *e* is a subsequent addition, as it is outside the ruled line within which all the other initial letters of the column are written.

There is, however, one form of contraction which is different from the rest and is only used to supply the omission of the final *ur*. It occurs sixteen times. The first of them is on page 5 *a*, where the word *infirmabuntur* is written *infirmabunt*, with a mark over it which somewhat resembles a small *r* as used in later centuries. Possibly it is only a symbol, consisting of two horizontal strokes joined together by a third slanting one, somewhat like a *z*. These appear to have been added afterwards by some corrector, perhaps some centuries later, and in some cases the colour of the ink is fainter. It is possible that all these cases are cases of mistakes at the end of a line, with the exception of four which occur in the middle of a line, which have been all corrected in the same way. In one case, however, on fol. 75 *b*, the word *frustrabitur* has been written *frustrabit* with a comma; and in one instance, in Psalm 78, on fol. 47 *a*, this mark is wrongly inserted over the *m* in the word *adnuntiabimus*, as if it had originally been written without the two final letters, and the correction had been made as for the passive form, and then, after that, the final syllable had been correctly added in the text at the end of the line. If, as is alleged, this contraction alone is enough to prove that the document is of a later century—the eighth or the ninth—how is it that no other contractions, such as were common then, have been introduced by the scribe for contracting such words as are compounded of *per*, *pro*, and *præ*? Many such words occur under circumstances where they might most advantageously have been contracted, but there is not a single instance of any such contraction. There are several other alterations which have been made, some perhaps at long intervals of time. Thus, on fol. 12 *b* there is an insertion above the line of the word *matris* which had been omitted from *de ventre meæ*, and a full stop is placed between the words *ventre* and *meæ* to indicate where the word ought to be inserted. On the same page *locuti* has been altered by changing the *c* into *q*, and placing an additional *u* over the word. In the next page also the accidental omission of the word *caeli* has been supplied by a much later hand.

As regards the question of priority of writing or drawing, there are some pages where it might be argued that the writing was done first, though it appears to have been put on afterwards to fit into a picture already drawn, because the scribe

arranged it so as to fit into a picture not yet drawn, but of which he had before his eyes a copy from which the new picture was afterwards to be taken. But there are several instances where this argument will not hold. For instance, on 2 *b*, where this argument might have been adduced to show that the actual picture was drawn after the text was written, the answer is, that if this was a copy from a previously executed drawing, drawn on the vellum after the text above it was written, the artist would undoubtedly have placed it half an inch or an inch lower, there being more than two inches between the bottom of the picture and the lower margin of the vellum, and perhaps the same remark applies, though with less force, to 81 *b* and other cases, whilst on 82 *b* the second Alleluia in the title of the Psalm, which ought to be on the same line with the first, is a little lowered to the already drawn picture. On the other hand, the nimbus on 49 *b*, and the flattening of one of the Angels' wings, is strong evidence that the drawing was executed after the text was written. There are several other indications, some telling one way, some the other, but enough to prove certainly that the writing and the drawing were going on at the same time. But perhaps no page gives stronger evidence than 56 *a*, where the title of the 95th Psalm, which goes on in one line over the first two columns, mounts up to a space left by the picture, and is finished in a second line of the third column, the lower line being level with the first two lines of the first and second columns—an arrangement which it is impossible to account for on any other theory than the precedence of the picture.

It frequently happens that there is a single line running at the top of a page very awkwardly close upon the drawing which had been placed there before, and evidently was never intended to have this line above it. These cases are accounted for by the previous page having been ruled, as all the pages are to within about two inches of the bottom, and the text being inserted between these lines, each line of text being at a distance from the line above and below it by a space of equal breadth with its own height. Thus, in the case of 20 *b* the scribe preferred interfering with the picture on the next page to venturing to write an additional line where he had no lines to guide him. Instances of this are common, as on 5 *b*, 7 *b*, 24 *b*, 47 *b*, 63 *a*, 90 *a*.

The argument, however, from the adaptation of the length of the columns to the shape of the picture, whether the slope is upwards from left to right, or, as in some instances, downwards, from left to right, is not absolutely conclusive for

the priority of the picture, though if some of the instances of this are carefully examined, it will leave an impression of little less than certainty on the mind. There is one very curious instance of this sloping upwards of the text towards the right hand, which in all probability was made for a picture which was meant to be placed under the columns, but which was never executed exactly according to the first intention of the artist. It is on 51 *b*, where the first column is longer than the second by one line, and the third is shorter than the second by two lines. No other probable account of this can be given than that the picture below was originally meant to extend further up under the right-hand column than it actually does. The true account of the matter appears to be as follows. The long eighty-eighth Psalm, which occupies the whole of 52 *a* and 52 *b*, was begun quite at the top of the page on the second of the thirty-two spaces intended for lines of text, the first being reserved for the uncial letters of the word *Misericordias* to be placed by the rubricator. When he came to the second column he forgot that there was to be a word inserted on the top of the first column and began again on the second line instead of the first. He had forgotten also to leave room for the title of the Psalm. The rubricator, finding there was no room in the usual place for the title, placed it at the head of the picture, which was yet to be drawn on the preceding page, and which, with regard to the Crucifixion part on the right hand, was altered from the original design to accommodate him. It runs straight across the page, leaving the spaces on the second and third column vacant. What is still more curious is, that in these spaces there are still remaining traces of a drawing which has been obliterated.

The corrections of mistakes are remarkably capricious. Thus in the 35th Psalm, on 20 *b*, a letter has been erased between *a* and *stetit*, but the *e* has not been altered into *i* nor the repetition of *vi* in the word *viæ* in the next line obliterated. There can be no doubt that the scribe as he proceeded learnt something of the proper way of spelling. Thus *faciæ* gradually becomes *facie*. The *æ* for *e* and the *e* for *æ* were in all cases mistakes. The latter admitted of the easy correction which in most cases has been made of the addition of the cedilla to mark the diphthong.

That the contractions were frequently mere mistakes is apparent from such instances as *benedix̄* for *benedixit* on 66 *b*, where the flat mark has been made to do duty for the accidental omission of the syllable *it*, for in this Psalm the

scribe had good reason for avoiding contractions to make it fill the whole page by itself.

It only remains to say that the drawings were certainly made for the occasion, and were not taken from a previously existing stock, which the artist made to fit the Psalm as best he might be able. On the contrary, far the greater number minutely follow the description of the Psalm, mixing the literal and the metaphorical in a most remarkable way, and could not refer to anything but the Psalm at the head of which they are drawn. The 1st Psalm is described from beginning to end in the first picture, and if we take the 22nd as a specimen, it will be seen that it minutely represents everything that is alluded to in the Psalm and could not have been intended for anything but an illustration of this particular Psalm. Like most of the other Psalms, the illustration begins at the left of the drawing, proceeding, though not with absolute regularity, to the right. In common also with others where day and night are mentioned, it has in the left corner the sun and in the right the moon, between which, at the head of this picture, as well as of a large number of others, is the figure of our Lord with the quartered nimbus, attended by three Angels on each side. The new-born children are represented as being suckled by their mothers, illustrative of 'Thou art my hope from my mother's womb.' On the right are the fat bulls of Bashan, the raging and roaring lion, the pouring out of water, the melting wax, the dogs, the council of the wicked, and in the centre of the picture stands the Cross with all the instruments of torture. Further back, to the left of the picture, we have represented the praise in the great Church and the feast of the poor.

That the whole book, including the Psalter, the Canticles, and the Creeds, was executed at the same time, is plain from the resemblance of style of the drawings, and also from the variations in the letters Q and G, two forms of which appear indiscriminately used throughout. It is not, therefore, an exact copy, as regards either text or drawing, of any preceding existing copy of the Psalter and Creeds. The average amount and kind of mistakes also in the Creeds and the Psalter being the same, precludes the idea of there being any difference in the writer or the design of either.

The drawings themselves represent Eastern buildings, dresses, cattle, furniture, trees, and landscapes—and are probably of Alexandrian origin, or else perhaps Syrian. The constant representation of the sun and moon as Osiris and Isis point to an Egyptian origin. The manuscript,

wherever it came from, was never executed in England, for no Anglo-Saxon artist of any period could have made the drawings. These represent both the facts and the metaphorical language of the Psalm. Thus 'they came about me like bees' is represented both by the men themselves and by bees.

That many of the contractions used are mere remedies of mistakes committed by the original scribe, is plain. Probably most of them are so, excepting where some good reason can be assigned for their existence. For it is certain that for the most part there are no contractions used, except under absolute compulsion, save in the words which it was the custom of the time always to contract. To illustrate this, we may compare two pages, one in which there is no drawing, and where, there being no reason for contracting, the scribe wrote according to his natural impulse, and another where there were drawings to influence the mode of writing to be adopted. We will take the five consecutive pages of the 118th Psalm, where the scribe was wholly unfettered; and it will be found that, with the exception of a very few omissions of *m* at the end of a line, where the scribe preferred using the contraction to placing the last letter of a word by itself in a separate line, the whole of these fifteen columns contain but six instances of a contraction being used for the letter *m*, and that in each case used for the manifest purpose of saving one line from having at the end of a verse only two letters.

Now, on the other hand, it will be seen that the contractions are sometimes crowded together very thickly, as, for instance, in the page 2 *b*, which we quote in preference to any other, as being more accessible, having been photographed for the Report of Dean Stanley. The portion of the second Psalm at the top of the page has absolutely no contractions; that of the third, which came between two pictures already drawn, has no less than five in eight lines, and amongst them *m̄s* for *meus*, and *om̄s* for *omnes*. Here then is plainly a case where a scribe is driven to insert contractions which he did not like, and some of which were entirely new. We may observe also, for the benefit of those who have not access to the expensive Photogram of the *Psalter*, that the other two plates Dr. Stanley has chosen afford tolerably good instances of one page with and another without contractions.

Upon the whole, the evidence seems to show tolerably

conclusively that this is not a document copied from an older volume which contained a text and drawings, but that it is an original of whatever age, the drawings and the text being for the first time put thus together, and several arrangements having to be made between the scribe and the artist, to fit them to each other. To whatsoever century the text belongs, to the same the drawings belong. Until stronger arguments are adduced to disprove the antiquity of the text, we see little reason to doubt the opinion expressed by so many eminent palæographers, that it is of the sixth century ; and Mr. Payn's opinion of the sixth-century origin of the drawings commends itself to us rather than that of Sir Digby Wyatt, of their being executed much later. And if the classes of mistakes made in the *Utrecht Psalter* be compared with that in the *Codex Amiatinus* and the *Codex Fuldensis*, both of which are of the middle of the sixth century, the conclusion that it belongs to the same century with them is very much strengthened. It is very unlikely that a scribe copying in a later century would not have oftener altered such words as *adpono*, *quicumque*, and the like, to more modern spelling. The occasional interchange of vowels, such as is so very frequent in the *Codex Fuldensis*, leads to the supposition that part of the *Utrecht Psalter* was written from dictation, whilst in other parts it is more likely that the scribe was copying from another manuscript, though certainly not following line by line, for the mistakes are almost always at the end of a line, consisting of the omission of two letters, exactly like those of the *Codex Fuldensis*. And it seems almost certain that when the scribe was forced, from want of room between two pictures, to make many contractions, he would have adopted the usual contraction for *præ*, even if it be supposed that those for *per* and *pro* could not be introduced into the rustic character if he had been writing in the ninth century, when these modes of contraction were common. Again, no scribe in the ninth century, except he were servilely copying the exact forms of the letters and words of an older document, which cannot be alleged as regards the *Utrecht Psalter*, would ever have written the word *eructuo* for *eructo*, as he always does, and which would be the natural way of writing in the sixth century, as is shown in both the codices we have just referred to. Neither, again, is it at all likely he would have invariably written the *ji* as a single *i*, as it always appears both in the *Psalter* and in those manuscripts. Indeed, in almost all cases, the spelling of the *Utrecht Psalter* agrees with that of those two manuscripts. It must be allowed, we think, that these considerations greatly

outweigh any difficulty that arises from the use of the universal contraction for *ur*, the only argument which seems to us to possess any weight against assigning the earlier date of the manuscript. Whatever be the most probable account of the mode in which this particular contraction is used, the amount of evidence seems to us almost conclusive in favour of the Deputy-Keeper's opinion as to the sixth-century origin of the document.

ART. IV.—DR. DAVIDSON'S TRANSLATION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

The New Testament. Translated from the Critical Text of VON TISCHENDORF, with an Introduction on the Criticism, Translation, and Interpretation of the Book, by SAM'L. DAVIDSON, LL.D. and D.D. of Halle. (King and Co., London, 1875.)

THE critical introduction of Dr. Davidson's recent translation of the New Testament leaves a very clear impression upon the mind of the reader, that Dr. Davidson has formed a very correct estimate of the qualifications and duties of a translator.

'The primary object of a translation,' he observes, 'is to express the exact meaning of the original in corresponding words, so far as they can be found in English, with the least obscurity. It should be literal rather than paraphrastic, giving the sense intended by the author or authors simply and fully, in the best terms which the English language supplies. A translation of the New Testament should be in effect a revision of the received one; and the departures from the latter ought to be as few as the necessities of the case require. King James's version should be corrected and improved in such instances only as appear to call for change. The main purpose of a translation of the Bible is not that it may be read with pleasure, but rather that it may clearly express the true sense.'

Before we test the principles of translation here enunciated by the practice of the translator, we must briefly glance at, if we cannot expatiate on, the text Dr. Davidson has selected for

the basis of his version. The one text—and to this he has most scrupulously adhered throughout, save in a few cases of punctuation—is the eighth edition of Von Tischendorf's Greek Testament. It is, we must confess, a matter of regret and surprise, that so competent an authority as Dr. Davidson should have followed, and followed so slavishly, such a guide. Few scholars, if any, have rendered more valuable services to Biblical literature than Von Tischendorf; but this service he rendered as a collector and collator of ancient manuscripts, not as a textual critic, for he was plentifully lacking in that critical insight and discrimination, without which it was impossible for him to estimate at their true value the conflicting evidence of the materials his marvellous zeal and industry had amassed. Every successive edition of his New Testament, in its variations and inconsistencies, even on the most important points, is a standing evidence of what Bishop Ellicott has rightly designated 'his inconstant, restless, child-like inferiority of critical judgment.' What confidence, we ask, can be inspired by a textual critic, such as Von Tischendorf, whose seventh edition differs from his fifth in about 1,296 passages, and his eighth in more than 3,300 passages, and many of these passages involving the most fixed and fundamental principles of textual criticism? What claim, too, again we ask, on our acceptance, has a text, such as that followed by Dr. Davidson, which is at variance in so many passages, not only with the context of what has been invariably accepted, and not only with the most ancient versions (more ancient than any surviving manuscript), but with the indirect evidence drawn from the writings of the Fathers of the early Church? Are we prepared to fling away *en masse*, as certainly forming no portion of God's written word, the Agony in the Garden of Gethsemane, the Prayer on the Cross, the Angel at the Pool of Bethesda, the Woman taken in Adultery, the last chapter of S. John's Gospel, and the last twelve verses of S. Mark, although the Church, the Heaven-appointed guardian and keeper of Holy Writ, has, century after century, accepted such passages, and taught them as genuine portions of the written word of God, because we cannot, forsooth, find them in the most ancient surviving copies of the New Testament—copies made, let it be remembered, in an age of unexampled corruption of the text? Are we to follow in the steps of S. Augustine, who held that 'the chief authority should be assigned to those Greek copies, to be found among the *more learned* and *vigilant* Churches, or in the steps of Von Tischendorf, whose chief authority is not only derived from copies

originating with Churches neither learned nor vigilant, but in an age which, as Von Tischendorf will himself admit, was remarkable for 'a certain universal variety and depravation of the Sacred text?' If, as Von Tischendorf most candidly admits, in the case of various readings, 'the question must often be no longer, *What is the more ancient*, but, what is pre-eminent by its own *proper force and reasonableness*,' why is not this avowed and exemplary principle of selection carried out in this text as a *whole*, as distinguished from other texts? Take now, as a sample of Von Tischendorf's critical inconsistency and glaring unfairness, his omission of the last verse of S. John's Gospel, which he justifies on the authority of the Sinaitic *codex* and '*internal reasons*.' Now what are the facts of the case? They are simply these:—This last verse is found in the Sinaitic *codex*, but its insertion is placed to the credit of a later hand, because of the absurd plea of the difference of the colour of the ink ('*coloris discrimen*'); a plea set aside by the fact that all the other codices, as well as the oldest versions, contain the disputed verse, which is further supported by '*internal reasons*,' if we look to the style of expression and its harmony with the context. Even Tischendorf acknowledges that the words were added by some one *eadem ætate* of the *Codex Sinaiticus*. But if, as we believe, the writing of this last chapter of this Gospel was an *after-thought* of the writer, what could be more natural to the writer of such an appendix than the language of the disputed verse, to say nothing of its direct reference to '*writing*'—a characteristic of this entire Gospel? (For no other Evangelist dwells so often and so emphatically on *writing* as does S. John. See especially the case of Pilate's *writing* and our blessed Lord's *writing* on the ground.) But perhaps a more glaring case of this critic's arbitrary defiance of the authorities which he professes to hold supreme, when they concur, is his absolute rejection of the reading ὁ μονογενὴς Θεός (S. John i. 18), which is supported not merely by concurrent manuscript testimony (the Sinaitic, Vatican, and others), from which in other points he rules that there is no appeal, but by the acceptance of the greatest living textual critics.¹

Much of Dr. Davidson's critical introduction is occupied with an explanation of his own aims and methods as a trans-

¹ Since this paper was written, we have consulted Professor Hort's dissertation on *The Monogenes Theos*, a work of the highest critical and textual value, which establishes beyond all cavil the genuineness of the reading ὁ μονογενὴς Θεός, which Dr. Davidson rejects with so little ceremony and consistency.

lator, and much of it is taken up with a most severe, and, we venture to think, scarcely warrantable criticism of his predecessors, especially of Dean Alford, whom he vilipends as 'undertaking a work for which he had not the necessary qualifications,' and as utterly wanting in a competent knowledge of Greek scholarship. We have never looked up to Dean Alford as an authority of the first rank in Greek scholarship, but we were not prepared to hear so severe a judgment passed upon him by a scholar no way his superior, now that he has entered into his rest after a life of long and loving toil in the advancement of sacred letters. Nor is this all we have to complain of in this extraordinary critical introduction, in which the name of Dr. Tregelles is not even once mentioned, though none more worthy of such distinction.

Commended as Dr. Davidson's translation has been for its manifold distinctive excellencies in some organs of the highest literary standing, we confess we took it up with a very strong predilection in its favour, which a careful examination of it from end to end has altogether dissipated. Our first charge against it is on the score of *inconsistency*. We complain that Dr. Davidson has not carried out his own principles of translation. He undertook to *revise* the Authorized Version. He has succeeded rather in *revolutionizing* that version, by omissions, by additions, by needless and unidiomatic changes in its language and its style. Dr. Davidson professes a dislike to 'needless alterations,' but when he gives us 'Jesus the Nazarene' for 'Jesus of Nazareth;' '*deaden* your members,' for 'mortify your members;' '*compacted*,' for 'joined together;' '*Teacher*,' for 'Master;' '*enclosure*,' for 'spot of ground;' '*demons*,' for 'devils;' '*apparition*,' for 'ghost,' with a host of others,—we ask what is gained by these changes, to counterbalance what we know to be lost? To the same class of needless changes we refer such headings as 'According to Matthew,' 'According to John,' 'To Timothy First,' 'Of Peter Second;' we find, too, an almost invariable alteration of the good old termination *-eth* into the more modern *-s*, and the dropping of the auxiliary verb 'do,' as 'My soul *magnifies* the Lord,' for 'My soul doth magnify the Lord.' By such a treatment of the old verbal forms, Dr. Davidson does more than run counter to a phraseology which has become stereotyped in our sacred literature, and is cherished as something inviolable by the pious instincts of every devout reader of the Authorized Version, for he is inflicting a positive injury on his mother tongue, by impoverishing its wealth of expression and narrowing the range

of its resources. Many, however, of Dr. Davidson's deviations from the Authorized Version are something more than needless and mischievous: they are sins of omission or commission, either against the language from which he translates, or against the language into which he translates. Take, for example, Acts vii. 26, which he renders: 'And the next day he appeared unto them *fighting*,' where the Authorized Version more correctly renders: 'He showed himself unto them *as they strove*.' Here the new translator is guilty of a squinting construction, for, according to the tenor of his words, it is a question whether Moses was 'fighting,' or those to whom he appeared. In S. Matthew i. 17, we have another example of this *louche* construction, where our translator gives us 'the captivity *of* Babylon' as a revision of the Authorized Version, 'the carrying away *unto* Babylon.' In S. John i. 34, Dr. Davidson has 'He it is that baptizes *in* the Holy Ghost,' and, in the same chapter, v. 26, 'I baptize *in* water,' where the Authorized Version has more correctly *with* for the preposition *in*—a sense which Dr. Davidson almost everywhere ignores, except in 1 Cor. iv. 21, where he renders the passage, 'I come unto you *with* a rod.' In S. John viii. 55, Dr. Davidson renders, 'I *will* be a liar like unto you' (a rendering which savours of Scotland or Ireland), and in his version of the Beatitudes in S. Matthew's Gospel he renders every 'shall' of the Authorized Version by a 'will,' as, for example, 'Blessed are they that mourn, for they *will* be comforted.' In these distortions, Dr. Davidson runs counter to an established English idiom and to every old version and every modern version of the Bible in English; for Wicliffe, who has 'schulde' = 'shall,' is followed by Tyndale, Cranmer, the Geneva, and even the Rheims of 1552. If the term '*shall*,' used with the third person, marks, as it does, according to the usage of our language, sometimes *prediction*, sometimes *determination*, sometimes the future fulfilment of a duty, or obligation, or *paying of a debt* (a term naturally flowing from its derivation '*sealden*' to owe), then what term could be more appropriate from the lips of our Lord than *shall* in the Beatitudes, marking, as it does, the blessings to His people predicted by Him who could best *predict* as a Prophet, determined upon by Him who had power to determine the future, as being the Sovereign Disposer of all things?

Had Dr. Davidson kept a little more closely to the Authorized Version, or to the version of the old translators, he would have been preserved from a multitude of useless and mischievous errors, but he evidently feels a strong disrelish for the old

English versions. We will limit ourselves to half-a-dozen specimens of his errors in this respect. In Ephesians iv. 29, for the Authorized Version, 'but that which is good to the use of edifying' (πρὸς οἰκοδομὴν τῆς χρείας), Dr. Davidson substitutes, 'but whatever is good for the *building up of the need*.' What does 'building up of the need' mean? Here old Tyndale renders it more happily—'for edification when *need be*, i.e. for seasonable edification. In Heb. vi. 1, Dr. Davidson renders, 'Therefore leaving the first discourse concerning Christ,' where the Authorized Version has, 'Therefore leaving the principles of the doctrine of Christ.' It may be here remarked, that in this, as in most other cases, Dr. Davidson omits the article before Christ, which we have in the Greek. The whole passage may be rendered: 'Wherefore leaving the *elementary* doctrines of the Christ, let us go on to the perfect doctrine;' for the writer is evidently comparing the different stages of doctrinal development, in accordance with the spiritual condition and fitness of those who are to receive them, as he compares different kinds of meat in the context with the different conditions of those who are to use them. The old translators had exhibited a clearer perception of the sense, for Tyndale, who is followed by Cranmer and the Geneva Version, renders: 'Let us leave the doctrine pertaining to the beginning of a Christian man.' Again, in S. Matthew vi. 16, Dr. Davidson writes, 'for they disfigure their faces that they may appear unto men to fast.' This is a repetition of the incorrect rendering of the Authorized Version, which overlooks the distinction between φαίνομαι νηστεύειν = 'to *seem* to fast,' and φαίνομαι νηστεύων = 'to be *seen* to fast,' where Tyndale and the old translators correctly render, 'that they might be *seen* of men *how they fast*.' In Act xiv. 13, Dr. Davidson, by rendering 'having brought oxen and garlands unto *the gates*,' again repeats an error of the Authorized Version, as the Greek is here πυλῶνας, not πύλας, that is, the vestibule of *the Temple*, not the gates of the city; where Tyndale, with his usual keen insight into the mind of the writer, more correctly renders it 'the *churche-porche*.' In Romans xvi. 23, Dr. Davidson has 'Erastus the steward of the city' (Authorized Version, 'the *chamberlain* of the city'). The ὁ οἰκονόμος τῆς πόλεως of the original is most probably best rendered by Wicliffe 'the *treasurer* of the city.' In Romans xi. 20, Dr. Davidson follows the Authorized Version, 'Be not *high-minded*, but fear.' Here the Greek ἐψηλοφρόνει means, not 'high-minded' as we now understand that term, but '*indulge not in thoughts of pride*' (or *uppishness*, as the vulgar have it, which is really the force of the Greek ἐψηλον and the

Latin *superbus*), and this Wicliffe renders by 'nyth thou savour' (*i.e.* think) 'high things.' This is very literal and very true to the sense in Wicliffe's time; for *high* and *haughty*, which are only different forms of the same word (*high, mighty, haughty*) meant almost the same thing in our early English.

In the category of Dr. Davidson's inconsistencies we must also set down his frequent transgression of his own professed principle of uniformity in translating the same Greek word or phrase, which he declares 'he has kept in view throughout the entire work' (!) If the principle of uniformity has been kept in view throughout the whole work, it becomes extremely difficult to account for the fact, that the Greek article in all its most marked significations is so inconsistently represented, and so often misrepresented and non-represented in this version. Why, too, we ask, is the emphatic negative οὐ μὴ at one time brought out in its true force, and at other times, where such force is most rigidly demanded by the context, altogether unrepresented? Why are the same Greek particles (for we believe with Winer that their significance can be scarcely exaggerated in the Greek Testament) sometimes well rendered, and yet so often either diluted or destroyed in this version? Why, too, are the same Greek tenses so often rendered as if different tenses? Why, for example, in the prologue of S. John's Gospel, is the same Greek verb, in the same tense (ἐγένετο) made to do duty for 'was made' (v. 3), 'was' (v. 6), and 'become' (v. 14)? Why does Dr. Davidson occasionally give, for example, to the imperfect tense one of its usual forces, that of marking the *habit* or *custom*, and just as often forget to give it this force where the text of the passage demands it? Nothing can be clearer than the intention of the Holy Evangelists in marking by imperfect tenses the *habitual* persecution of the Jews to which our blessed Lord was subject, as well as His apparent *practice* of healing on the Sabbath day, and yet scarcely in a single case has Dr. Davidson brought out such their clear intention, in these respects, by a due rendering of the tense of the verb in such narratives. In S. John v. 16, for instance, Dr. Davidson renders, 'And for this the Jews *persecuted* him (ἐδίωκον), because he *did* (ἐποίησεν) these things on the Sabbath day. For this the Jews sought (ἐζητοῦν) to kill him.' Why, we ask, are these most significant imperfects not only not rendered in the particular sense of the imperfect evidently meant by the writer, but actually rendered as if they were aorists, and in a sense at variance with the meaning of the writer? Again, the Greek Testament writers often use the imperfect tense of εἰμι with a participle, to mark,

not a series of repeated actions, but the continuance of the *same action*, or the *same state*, for some time. This Dr. Davidson has failed to see, if we may judge of his erroneous renderings in such cases. Take, for example, Acts i. 10, 13 and 14, where the verbs used are periphrastic imperfects, and loosely rendered by Dr. Davidson '*were gazing*,' '*were abiding*,' '*were attending*,' instead of '*continued to gaze*,' '*continued to abide*,' '*continued to attend*.' Take again S. Mark ii, 18, where the Holy Evangelist tells us that the disciples of S. John and the Pharisees '*were keeping a fast*' (ἦσαν νηστεύοντες). Here Dr. Davidson renders the periphrastic imperfect by '*were fasting*,' missing the real force of the language. Closely connected with this principle of uniformity of rendering is that of rendering the Greek cognates by corresponding cognates in English, wherever they occur. Here, too, Dr. Davidson is neither consistent with his own practise, nor faithful to the force of the Greek. It is quite possible that Dr. Davidson shares the opinion of some translators, that the cognate construction is not in accord with the genius or the idiom of our language, though its force and beauty in Greek is unquestionable, but no one can be at home in our earliest English, without being struck by its frequent recourse to such cognate constructions as '*die the death*,' '*fought the fight*.' De Quincey, however, a prince among English critics and English writers, was an enthusiastic advocate of such constructions in our tongue, and he employed them in his own writings with singular beauty and force, as, for instance, where he writes: '*The morning of the day had at last arrived, which looked down upon her innocent face, sleeping the sleep from which there is no awaking, and upon me, sorrowing the sorrow for which there is no consolation*.' Now, when Dr. Davidson gives us (S. Mark ii. 4), '*they uncovered the roof*,' why should not we have '*they unroofed the roof*' (an English cognate construction to represent the Greek cognate, ἀπεστέγασαν τὴν στέγην)? Where this translator (S. Matthew ix. 16) has '*no one puts a piece of undressed cloth upon an old garment*,' why not have a cognate construction corresponding to the Greek cognate (ἐπιβάλλει ἐπιβλημα), and render it '*no one patches a patch*?' In S. Matthew vii., for Dr. Davidson's '*for with what measure ye mete it shall be measured to you*,' why not have '*for with what measure ye measure it shall be measured to you in return*' (following out closely all the cognates of the original Greek)? So in S. Matthew x. 26, where Dr. Davidson writes, '*There is nothing covered which will not be revealed*,' we prefer a cognate rendering of the Greek cognate, '*There is nothing covered*'

which shall not be *uncovered*, or 'nothing *unrevealed* which shall not be *revealed*.' Very rarely does Dr. Davidson give us a cognate rendering for the Greek cognate, as he happily does in S. Mark xiii. 19: 'from the beginning of the *creation* which God *created*.' But once more (for our limited space will not allow of a multiplicity of quotation), for Dr. Davidson's 'his footstool' in S. Matthew v. 35, we prefer a cognate for the Greek cognate, 'the footstool of his feet' (*ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ*), after the *Rheims* rendering, 'the foot-stool of his feete.' Dr. Davidson equally fails in doing anything like justice to the play on words, which forms another characteristic (we do not, of course, mean in any degrading or sophistical manner) of many passages of the Greek original, especially in the language of S. Paul, and where the writer's mind and meaning cannot be adequately represented without some equivalent reproduction of this marked feature. Dr. Davidson leaves his English reader altogether in the dark, for example, respecting the inspired writer's play on the word we translate 'testament' in Heb. ix. 17, where this translator renders, 'for a *testament* is valid in the case of the dead, since it has no force at all while he that made it lives.' Here we prefer to render 'for a *testament* (*διαθήκη*) is valid in case of the dead, since *you cannot suppose a time* (*ἐπεὶ μὴ ποτε*) *when* it has force so long as the *testator* (*ὁ διαθέμενος*) is alive.' In 1 Cor. xii. 18 and 28, S. Paul twice writes, *ὁ Θεὸς ἔθετο* ('our Maker made,' or, 'the Sovereign Disposer has disposed'), where the argument of the Apostle seems to turn on the well-known derivation of *θεός* from *τίθημι*, but of this we find no trace at all in Dr. Davidson's version of the words. We find the same play on the same word in 1 Thess. v. 9: *οὐκ ἔθετο ἡμῶς ὁ Θεὸς εἰς ὀργήν*—'our Maker made us not for wrath,' where Dr. Davidson renders, 'for God *appointed* us not to wrath.' In 2 Thess. iii. 11, Dr. Davidson well renders, 'busy at nothing, but being busy-bodies,' although we should certainly prefer some such rendering as 'doing nothing of their own business (*μηδὲν ἐργαζομένους*), but *busying* themselves with other people's *business*' (*περιεργαζομένους*). Again, 1 Thess. v. 21; Dr. Davidson renders the Greek by 'hold fast the good, *abstain from* every form of evil,' where the Greek rather warrants 'hold on to the good, hold off from every form of evil' (*κατέχετε, ἀπέχεσθε*). In the Epistle to the Ephesians (ii. 20, 21, 22), S. Paul, after telling the Ephesian church that they were no longer strangers, but fellow-citizens of the saints, and members of the household of God (*οἰκεῖοι τοῦ Θεοῦ*), plays throughout on the word *οἶκος*, and proceeds to tell them they were built up (*ἐποικοδομηθέντες*)

as a *house* on the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief *corner-stone*, in whom all the building, fitly framed together, 'grows into a *holy house*, in the Lord, in whom even ye (once gentiles) are being built (together with the Jews) for an *everlasting house of God by the Spirit*.' Here Dr. Davidson renders κατοικητήριον simply by 'habitation,' missing the significant force of the preposition in composition (compare iii. 17, κατοικήσαι, and Col. i. 19), and only very imperfectly maintaining the force of S. Paul's argument in his play on the word οἶκος, which was especially applicable to the Ephesians, who boasted not only of their beautiful temple of Diana, but of their architectural skill in building beautiful *houses*. If it is the duty of a translator to present to his readers not merely the sense, but the very spirit and the very force of the original as far as possible, then we hold that a translator should bring out as clearly as possible to view the paronomasia of the original, and the more especially when the writer had purposely designed such a play upon words, to add point to his argument or for stronger emphasis of expression. Our complaint is that Dr. Davidson has in most cases neglected to give us the mind and meaning of his author in this respect, though occasionally he has done so with the happiest effect, as in Romans xii. 3: 'not to be *high-minded* (ὑπερφρονεῖν) above what he ought to be. *minded* (φρονεῖν), but to be minded (φρονεῖν) so as to be of *sound mind*' (σωφρονεῖν). Wicliffe's version here plays on the word 'savour,' and that of Rheims on 'to be *wise*' throughout for φρονεῖν.

There is scarcely a part of speech in Greek, as to which Dr. Davidson has not in some degree erred in this translation. Of these we select a few typical examples, and as the verb is the chief word, we will begin with it. Dr. Davidson's sins of omission in dealing with imperfect tenses we have already discussed. The non-indicative aorist is made to play a conspicuous part in the Greek of the Greek Testament, as in classical Greek, especially in marking *immediateness* of time or rapidity of action. Many passages, otherwise obscure, come out perfectly clear with this light thrown upon them. Take (1) for example, our Lord's words, S. Matthew xx. 23: 'My cup ye shall drink, and ye shall be baptized with the baptism I am baptized with, but *now to sit* (τὸ δὲ καθίσαι) on my right hand and on my left, I cannot give, though *it shall be given* to those¹ for whom it has been

¹ We are not forgetful of the case on behalf of scholars, who would translate ἀλλ' οἷς, *except to those*, lest the other rendering should seem to

prepared by 'my Father,' where Dr. Davidson misses the point, by rendering laxly and *generally* 'but to sit.' Take a few more examples, in (1) S. John ii. 6, where Dr. Davidson renders, 'Whatsoever he says unto you, *do it.*' Here the aorist imperative ποιήσατε is better rendered, 'do it at once,' or 'without delay.' (2.) S. Matt. xxvi. 53, which we render, 'Thinkest thou that I cannot *at once* call my Father *to my side* (παρακαλέσαι), and *at once* He will place *at my side* (παραστήσει) more than twelve legions of Angels?' where Dr. Davidson departs from the Authorized Version without any improvement, and to the neglect of the aorist and compounds, by rendering, 'Entreat my Father and he will *furnish* me.' (3.) In S. Matt. ix., our Lord commands the paralytic 'to take up his bed *at once*, and go on his way' (ἄρῃ σου τὴν κλίνην καὶ ὑπάγε). Elsewhere we have περιπάτει after the aorist imperative, marking a clear distinction between the single immediate act of taking up the bed and the *continued* act of walking. In all such cases Dr. Davidson ignores the aorist and follows the Authorized Version.

We have very high authority for distinguishing αἰτέω, to ask or pray to a *superior*, from ἐρωτάω, to request an equal, and applying the distinction to S. John xvi. 26, we translate, 'In that day ye will pray in my name (αἰτήσεσθε), and I say not unto you that I will *make a request* to the Father in your behalf' (ἐρωτήσω). (Compare xvii. 9 and 10.) Here, as elsewhere, Dr. Davidson confuses the distinction by translating the distinct verb by 'ask.' To the confusion of tenses we have already pointed out in this version, we may add the rendering, 'I go not up unto this feast,' S. John vii. 8; where the verb is really an *intentional* present, according to Meyer, and so best rendered, 'I am not *for going* up to this feast.' The language of our Lord to Judas, 'Friend, wherefore art thou come?' as it is presented by Dr. Davidson, though he is supported by high authority, is scarcely warranted by New Testament usage, and is better rendered, as Canon Lightfoot suggests, 'Friend, do *at once* that for which thou art come,' and so is brought into harmony with S. John xiii. 27, ὃ ποιεῖς ποιήσον τάχιον, where we mark the force of the aorist imperative. Occasionally Dr. Davidson has followed Dean Alford even in his errors, notwithstanding the unflattering

suggest a non-identity of will in the Persons of the One Godhead. But such an inference, which would of course be simply heretical, not only does not follow, but need not even appear to follow, from the other rendering.

estimate he formed of his Greek scholarship.' Of this, Dr. Davidson's rendering of Titus ii. 11, is an instance, where we read, 'For the grace of God *bringing salvation* to all men appeared;' where, the Authorized Version more correctly gives it, 'For the grace of God that bringeth salvation hath appeared to all men.' More correctly still it may be rendered, 'For the *grace*, the *saving* grace of God,' &c.: for the adjective is here made emphatic by the repetition of the article, and the saving quality of God's grace is emphatically set forth as saving under all circumstances. Now Dr. Davidson and Dean Alford, by rendering the adjective as if it were a present participle, make '*bringing salvation*' simply an *accident* of the manifestation of the grace, and so alter the whole nature of the passage.

Next, we remark that Dr. Davidson's version altogether ignores the emphatic use of the Greek article repeated with an attribute, as well as the personal usage of the Greek article. In S. John's Gospel, for example, we have τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀληθινόν, 'the light, the true light;' ὁ ἄρτος ὁ ἀληθινός, 'the bread, the true bread;' ἡ ἀμπελος ἡ ἀληθινή, 'the vine, the true vine,' said emphatically of our blessed Lord by Himself to distinguish him emphatically from all other lights, bread, and vines. Now Dr. Davidson ignores such distinctions, and translates 'the true light,' 'the true bread,' 'the true vine,' missing the emphasis, and so marring the force and the beauty of the original. This use of the article to express greater emphasis in the attribute pervades the whole of the New Testament Greek. Three times the voice of God the Father from Heaven proclaimed the Christ as ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός—a distinctive title of the Messiah, as we may see in Midrasch, and the emphatic language of S. Paul, 'He hath accepted us in the Beloved One' (τῷ ἡγαπημένῳ). In Heb. xiii. 20, the Christ is emphatically termed 'the Shepherd, the great Shepherd of the sheep' (τὸν ποιμένα τῶν προβάτων τὸν μέγαν). Again and again the Evangelists speak of God the Father as 'our Father, our heavenly Father.' It is significant that the New Testament writers employ this emphatic form of marking the attribute, mainly in describing the *titles*, offices, and attributes of God the Father and His blessed Son, and therefore to ignore it is to ignore the expressed intention of the sacred writers. With respect to the *personal* use of the Greek article, we note that in S. Luke vii. 5, Dr. Davidson renders, 'and himself has built us *the synagogue*,' where we prefer to render it '*our* synagogue,' as the article is here *personal*. Again, in 1 Cor. v. 9, where Dr. Davidson has 'I wrote unto you in *the epistle*,'

we again take the article as personal, and translate 'I wrote unto you in *my* epistle.' In S. Luke xviii. 15, for Dr. Davidson's 'they brought unto Him also *the infants*,' we propose as an emendation '*their infants*.'

Now our last charge against Dr. Davidson on the score of the Greek article is that he omits again and again its *definite* force, as marking something fixed and definite, especially in relation to the practices and doctrines of the Apostolic Church, though he gives it its definite force in speaking of 'the ship' which was devoted to our Lord's use, of 'the mountain' on which He taught, and '*the* pinnacle of the Temple' from which the Tempter asked Him to fling Himself, as well as 'the weeping' and 'the gnashing of teeth' brought out so distinctly and definitely before us by the Holy Evangelists. But why, we ask, is not this definite and distinctive force given to 'the *prayer*' which our blessed Lord taught, and commanded to be used, and to which he promised His blessing? 'Whatsoever ye ask in *the prayer* (τῇ προσευχῇ) believing ye shall receive.' This uniform use of the definite article touching matters of public worship (in the Acts of the Apostles and in the Epistles) to our mind points to the fact that the Church had, from the very first, certain fixed forms of prayer and of supplication, a certain fixed creed, a definite body of doctrine, as well as fixed rites and ceremonies; for thus only can we fairly account for such current and recurrent terms as ἡ δέσις, ἡ προσεύχη, ἡ ὁμολογία, ἡ ἐντολή, ἡ πίστις, ὁ λόγος, ἡ διδασκαλία, ἡ διδαχή. In Romans xii. 12, and in Acts i. 14, we find the same language, προσκατεροῦντες τῇ προσευχῇ, used by the inspired writer, of what the saints did in the latter passage, and of what the saints should do in the former. Now, this S. Chrysostom takes as applying to the 'Lord's Prayer,' and his interpretation is strengthened by Acts iii. 1, where we are told S. Peter and S. John went up 'to the hour of *the prayer*,—the ninth hour,' which is confirmed by the language of the Apostle to the Colossians (iv. 2), τῇ προσευχῇ προσκατερεῖτε, which shows that in the Acts of the Apostles the reference is not made, as some tell us, to a *definite place* of prayer, but to a definite form of prayer. Again, in I Corinthians vii. 5, the Apostle enjoins the duty of finding leisure for '*the fast, and the prayer*' (τῇ νηστείᾳ καὶ τῇ προσευχῇ). In one instance only, Dr. Davidson marks, in some degree, the significance of the definite article in matters of public worship—in Acts ii. 42: 'And they were attending upon *the* Apostles' teaching, and *the* fellowship, the *breaking* of bread, and the *prayers*.' This, however, may be still more cor-

rectly rendered: (these *converted* and *baptized* members—see preceding verse) ‘continued to attend upon’ (ἦσαν προσκαρτεροῦντες, the periphrastic imperfect, which our translator always neglects, to mark *continuance*) ‘the doctrine of the Apostles, and to the community’ (of the saints), ‘and the breaking of the bread’ (evidently the Holy Eucharist) ‘and the prayers.’ It is quite possible that τῇ κοινωνίᾳ here may refer (1) to their having all things *in common*, for at verse 45 we are expressly told, not ‘they *had* all things in common,’ as Dr. Davidson and others wrongly translate (for this would require ἔσχον), but ‘it was their custom (ἐσχον) to have all things *in common*.’ Or (2) it may refer to the *collection* of the *congregation* for the poor (see Romans xv. 26, 2 Cor. ix. 13, Hebrews xiii. 16), or (3) to the Holy Communion of the breaking of the bread, by hendiadys.

In S. Luke x. 25, we find in this version ‘tempting him,’ where ‘testing’ or *trying* him would be better understood in the present day by the generality of readers, while it is more true to the Greek. In Acts xxviii., ‘neither sun nor stars *shining* for many days’ (Dr. Davidson), we prefer ‘neither sun nor stars *shining upon* us’ (ἐπιφαιώντων), where the Authorized Version erroneously gives ‘appearing.’ In S. Luke xix. 13, where Dr. Davidson follows the Authorized Version ‘till I come,’ we prefer ‘while I am on my way’ (ἔως ἔρχομαι), for this is the Greek, and not ἔως ἂν ἔλθω. In S. Luke xiii. 7, we find in this version, ‘why *cumbers* it the earth *also*?’ where we prefer to render ‘why does it make *even* the *ground unproductive*?’ for this we take to be the real force of γῆν and καὶ καταργεῖ. At chapter xxiii. v. 24, Dr. Davidson renders κατῶχρον by (their voices) ‘prevailed,’ where it really means ‘kept growing stronger’ or ‘louder.’ Then Dr. Davidson repeatedly gives as the English of ὁμοιωθή, at the beginning of parables, (the kingdom of heaven) ‘was likened,’ and he justifies this departure from the clear and usual interpretation of the word by pleading that ‘the tense implies a previous narration of the parables before they assumed their present forms and places,’ though in S. John xv. 6 and S. Matt. iii. 17, he inconsistently translates the aorist as if a present, a usage recognized in the best Greek authors. In S. Mark vii. 19, he has fallen into a most singular error, where he renders the passage, ‘Because it enters not into his heart, but into the belly, and goes out into the sewer, which cleanses all the food,’ *i.e.* the *sewer cleanses* all the food, for sewer is the nearest antecedent to the relative. If S. Mark had meant this, and the supposition is utterly monstrous, he would have written τὸν καθαρίζοντα in

agreement with τὸν ἀφεδρώνα. Here, however, the text before Dr. Davidson—that of Von Tischendorf—reads, and rightly reads, καθαρίζων, which is best interpreted, with S. Chrysostom, as a remark of S. Mark himself: ‘This Christ said, pronouncing all things as clean.’ Tyndale, who is followed by Cranmer and the Geneva version, in rendering, ‘that *purgeth out* all meats,’ evidently took ἐκκαθαρίζοντι as the reading—a term not found in the Greek Testament, though in the Septuagint. It must be owned that the Authorized Version suggests the same error as that of our author; but he has rendered it much more emphatic.

Our next charge against this version is on the score of its mistranslation of nouns, substantives and adjectives. Dr. Davidson, as a rule, we admit, is careful to render the Greek diminutives by English diminutives, but by no means always. Rightly we have τὸ παῖδιον, ‘the little child,’ τὸ θυγάτριον, ‘the little daughter;’ but in S. Matt. xv. 24, he simply reproduces the error of the Authorized Version, ‘it is not lawful to take the children’s bread and cast it to the *dogs*,’ where the Greek diminutive (τοῖς κυνάριαις) requires an English diminutive—‘little dogs,’ or ‘whelps.’ Thus the rendering of the earliest English versions, from Wicliffe, has here ‘*whelpies*,’ and to such a rendering Chaucer evidently alludes in his *Friar’s Tale*—

‘Think on the woman Canaane, that sayde
That *whelpies* eat some of the crumbes all
That from the Lordis table i-falle.’

Then in S. Luke v. 20, Dr. Davidson gives us ‘*couch*’ for a ‘*small couch*.’ In Mark vi. 42, he renders ‘the maid’ for the ‘little maid’ (κοράσιον). In S. Mark xi. 4, ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀμφόδου, ‘at the *back* of the house,’ or, ‘on the road round the back of the house,’ is here erroneously given as ‘on the *cross way*,’ following the Vulgate *bivium*. The rendering of ‘*Friend*’ (Matt. xxvi.), addressed by our Lord to Judas, here adopted from the Authorized Version, is not to our mind altogether satisfactory. We much prefer the first sense of the word, *companion* or *follower* (ἑταῖρε). This term occurs four times, and only in S. Matthew, where ‘*fellow*’ suits every case. In S. Matt. xi. 16, the majority of translators, with the Authorized Version, render it ‘*fellows*.’ Ammonius, in his *Synonyms*, expressly tells us that ἑταῖρος, in the Hellenistic Greek, by no means signifies a *friend* (οὐ πάντως φίλος), but a *fellow*. In Homer the word meant a *fellow-slave*, as well as a *companion in arms*. Its feminine form sank to the lowest

level in marking females of the most degraded type, and the masculine (like our own 'fellow,' as if a form of *felon*) appears to have become considerably degraded in later Greek, used as it was as a term of reproach and contempt. Then we object to the version of ἀναστάσεως τῆς ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν, by 'the resurrection from the dead,' because this phrase is *distinctive*, 'the resurrection *from out of the dead*,' implying a *first* resurrection as opposed to a second ἀνάστασις τῶν νεκρῶν (see Phil. iii. 11); and we know from S. Paul's language, as addressed to the Corinthian Church, that those who are in Christ shall rise *first* from the dead. Again, in S. Luke xii. 15, we read in this version, 'for not because one has abundance does his life consist in his possessions.' Here we prefer to render the Greek by 'because in the case of any man' (ethical dative of τινὶ), 'his life does not consist in the superabundance (περισσεύειν ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων); it rather consists in the *use* made of his possessions.' Again, in S. Luke xxii. 49, we find the dative noun φιλήματι in its most unusual, and so in its most emphatic place, beginning the sentence. Dr. Davidson translates it as if it were in its usual position, instead of '*Is it with a kiss* that thou betrayest the Son of Man?' The Authorized Version has been Dr. Davidson's guide in 1 Tim. vi. 19, where he gives us 'treasuring up for themselves a good *foundation* against the time to come.' It certainly looks like a mixed metaphor to speak of *treasuring up foundations*, and possibly, despite Theodoret, θεμέλιον here may be the same as θέμα in a parallel passage in Tobit iv. 9, where we read, 'thou layest up for thyself a *good treasure* for the day of need.' Bruder compares it with κειμήλιον (a treasure or deposit). In Acts ix. 7, instead of '*hearing the voice*,' we prefer to render it 'hearing *something* of the utterance,' as a partitive genitive; for the men journeying with S. Paul evidently heard the sound of words, but did not hear the words themselves, as we learn from Acts xxii. 9, where S. Paul declares that those with him did not hear '*the utterance* (τὴν φωνήν) *of him that spake*'—a distinction altogether lost in Dr. Davidson's rendering.

Now the term ἐπίγνωσις is of frequent recurrence, and almost always in the Greek Testament designates advanced, full, and perfect knowledge, as distinct from γνώσις, and where S. Paul speaks of the cultivated heathen in Rom. i. 28, he is scarcely correctly interpreted by Dr. Davidson, when he translates, 'and even as they did not approve having God *in their knowledge*.' Here, 'in the *advancement*' or 'in the progress of their knowledge,' would be more true to the Greek

and to the facts of the case. In his translation of S. Mark's account of the miracle of feeding the four thousand, we meet with '*remnants of fragments*' (whatever this may signify), as a rendering of *περισσεύματα κλασμάτων*, and with '*basketfuls*' and '*wallets-ful*,' as a rendering respectively of *κοφίνους* and *σπιρίδων*. Such a rendering will scarcely, we think, convey to the English reader what the Greek did and does to the Greek reader, that *κόφινος* is a sort of *hand-basket*, carried by a man, and *σπίρις*, a *pannier*, or *hamper*, carried by a beast of burden. S. Paul made his escape in the latter—he could scarcely have done so in the hand-basket. In the older versions we find these terms confused by the common rendering of '*baskets*,' with the exception of Wicliffe, who renders *κοφίνους* by '*coffins*' (!), evidently in the sense of a small basket. The Rheims version wanders far from the right term for *σπιρίδων*, by rendering it '*maundes*,' that is, '*hand-baskets*.'

In Acts i. 3, it is painful to find '*many proofs*' substituted for the Authorized Version '*many infallible proofs*.' If Dr. Davidson will consult his Aristotle, or even the ordinary Greek historians, he will find that *τεκμήριον* marks out a kind of evidence about which there can be no doubt whatever, and this, we take it, is best represented by the words of the Authorized Version. Here Wicliffe has '*many argumentes*;' Cranmer and Tyndale, '*many tokens*.' The Geneva (1557) gives '*many infallible tokens*,' which was happily followed by the Authorized Version of 1611, which gave '*many infallible proofs*.'

Dr. Davidson's rendering of *Παράκλητος*, in S. John's Gospel, by '*Advocate*,' rather than by '*Comforter*,' as in the Authorized Version, comes before us sanctioned by the high authority of Canon Lightfoot, who maintains the correctness of this rendering, first, because *παράκλητος*, in itself, means *advocate*, and cannot mean '*comforter*;' and, secondly, because the former term is more appropriate to the context. In support of this theory, Canon Lightfoot observes:—

'On the *first* point—the meaning of the word—usage appears to be decisive. It commonly signifies "one who is summoned to the side of another (*παρακαλείται*)" to aid him in a court of justice, and more particularly "an advocate" or "a pleader," being applied especially to the "counsel for the *defence*;" nor, so far as I am aware, does it ever bear any other sense, except perhaps in some later ecclesiastical writers whose language has been influenced by a false interpretation of these passages in S. John. In other words, *παράκλητος* is passive, not active; one who *παρακαλείται*, not one

who παρακαλεῖ; one who "is summoned to plead a cause," not one who "exhorts or encourages or comforts." Nor indeed, if we compare the simple word κλητός and the other compounds ἀνάκλητος, ἐγκλητος, ἐκκλητος, ἐπικλητος, σύγκλητος etc., or if we observe the general rule affecting adjectives similarly formed from transitive verbs, does it seem easy to assign an active sense to παράκλητος?

We answer (1), the first and leading conception of παράκλητος is not one summoned to the side of another to *aid him in a court of justice*, as an *advocate*, but simply one called to the side of another as a *friend*, in trouble, danger, difficulty, or as an ally in war, and from this its first and natural conception evidently came its *later* legal sense of an advocate. Now the point for which we contend is that 'comfort' or 'consolation' is the leading conception of the word in its earliest and original stage, and that the legal sense of 'advocacy' is merely accidental and secondary. (2.) But even if παράκλητος were found, outside of the Greek Testament, scarcely used except in a *legal* sense of 'advocate,' would it not be in harmony with the usage of the New Testament writers to pass over its legal sense in favour of its original sense, and so to consecrate the word in a special sense, as we find to have been the case with ἐκκλησία, which passed from the sense of a *legal* assembly to its higher and holier signification of a Church, or the assembly of those whom God, through Christ, *has called out of the world*; a sense which reverts to something of the original force of the word? If this has occurred in one word derived from καλέω, why should it be held to be impossible with another derivative of the same verb? (3.) If the passive form of παράκλητος is no bar to its *active* sense as an *advocate*, why should it be held to be a bar to its active sense as 'a comforter?' and the less so if, as we believe, παράκλητος is a contracted form of παρακλητικός? But, after all, (4) the passive form of παράκλητος does not necessarily involve a passive sense, for we have many Greek compounds passive in form while active in sense, as ἀδιάθετος ('having made no will'), ἀδιάδραστος ('not escaping'), ἀδιάλειπτος ('unintermitting'). Even the Latin 'advocatus,' by which some of the Fathers rendered παράκλητος, is passive in form. (5.) The sense of 'comforter' is much more in harmony than 'advocate' with the constituent elements of the compound, παράκλητος: for not only do παρακαλεῖν and παράκλησις signify 'to comfort' and 'comfort,' but, what is not a little singular, and confirmatory of the view here taken, in many Greek words, expressive of *utterance*, compounded with παρά, the main conception is that of *comfort*, as παρα-

μυθεῖν, 'to console;' παραμύθιον, 'a consolation;' παραγγέλλω, 'to cheer;' παρακaleῖσθαι, 'to encourage.' (6.) The Greek technical term applied to the counsel for the defence is not, as Canon Lightfoot seems to think, παράκλητος, but σύνδικος, as opposed to the counsel for the prosecution, συνήγορος.

Canon Lightfoot's second plea in behalf of 'advocate' is that it harmonizes better with the context. From this opinion we differ *toto cælo*, because—(1), the very prelude of the promise of the Comforter is one of *consolation* for Christ's coming absence, 'Let not your heart be troubled,' which begins this very chapter. (2.) When our Lord promised 'another Paraclete,' He evidently alluded to One who was to be to his people on earth what He had been. Now, the sacred writer (S. Luke ii. 18) marks the days of our Lord's presence amongst his people as 'the days of consolation' (παρακλήσεως); and we know from the Talmudists that the Messiah's special title was 'Mancha,' or 'The Comforter.' (3.) Our Lord promised not to leave His people 'comfortless,' or rather 'orphans.' Now orphans need, we think, more a *patron* and a *comforter* in their bereavement than 'an advocate.' It is somewhat, at the least, confirmatory of this view, that S. James i. 27, who alone of the New Testament writers, with the exception of S. John, uses the term ὀρφανούς, uses it with the verb ἐπισκέπτεσθαι, 'visiting in their affliction' (ἐν τῇ θλίψει)—a verb used by our blessed Lord Himself *once only* (S. Matthew xxv. 36): 'I was sick and ye visited me' (in my sickness), where the notion of comforting and consoling is evidently the leading conception. (4.) The promised Paraclete was not to be sent to *advocate* the cause of the Church either with God or man; but, in the absence of the Truth, to comfort the Church with the teaching of the truth, and to bring to remembrance the words of its gracious Lord. Nor is it irrelevant here to note that, as Christ sent the Holy Spirit to take His place on earth as the *Comforter*, so he went to take the place of the Holy Spirit as an 'advocate with the Father'—a view not unsanctioned by early patristic authority. Now nothing can be clearer, from our Lord's quasi-comparable of the 'Bride and the Bridegroom,' and other sayings, than the fact that His Church would require *consolation* and *comfort* after his departure in the flesh; and nothing can be clearer than the sudden change from despair to confidence, from sorrow to joy, wrought by the descent of the Holy Ghost on the Church as its Comforter on the Pentecostal day.

The omission of the term 'Comforter' from the English

Bible we should most profoundly lament as an irreparable loss to its readers, as a deliberate violence done to its sacred sense, as interpreted by the Catholic Church during all ages. We plead, therefore, most earnestly for its retention on these further grounds. (1.) In the New Testament the Holy Ghost is presented to us more frequently as a *Comforter* than as an advocate. (α.) In S. John vii. 38, 39, the Evangelist applies to the Holy Ghost our Lord's promise of '*rivers of living water*' ('for this he spake of the Spirit'). In such a promise surely the conception of comfort (and the quenching of thirst is beyond all doubt a comfort) is the predominant notion, and not of advocacy, which is clearly *inadmissible*. (β.) S. Paul's benediction closes with the *fellowship* of the Holy Ghost' (*κοινωνία*) at the end of 2 Cor. xiii. The sense of *comfort* in such a fellowship is here in perfect harmony with *παράκλησις* at v. 11. (γ.) This sense of *comfort*, as the work of the Holy Ghost, is again and again brought before us in such passages as Acts xx., of the churches which continued to grow in grace and numbers *τῇ παρακλήσει τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος*. In Romans xv. 4, we find 'comfort' attributed to the Holy Scriptures, which are the work of the Holy Ghost, from which we have drawn the words of our Collect, 'The comfort of thy Holy Word.' (2.) The Fathers again and again, as Dr. Lightfoot admits, accept the sense of '*Comforter*,' and some of the Latin Fathers render it 'Consolator.' When Canon Lightfoot argues from the old Latin version, which has '*advocatus*,' in favour of 'Advocate,' he seems to give insufficient weight to the fact that '*Advocatus*' was used in the sense of 'Comforter,' as we find in Tertullian, S. Hilary, Origen, and Augustine. (3.) The majority of the versions of the New Testament, ancient and modern, and amongst them the best, accept the sense of 'Comforter.' The ancient Georgian version has 'Giver of *Consolation*;' Luther's German, 'Tröster;' the Anglo-Saxon, 'Fre-Friend;' the Rheims, 'Paraclete,' but with explanatory note 'Comforter;' the French 'Consolateur.' We may further quote the high authority of Erasmus, who alleges in its favour the interpretation of the Targums in the Canticles: '*Vox Turturis vox Spiritus Sancti*.' We can understand a Dove as the symbol of the Holy Ghost as a Comforter (as the Dove at the Deluge), but certainly not as an *Advocate*, yet the early Church always clung to this symbol. (4.) The mind of our Church is clearly expressed in her Catholic Prayer-Book in accepting the Holy Ghost as especially the *Comforter* rather than the Advocate. In the *Te Deum* she praises the Holy Ghost, the *Comforter*. In the Collect for the Sunday after

Ascension, she prays for the Holy Ghost 'to comfort us,' with a manifest allusion to her Lord's promise of 'another Comforter.' Then in the order for Confirmation she prays for the 'Holy Ghost, the Comforter,' and in the ordering of Priests, in the Catholic *Veni Creator*, she praises the Holy Ghost as the very 'Comforter.' Will Canon Lightfoot recommend us to reverse the judgment of the Anglican Church and of the Church Catholic on this point and to reconstruct its prayers and praises according to his conception of the special work of the Paraclete, as 'the Advocate?'

As samples of Dr. Davidson's incorrect renderings of adjectives and pronouns, we quote Tim. iii. 3, '*not given to wine, where the Greek requires 'not brawling,'* *πάποιος* meaning in the first sense 'not a brawler over cups.' Now this qualification of sobriety in a bishop has been already given in v. 2, in the word *νηφάλειον*, which this translation has rendered 'temperate.' Almost invariably Dr. Davidson errs in his rendering of *πρῶτος*, which he takes as if *πρῶτον*; as, for example, in John i. 42, we find 'he *first* finds,' and in John viii. 7, 'let him *first* cast a stone at her,' when the Greek requires in the one case, '*is the first to find,*' and in the other case, 'let him be *the first to* cast a stone at her.' There is assuredly a wide difference between doing a thing before we do anything else, and being the first to do it. S. Luke (xv. 5), in recording our Lord's parable of the Lost Sheep, makes the Good Shepherd place the lost sheep, when found, on '*his own* shoulders,'—a touch of pathos altogether lost in the Authorized Version and that of Dr. Davidson, who equally ignores here the Greek *ἐαυτοῦ*, which reminds us forcibly of Him, who '*Himself* bare our infirmities.' The position of the personal pronoun in S. John xix. 10, in the original, gives it prominence and emphasis, as the word on which the whole stress of the question is made to turn. 'Pilate says unto him, Is it to *me* that thou speakest not? Knowest thou not that *I* have power?' Here Dr. Davidson and the Authorized Version equally leave the English reader in the dark as to the emphatic force of the personal pronoun in the original. In many cases in the Authorized Version, as well as in Dr. Davidson's, as in Acts vi. 5, the insertion of the pronoun 'they' is often very misleading, and gives a sense by no means intended by the writer. Here we read 'whom they set before the Apostles, and when they prayed, they laid their hands on them.' The natural impression left on the mind of the ordinary reader would be, that the multitude, after setting the seven Deacons before the Apostles, prayed and laid their hands on them. Now the pronoun to the verb 'prayed'

refers to the Apostles, according to the Greek idiom, and the dangerous ambiguity here and elsewhere would be best avoided by rendering in all such cases by the term *these*, 'and when these (*i.e.* the Apostles) prayed, these laid their hands on them;' or, 'and these, having prayed, laid their hands on them.'

The clear distinction drawn by the New Testament writer between the relatives *δοτις*, *δοος*, and *δοπερ*, as distinguished from the ordinary relative *δς*, is almost without a single exception ignored by Dr. Davidson. Take, for example, S. Mark xv. 6, (of Pilate) 'he was wont to release unto them one prisoner, *whomsoever* (*δνπερ*) they asked.' Here the Greek requires 'the *very* one whom' (and no other) 'they asked.' In Coloss. iii. 5, we find, 'and covetousness, *which* is idolatry,' where the Greek requires, 'and *especially* covetousness, *inasmuch as* (*ἥτις*) it is idolatry.' Then S. Matt. xiv. 36, Dr. Davidson renders, 'and as *many as* touched were made perfectly whole,' where the Greek requires, 'and *all* (*δοοι*) as many as touched.' On examining Dr. Davidson's treatment of the Greek particles, and other indeclinable parts of speech, the result is not very satisfactory. In ninety cases out of a hundred *οὐ μὴ* is most emphatic in the Greek of the Greek Testament, and in most cases Dr. Davidson ignores this emphatic force,—as in S. Matt. v. 18, where he translates 'one jot or one tittle *shall* not pass,' where the Greek *οὐ μὴ* requires 'shall *in no wise* pass away,' as the Authorized Version happily here renders it. The interrogative *μὴ*, which assumes a negative answer, is equally ignored by Dr. Davidson, even when its true force is essential to a right understanding of the text. Take as an example S. John iv. 12, which Dr. Davidson renders, 'Art thou greater than our father Jacob?' where the Greek *μὴ* beginning the interrogative sentence with the noun which it qualifies demands, 'Thou art *not* greater, art thou?'

In S. Luke iv. 13, *ἄχρι καιροῦ*, 'until a season,' is erroneously rendered, after the Authorized Version, 'for a season,' and at chap. xii. 10, we find 'against' the Holy Ghost, where the Greek preposition *εἰς* requires 'with reference to the Holy Ghost,' as it is never used in the sense of 'against.' In S. Mark xiii. 17, our blessed Lord does not denounce 'woe,' as Dr. Davidson has it, but in the tenderness of his pity says 'Alas !' (for the word *οὐαί* here expresses pity rather than wrath) 'unto them that are with child.' In almost every case we find Dr. Davidson misses the emphasis implied in the emphatic form *νῦν*, *even now* (as Coloss. iii. 8), as distinguished from *νῦν*. On the perplexing passage in Acts

i. 6, where the interrogative *εἰ* has presented a difficulty to all commentators as well as to translators, not excepting Dr. Davidson, who follows the usual rendering, 'we would venture to suggest that *εἰ* must be taken here in its first sense, 'Grant us (to know) whether at this time thou wilt restore the kingdom to Israel.' The Greek *εἰ*, as well as *ἴδν*, is only another form of the imperative of *εἰδω*, 'to grant,' just as *si* in Latin is of *sino*, 'to grant,' and 'if' of the English 'give' (*gyffe*, *yffe*, and *if*). The equally difficult corresponding passage in S. Luke xxii, 49, we render, 'Lord, *grant* it, (and) we shall smite with the sword.' Here we place a comma after *εἰ* and omit, with some authorities, the note of interrogation. This usage of *εἰ*, as of the Latin *si*, is not infrequent in Philo, and in other writers of the Apostolic period, and is closely and naturally connected with the admitted use of *εἰ*, *εἰθε*, and the Latin *si*, in an optative sense, just as much so as the feeling of a wish is connected with the expression that it might be granted. The prayer of Æneas in *Virgil* (vi.) may be well rendered, 'Grant (*si* nunc) now that the golden bough upon the tree may present itself duly to our sight.' In S. Matt. ii. 2, Dr. Davidson has fallen into Dean Alford's error in altering the Authorized Version from 'Then *came wise men from the East* to Jerusalem' to 'Behold *Magi from the East came* to Jerusalem.' Here we prefer to take *ἀπὸ* with *παρεγένοντο*, as in the Authorized Version, rather than with Dr. Davidson, with *μάγοι*—because to talk of the Magi from the East as a description of them, is simply tautology, or else an implied contrast to Magi from the West, of whom we know nothing. (2.) Dean Alford tells us that *παρεγένοντο* does not occur in the Greek Testament with the completion of the predicate preceding; but he has evidently forgotten Acts xiii. 14. (3.) The Authorized Version is supported by the Syriac, Georgian, Anglo-Saxon, and others.

It would be an act of injustice to Dr. Davidson not to acknowledge that, with all its many demerits and defects, sins of omission and commission, it is, without any question, taken as a whole, one of the most correct versions which has hitherto appeared in the English tongue. Many of the faults and errors of the Authorized Version and other versions are not only amended, but happily amended. Amongst the happiest of Dr. Davidson's renderings we note Acts xxvi. 28, 'With *little pains* thou art persuading thyself to *make* me a Christian' (where *ἐν ὀλίγῳ* and the difficult variation *ποιῆσαι* for *γενέσθαι* are handled with remarkable success). For the Authorized Version 'two *thieves*' (in the account of the Crucifixion), we

have here correctly 'two *robbers*.' Then again take as good samples of Dr. Davidson's good work, Romans i. 18: 'And even as they did not *approve* (οὐκ ἔδοκίμασαν) having God in their knowledge, God delivered them up to a *reprobate* mind,' (εἰς ἀδόκιμον νοῦν); and S. Luke xx. 37: 'Even Moses showed *in the bush*,' where the Authorized Version simply has it 'at the bush.'

As a brief specimen of Dr. Davidson's version, we quote his opening verses of the Epistle to the Hebrews:—

'God, having in many parts and in many ways spoken of old unto the fathers in the prophets, at the end of these days spake to us in the Son, whom he appointed heir of all things, through whom also he made the worlds; who being an effulgence of the glory and an express image of his substance, and bearing all things by the word of his power, having made purification of sins, sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high; having become so much better than the angels, as he has inherited a more excellent name than they.'

On v. 1 we note Dr. Davidson correctly gives '*in many parts*' for the looser rendering of the Authorized Version '*at sundry times*,' which misses the force of πολυμερῶς, expressing as the term does the gradual development of the different parts of the Divine plan of Redemption. The Rheims has '*diversely*,' in which Tyndale, and the rest of the old versions, agree; while the Geneva has '*sondrie tymes*,' from which comes evidently the Authorized Version. The term πολυτρόπως, '*in divers manners*' (Authorized Version, which follows the Geneva), is rendered '*in many ways*' by Dr. Davidson, who follows Tyndale and Cranmer. Here the rendering '*by many figures or types*,' we venture to say, would best apply to the Epistle to the Hebrews, which stands alone for the prominence it gives to the *typology* of the Christ in the Old Testament, showing, as the writer everywhere does, that the law was but a foreshadowing (σκιάν) of the good things to come in the Gospel. For the indefinite, '*in times past*' (Authorized Version), Dr. Davidson gives us the more definite '*of old*,' as a rendering of πάλαι (as rendered in Jude 4), following '*in the old tyme*' of the Geneva version. In rendering τοῖς πατράσιν, Wicliffe and the Geneva version alone rightly give us the personal force of the article here by '*our fathers*.' The context makes it very clear that there is an antithesis implied between the word spoken by God to '*us*' (ἡμῖν) and to '*our fathers*.' In verse 2 we venture first to suggest to the Revision Committee the expediency of remitting the words of the Authorized Version, '*Hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son*,' from the second verse to

their original and natural place in the first verse, from which they were taken by Robert Stephens, though Henry Stephens, in his editions of 1576 and 1587, relegated them to the first verse, where we find them in all Beza's latest editions, as well as in the 'Textus Receptus' (Elzevir's), in Wetstein, in Lachmann, and Dr. Davidson's own supreme authority, Von Tischendorf. Dr. Davidson following the reading, not only of Tischendorf, but of all the Uncial codices, and the critical editors, who give *ἐπὶ ἡσχάτου* (not *ἡσχάτων*), translates '*at the end*' (of these days) where Wicliffe has '*at the last*' and the Rheims '*last of all*.' The literal rendering of *ἐν υἱῷ*, '*in his son*,' (Davidson), is that of the Rheims '*in his sonne*' (which S. Chrysostom takes to be equivalent to *by* or *through* His son), is to be preferred to the Authorized Version, for it is more in harmony with the mission of the Christ as emphatically '*the Word of God*,' and with the emphatic language of Christ Himself—'*καὶ ὁ πατήρ ἐν ἐμοὶ ἐστι, τὰ ῥήματα ἃ ἔγω λαλῶ ὑμῖν, ἀπ' ἐμαυτοῦ οὐ λαλῶ*' (S. John xiv. 10). Dr. Davidson follows all the old translators, as well as the Authorized Version, by giving us, '*He made the worlds*' (*τοὺς αἰῶνας*), where we very much prefer '*the ages*,' or, better still, '*the epochs*' (which the geologists want so much). This is Bengel's view, who translates by '*sæcula*.' Cicero well distinguishes the two terms (*De Nat. Deor.* s. 9): '*Non enimvero, si mundus non erat, sæcula non erant*.' In favour of this view, we urge—(1), that *αἰὼν*, and the adjective *αἰώνιος*, denote *time*, and nothing but time, or eternal duration, in classical Greek, and in no case the material world (*κόσμος* or *ἡ γῆ*). (2.) In the Greek Testament the word is almost invariably applied to *time*, and not to the *material* world of sea and land. The New Testament writers often contrast this '*world*' with '*the world to come*,' as it appears in the Authorized Version; but this contrast is between the *life-time* and the time to *come*, between time and eternity, as the context and the literal meaning of the word (*αἰὼν*) show. (3.) The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews (whom we certainly hold to be S. Paul himself), in ix. 26, draws a marked distinction between *κόσμος*, the created *material* world, and *the ages* (*τοὺς αἰῶνας*), where our Authorized Version has obliterated the distinction by translating these distinct words as '*world*,' instead of rendering: '*For then he must often have suffered since the foundation of the world* (*κόσμου*); but now, once for all (*ἅπαξ*), upon the *consummation* of *the ages*' (*ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τῶν αἰώνων*), where the Authorized Version reads '*the end of the world*.' This is not only in harmony

with ἐπὶ ἑσχάτου τῶν ἡμερῶν τούτων of Hebrews i. 1, but marks the sense of *time* which belongs to τοὺς αἰῶνας of Heb. i. 2. The same writer uses the word αἰὼν thirteen times, and always in the sense of *time* or *eternity*, with the exception of the disputed instance before us, and the passage xi. 3, which is better interpreted in the sense of *time*, as Bengel shows. (4.) To denote 'the world' of land and sea, as the material *creation*, the same writer uses the word γῆ nine times, and κόσμος five times. In this very chapter we read v. 10, τὴν γῆν ὁθεμελίσσας (evidently from the Septuagint).

In v. 3, it may be remarked that Dr. Davidson, in omitting the definite article with 'effulgence' and 'express image,' stands alone amongst translators. The absence of the Greek article cannot be here pleaded, because, in the face of a like absence in the previous verse, he renders ἐν υἱῷ by 'in the Son.' Now, in the latter case, as in the case of ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης, the term was of itself so clearly definite in current Hellenistic phraseology and in theological literature, that it did not require the definite article. In Colossians i. 15, Dr. Davidson makes a like deviation from all translators and commentators, ancient and modern, by rendering 'an image of the invisible God.' Now in Wisdom (vii. 26) and in Philo, the Divine Wisdom and Word personified was represented as the effulgence of the eternal light (ἀπαύγασμα φωτὸς αἰδίου), as the impressed likeness (ὁ χαρακτήρ) of God, and the visible image (εἰκὼν ἐμφανὴς τῆς ἀοράτου φύσεως) of the invisible nature (of God). Wicliffe has here the 'likeness of glorie and figure of his substance,' for which Tyndale and Cranmer have 'the very image of his substance.' The 'brightness' of the Authorized Version comes from all the previous versions through the 'splendor' of the Vulgate. 'Effulgence,' or 'shining forth,' seems most nearly to render the compound ἀπαύγασμα, and is to be preferred to the 'refulgentia' of Calvin and Erasmus, though the word denotes 'effluence' as well; and so Milton evidently understood it—

'Bright *effluence* of bright essence increate.'

We prefer our translator's rendering 'substance' here for the Authorized Version 'person,' which is supported by Wicliffe, Tyndale, Cranmer, and the Rheims versions, which followed the Vulgate '*substantia*.' The Geneva version led the way in this as in many other terms to the Authorized Version of 'person.' Luther here has *essence* (*Wesen*), Calvin more correctly takes χαρακτήρ here as 'the *impress* of' (the Father's substance) and not the express image; which reminds us of 'the

engraved forme' of the Geneva version. Calvin's view gathers a striking confirmation from the language of Philo (*De Plant.*) ὑφ'αρχιδᾶ Θεοῦ ἦν ὁ χαρακτήρ ἐστὶν αἰδὶος Λόγος. Dr. Davidson's 'bearing all things' for the Authorized Version 'upholding all things' is closer to the Greek (φέρων) and to the older versions, where Wicliffe has 'bearing,' Tyndale and the Geneva, 'bearing up.' Cranmer led the way to the Authorized Version by his 'ruling,' where he evidently followed Theodoret, Chrysostom, and the Greek commentators generally, in taking φέρων as an equivalent of κυβερνῶν. The Greek for 'by himself' is wanting in the Sinaitic codex, and is not rendered in the Vulgate; though found in the Syriac versions. Wicliffe following the Vulgate omits it, though Tyndale has 'hath in his own person,' by which he may have meant to express the middle verb here ποιησάμενος. In verse 4 we remark that the 'being made' of the Authorized Version is here better rendered by 'having become' (γενομένος). In the words 'a more excellent name than they' (the Angels), Dr. Davidson has followed the Authorized Version and its predecessors; but surely the Greek διαφορώτερον παρ' αὐτοὺς ὄνομα is not sufficiently represented by such a version. Does it not here mean (he has inherited) 'a name *beyond all comparison* more DISTINGUISHED than (their name)?' Bengel, with his usual critical insight, observes of παρὰ here: 'ingentem præter cæteris excellentiam denotat.' We prefer the term 'distinguished' to 'excellent,' because it is not only closer to the Greek, but because it connotes a distinction of *kind* as well as degree more than the word *excellent*, which the context has evidently in view; for in the very next verse the inspired writer proves the *distinction* by asking, 'For unto which of His Angels said he at any time, Thou art my son, this day have I begotten thee?' and by many other quotations, establishing the vast *distinction*. This continuous passage we have selected and examined is a fair specimen of Dr. Davidson's style of rendering, though somewhat more favourable than other specimens which might be adduced.

There are, however, several striking isolated passages throughout this translation, that, from various causes, demand a passing word of criticism, which may be in some degree suggestive to Dr. Davidson himself, and to his successors. For 2 Peter iii. 7, Dr. Davidson gives us, 'by the same word have been treasured up, kept *for fire* unto a day of judgment.' Here the translator follows the Authorized Version, 'reserved unto fire.' We prefer to take πυρὶ with the preceding verb, τεθησαυρισμένοι εἰς, 'have been stored with fire,' where the

noun is the dative of the means or instrument. 'Kept for fire' would require *eis* or *πρὸς* before the noun. Dr. Davidson has here the authority of all previous translators in his favour, but the Greek is against him, for neither in Hellenistic nor in classical Greek have we any really strong authority for using the passive verb *τηρούμενοι* with a dative of the noun marking the object for which anything is reserved. In this very Epistle we have three other cases of the passive (2 Peter ii. 4, 9, and 17), and in each case, as elsewhere in the New Testament, we have a preposition to mark the object in connection with the verb. Here we believe the inspired writer meant to tell us, and does tell us, that the heavens and earth are '*stored with fire*' against the day of judgment,—a fact confirmed by the astronomers, who declare that our earth is gradually nearing the sun, and will eventually be destroyed by it, as well as by those geologists who declare that the subterranean fires of the earth will in time compass its destruction. Again, where (S. John viii. 34) Dr. Davidson renders by 'every one that does sin is the *servant* of sin,' he is not merely inconsistent with himself and with the context, but he weakens the force, in some degree, of the momentous doctrine taught us again and again in Holy Writ, that sin is a slavery, the service of a bondman, from which Christ alone can set us free. In the previous context our Lord had told the Jews that 'the truth would set them *free*' (*ἐλευθερώσει*). They replied they had not been 'in bondage to any man,' as Dr. Davidson well renders *δεδουλεύκαμεν*. To be consistent with himself and with the context, Dr. Davidson ought to have gone on to render, in the reply of Jesus, 'Every one that does sin is the *bondsman* (or slave) of his sin.' Now, what we complain of is not that in many passages our translator renders *δούλος* and its cognates by '*servant*' and by words connoting *free service*—for the context at times requires such a rendering, but that he uses such terms where the sense of the context is perverted by them, and where a clear contrast is drawn between *freedom* and *slavery*. Again, as in S. John v. 35, Dr. Davidson renders *ὁ λύχνος ὁ καίόμενος καὶ φαίνων*, 'he was the lamp that *burns* and shines,' and defends this by denying that the writer had 'any intention to mark by the first epithet that his light was not inherent, but borrowed,' as if it were 'the lamp that is *lighted* and then shines,' for the participles here are all but synonymous.' This is an error, for *ὁ λύχνος ὁ καίόμενος* is strictly 'a lamp that is *made to burn*,' i.e. kindled or *lighted*, and in his wiser moments Dr. Davidson himself adopts this more correct rendering, where

(Matt. v. 15) he renders *καλουνσιν λύχνον* by 'men *light*,' not *burn*, 'a lamp.' In connection with S. John the Baptist, 'the *kindled* lamp,' to set forth the glory of his coming Lord,' we may note that Dr. Davidson travels the beaten track of his predecessors in missing the force of S. Mark's title of our Lord, *ἰσχυρότερος*, 'There is coming after me *the Mightier* than I.' With which we may compare Isaiah xl. 10, ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν κύριος μετὰ ἰσχύος ἔρχεται. In Gal. ii. 12, Dr. Davidson has unaccountably sinned alike against the clear words of the Greek and the context, when he gives us 'fearing *them of the circumcision*' for φοβούμενος τοὺς ἐκ περιτομῆς, 'fearing those (who had gone) *out from the circumcision*,' i.e. the Christians who had been Jews. We may quote the authority of Meyer and Canon Lightfoot here against Dr. Davidson's endorsement of the common but erroneous rendering. Lastly, in 1 Timothy v. 17, we read in Dr. Davidson's version, 'let the elders who preside well be counted worthy of *double honour*,' where he follows the Authorized Version. Here τιμῆς is rather *honorarium* than *honour*, and is better rendered *stipend*, *reward*, because (1) τιμὴ in the Greek Testament has very frequently this sense of 'payment,' as in S. Matt. xxvii. 6, αἵματος τιμῆ. (2.) Because S. Paul is urging here, not *honour*, but a *substantial* proof of it, by an increased *honorarium*; and for this purpose he quotes Scripture, 'Thou shalt not muzzle the ox, treading out my corn,' and 'the labourer is worthy of hire.' Arguments which prove the duty of rewarding those who labour by substantial rewards.

One striking merit of Dr. Davidson's version, which we respectfully commend to the consideration of the Revision Committee, is the presentation of the Old Testament quotations in a different type, in which he happily follows the Rheims version. This, we venture to surmise, would be a clear gain to the ordinary reader.

In conclusion, we are constrained to affirm, that the more carefully we have examined the version before us, the more reason we have been driven to feel, that Dr. Davidson not only has fallen far short of our own conception of a correct and popular revised version worthy of the great original, but what is still more painful, in a translator of Holy Writ, that he has been under the clearest and greatest of obligations to such scholars as Archbishop Trench, Bishop Ellicott, Canon Lightfoot, and Dean Alford, without any attempt to give us the slightest hint of acknowledgment. Their labours he has largely utilized, but the labourers themselves he has left everywhere unrecognized. The living scholars to whom he owes so much are not

even once mentioned ; and in denouncing the dead, as in Dean Alford's case, as well as in ignoring the living, Dr. Davidson has acted with a consistency which, to ourselves, is simply unaccountable.

ART. V.—THE UNSEEN UNIVERSE.

The Unseen Universe ; or, Physical Speculations on a Future State. Third Edition. (London : Macmillan & Co., 1875.)¹

THIS book, as is well known, is a bold and masterly attempt to trace, on scientific principles, a connection between the Visible Universe and the Unseen and Eternal World. If the success of the attempt seems hardly proportionate to the scientific power and knowledge brought to bear on the investigation, it must be remembered that more ought not to be expected from such investigations, than that they should indicate certain harmonies between the conclusions of science and the teachings of religion, and show that the problems of the Universe present, at least, no greater difficulties to faith than to unbelief. And to this extent, undoubtedly, the authors have succeeded. But it appears already as if the book would produce its most considerable effect in a different direction from that which its authors contemplated. They divided those who would concern themselves about this great theme into three classes, whom we may designate, in a general way, as believers, rationalists, and mere materialists. The first class they described as 'those who are so absolutely certain of the truth of their religion, and of the immortality which it teaches, that they are not qualified to entertain or even to perceive any scientific objection.' For such persons our authors do not write. 'We must let them alone ; they will

¹ Since this article was in type, we have received a copy of the Introduction to a fourth edition of the *Unseen Universe*, from which we learn that in the new edition, though the argument will not be materially altered, yet the shape in which it is placed before the readers will be somewhat recast. The authors also acknowledge that some corrections need to be applied to part of their original argument. It is therefore possible that some of the objections which we have urged against that argument may be obviated by these modifications.

not be influenced by anything we can say.' It seems probable, however, that the chief value of the book will be, that its suggestions will enable minds of this class to attain a more distinct intellectual conception of certain truths which they already believe without doubting. Those who receive spiritual truth by that special faculty, through which alone it is apprehended, and who hold it firmly because it is a spiritual necessity to themselves, are not the persons who will treat with indifference any reverent and sincere attempt to discover a relation between the things that are seen and those that are unseen. There are of course, in this as in every other class, those whose minds are incapacitated for receiving any ideas out of their own narrow sphere of thought and culture. But our authors must have very soon discovered that it was not from this side that they were to receive contemptuous treatment. A notice of the book by a representative of the extreme materialistic school, to which they refer in their preface to the second edition, at once indicated that men of that school were not the calm and patient reasoners that the authors hoped they would prove themselves. Perhaps, however, that outburst of savage contempt is merely to be regarded (in the words of Mr. Matthew Arnold as to other productions of the same writer) as 'the crackling fireworks of youthful paradox,' 'the declamation of a clever and confident youth,' who chooses to fill the air with his own whoopings to start the echo. The 'fireworks' have, at all events, a strong smell of *brimstone*. But even the more moderate school of rationalists, whom the authors represent as only waiting for scientific difficulties to be removed before they accept revealed truth, do not seem to give any sign of a willingness to accept the guidance which the *Unseen Universe* offers them. On the other hand, those whose faith in immortality stands on different grounds from any that science can supply, are generally disposed to regard this remarkable book as an important contribution towards the solution of some difficult problems, although they may not admit its reasonings to be in all respects conclusive. What believers in Christianity justly resent in the writings of some scientific men is, not that they find there hypotheses which disturb some of their own preconceived notions, but because it is assumed that the conclusions of science are absolutely certain, and that those of faith are not trustworthy even in their own proper sphere; in short, that there is no other knowledge in heaven and earth beyond that to which science may direct us.

And yet, although the speculations of the *Unseen Universe* seem, as far as we can judge, to be regarded with more favour by the religious than by the scientific mind, it is impossible not to regard the book as an exponent of the attitude towards religion of true scientific thought, rather than as representing the individual views of the two distinguished men whose joint authorship, though not proclaimed, appears to be tacitly admitted. It contains, indeed, more than sufficient signs of marked idiosyncrasies, which somewhat mar its general effect, producing not only peculiarities of style, but certain crudities and incongruities, we think, in the course of the argument. Yet the main argument, that disbelief in the soul's immortality 'is not justified by what we know of the physical universe, but that, on the other hand, there are many lines of thought which point very strongly towards an opposite conclusion,' is, we are persuaded, not merely the conviction of a few minds, produced in them by some ingenious reasonings, or by the successful progress of certain brilliant speculations; it is nothing more than the legitimate and almost necessary outcome of scientific thought, the conclusion to which true physical science, as distinguished from that which is falsely so called, is ever tending. A recognition of this is so essential to a due appreciation of the arguments of the *Unseen Universe*, that we need offer no apology for a somewhat careful examination of the real tendencies of Physical Science.

Many very hard things, no doubt, have been said in the name, not so much of religion, as of a mental philosophy which is a valuable auxiliary to religion, as to the pernicious influences of devotion to physical science. Sir William Hamilton,¹ for instance, insists on the importance of the study of mind as counteracting and balancing the influences of the study of matter. He argues that exclusive physical study 'diverts from all notice of the phenomena of moral liberty,' and indeed disqualifies the intellect from appreciating the import of these phenomena. We may perhaps allow, although some distinguished instances to the contrary prove that no incompatibility exists between these two departments of human knowledge, that those who devote their minds to the one do not readily apprehend the conceptions of the other. But he brings a yet more serious charge against physical science. He affirms that this science, 'by exhibiting merely the phenomena of matter and extension, habituates us only to the contemplation of an order in which everything

¹ *Lectures on Metaphysics*, Lect. ii. p. 35.

is determined by the laws of a blind or mechanical necessity.' The inevitable tendency of this one-sided knowledge is manifestly, he thinks, 'that the student becomes a materialist, if he speculate at all.' And the progress of science, instead of diminishing these dangers, appears to him even more alarming. In the infancy of science, when the attempts to explain the phenomena of nature had very partial success, there was a wide field left for a belief in the agency of a free intelligence ; but now, alas ! science has gone presumptuously forward, solving one mystery after another, giving intelligible explanations fatal to all reverent feeling, and producing in minds subject to these baneful influences the conviction that, 'as the mechanism of nature can explain so much, the mechanism of nature can explain all.'

Such an argument displays little confidence in the philosophy which is supposed to be endangered by the progress of knowledge. But surely these apprehensions might have been somewhat relieved by the consideration, that if physical science enables us to see more distinctly what the mechanism of nature *is*, and what it *can* effect, it probably will also assist us in distinguishing what that mechanism *is not*, and what it *cannot* effect. There is, however, some excuse for the mental philosopher overlooking this very simple truth, in the confusion of ideas which prevails—even among physicists themselves, and much more among educated men generally—as to the true meaning of Physical Science. That which is properly so called is the knowledge of relations between natural phenomena and their physical antecedents, as necessary sequences of cause and effect ; these relations being investigated by the aid of mathematics—that is, by a method in which processes of reasoning, on all questions that can be brought under the categories of *quantity* and of *space-conditions*, are rendered perfectly exact, and simplified and made capable of general application to a degree almost inconceivable by the uninitiated, through the use of conventional symbols. There is no admission for any but a mathematician into this school of philosophy. But there is a lower department of natural science, most valuable as a precursor and auxiliary, which we may call scientific phenomenology ; the office of which is to observe and classify phenomena, and by induction to infer the laws that govern them. As, however, it is unable to determine these laws to be necessary results of the action of physical forces, they remain merely empirical, until the higher science interprets them. But the inferior and auxiliary science has of late assumed a position to which it is by no

means entitled. It gives itself airs, as if it were the mistress instead of the handmaid, and often conceals its own incapacity and want of scientific purity by high-sounding language as to the mysteries of nature. It may even complain of true science, the knowledge of causes, as merely mechanical. It will endue matter with mysterious qualities and occult powers, and imagines that it discerns in the physical atom 'the promise and potency of all terrestrial life.'¹

But the steady progress of true physical science gradually dispels these really unscientific imaginations. It has been of late years more and more apparent that this progress is invariably in a direction contrary to all notions of latent powers in matter; that its tendency is, like that of the old Atomic philosophy, only with different instruments, and far more conclusive arguments, *ἐκβάλλειν τὰς ποιότητας*, to 'cashier qualities,'—if we may use Cudworth's quaint phrase—and to indicate that all material phenomena, so far as their objective cause is concerned, are due to different *modes of motion*, the one property of matter—and that a *negative* one—being *inertia*. Indeed, the fundamental laws of dynamical science assumed this of matter, and are therefore anti-materialistic. But in the infancy of physical science the certainty of these laws was but slowly realized; and the discovery of gravitation, whilst it got rid of many independent imaginary properties of matter, yet seemed to leave at least one master of the field. However, Newton himself emphatically repudiated the idea that 'inanimate brute matter should, without the mediation of something else which is not material, operate upon and affect other matter without mutual contact: as it must do, if gravitation, in the sense of Epicurus, be essential and inherent in it.' And whilst the disciples of Newton accept provisionally gravitation as the phenomenal law which alone enables them to explain the motions of the heavenly bodies, yet it is with the conviction that whether Le Sage's mechanical theory of gravitation be the true theory or not, yet, to use the words of Newton, 'no man who has in philosophical matters a competent faculty of thinking,' can ever fall into the absurdity that gravity is 'innate, inherent, and essential to matter.'

The history of the science of Physical Optics affords a very instructive illustration of physical science 'cashiering,' as it advances, the mysterious occult qualities of matter. According to the corpuscular theory of light which Newton maintained—though it would seem not without misgivings as

¹ Tyndall's *Belfast Address*, p. 54.

to its physical truth—light consists of infinitesimally small molecules proceeding from luminous bodies. To account for various phenomena of light, these molecules were supposed to be endued with attractive and repulsive forces, to have fits of easy reflection and refraction, and further to be different for the different colours of the spectrum ; in short, light was believed to be a kind of matter which had inherent qualities, and not simply what matter is assumed to be in the laws of motion. But by the undulatory theory of light, the truth of which has been completely determined since Newton's time by dynamical science, all notions of the phenomena being due to qualities of material particles have been completely and for ever set aside. Every educated man now-a-days is aware that light is proved to be nothing else than extremely minute and rapid vibrations of an ethereal medium that pervades space, and that optical phenomena, as they appear to us, are the results of the sensations produced in the eye by such vibrations. At one time, however, the phenomena of *colour* seemed to present some inconsistencies with the strictly physical theory. The different colours of the spectrum corresponded, indeed, with different refrangibilities of the rays—that is, with different wave-lengths of the undulation. But Brewster inferred from certain experimental observations that, instead of the colour being due to the wave-length, there were three spectra of primary colours, with their respective *maxima* differently situated; the superposition of the spectra producing the different tints of the complete spectrum. This objective triplicity of colour in light of the same wave-length would seem necessarily to imply some difference of *quality*. But more accurate experiments have proved that Brewster was mistaken, and we have the authority of Professor Stokes for affirming that there are absolutely no phenomena whatever to lead us to suppose that light of the same refrangibility can be separated into different colours. Young, indeed, the founder of the undulatory theory, had anticipated Brewster in conceiving a triplicity in colour; but he, more philosophically,¹ placed the triplicity in the sensa-

¹ Young's truly philosophical mind is remarkably indicated in such passages as the following, when we consider how later discoveries have illustrated his opinions :—'It cannot be positively determined whether matter is originally of one kind, owing its different appearances only to the form and arrangement of its parts ; or whether there are various kinds of matter, essentially distinct from each other ; but the probability appears to be in favour of the former supposition'—Lecture xlix. : *On the Essential Properties of Matter*. And again, of the occult forces necessary to Boscovich's and similar hypotheses, he says, 'Such methods may often

tions, and not in the physical constitution of the light, and suggested a triple molecular constitution of each nerve fibril. By experiments with a rotating disk of three different colours, which were first made by Young and repeated with greater exactness by Clerk Maxwell, it has been proved that the sensations of the different tints of the spectrum may indeed be produced by a due combination of the same three colours in different proportions, although it may be conclusively shown by various tests that the apparent identity is not objectively real. The singular phenomena of colour-blindness seem of themselves to afford sufficient proof that colour is purely subjective. Helmholtz says :¹

‘To speak of three fundamental colours in an objective sense would be nonsense; in fact, so long as one refers only to purely physical conditions, and while there is no reference to the human eye, the properties of compound light depend alone on the proportions in which exist lights of different wave-lengths.’

It must be observed how emphatically physical science repudiates as ‘nonsense’ the notion of *qualities* distinct from motion in the phenomena of light.² And it is no less instructive to observe that the scientific mind is compelled to distinguish between matter which is nothing else than matter, and therefore is capable of nothing more than the vibration, and matter in the living subject, which is matter in intimate union with something else that is not matter, and which therefore not only responds to the vibration, and is in unison with it, but produces something of a totally different kind, which we call sensation. This in the material organ is simply a sense of the vibration, but in the mind of the living subject

be of temporary advantage, as long as we are contented to consider them as approximations, or as classifications of phenomena only : but the grand scheme of the Universe must surely, amidst all the stupendous diversity of parts, preserve a more dignified simplicity of plan and of principles than is compatible with these complicated suppositions.’

¹ We quote from a very interesting paper by Professor Mayer, in the *Philosophical Magazine* for February, 1876, on Young’s discovery of his theory of colour.

² The phenomena of sound are of course a more obvious instance of different sensations being caused solely by different modes of motion. But it is only of late that the full extent even of this truth has been realized, and it has been shown by experimental observation, that the qualities as well as the pitch of sounds are due entirely to the kind of vibrations that reach the ear. Those who witness for the first time the testing by the *manometer* of voices of the same pitch, but of different *timbre*, and of the several vowel sounds, cannot but be startled by the evidence thus afforded of the variety of sensations due simply to various combinations of different waves of air.

itself it is transformed and interpreted into something of a totally different kind, namely the perception of colour. Thus physical science, by the very fact of its giving mechanical explanations of material phenomena, is compelled to be anti-materialistic if true to its own principles, as soon as ever it passes to our perception of these phenomena.¹

It would be difficult to find a more suggestive illustration of this truth, than the one supplied by Physical Optics. But the following passage from the *Unseen Universe* will explain generally our meaning, when we say that scientific thought necessarily distinguishes between matter which is only matter, and matter in the living subject which is matter and something else. It is pointed out, that there are some forms of matter, such as phosphorus, which are not only associated with the objects of sensation, but by existing in our brain become the vehicles of the subjective impressions which are peculiar to the individual. But to suppose that the particles in the living brain are nothing else than they are in the objects of our sensations is a gratuitous assumption. For—

‘there is this difference between portions of phosphorus playing these two parts. When in the common state, we can experiment upon it and investigate its properties, but this we cannot do when it exists in the brain in its peculiar state. The assertion, therefore, that phosphorus and its allied particles, whose motions and positions are accompanied by consciousness, are nevertheless, when in this state, essentially the same as they are in the ordinary state, appears to us to be without foundation. We cannot thus argue from the one state to the other. For that most peculiar and interesting condition of phosphorus and other matter in which it is intimately connected with the production of consciousness, and where some peculiarity due to this connection might perhaps be thought likely, is the very thing we cannot investigate. To say therefore that the brain consists of particles of phosphorus, carbon, &c., *such as we know them in the common state*, and that when the particles of the brain have, in consequence of the operation of physical forces, a certain position and motion,

¹ ‘The following sentence is translated from D’Alembert by Dugald Stewart:—‘The truth is, that no relation whatever can be discovered between a sensation in the mind and the object by which it is occasioned, or at least to which we refer it: *it does not appear possible to trace, by dint of reasoning, any practicable passage from the one to the other.*’ ‘If this be so, if there be no necessary connection between the reception of an object into the senses, and its impression on the mind, what ground have we for supposing the organs of sense to be more than machinery for the uses of the body? The body may indeed be said to see through the eye: but how,—if we can trace no nearer connection between the mind and an object painted on the retina, than between the mind and the object itself,—how can it be asserted, that the mind needs the eye to see with?’—*Guesses at Truth*. First Series, p. 11.

then consciousness follows, is to assign a peculiar relation between the brain particles and consciousness which we are not justified in doing'—pp. 49, 50.

The position, however, that physical science divests matter of qualities, and indicates, as it advances, that all material phenomena are merely modes of motion, will probably appear to many so strange and paradoxical, that we must pursue our argument somewhat further. Since the discovery of the law of gravitation, nothing has so much enlarged the sphere and quickened the impulses of scientific thought, as the discovery, some forty years ago, not merely that motion will produce heat, which every savage knows who kindles a fire by rubbing two sticks together; but that there is a definite and fixed mechanical equivalent of heat; so that the heat which is required to raise one pound of water one degree Fahr. in temperature, would be sufficient, if the whole could be applied mechanically, to raise one lb. weight to a height of 772 feet: and, conversely, that if a pound weight fall through 772 feet, and have its motion entirely stopped by collision, the whole heat generated by the collision would be sufficient to raise the temperature of a pound of water one degree. This discovery gave a definite scientific expression to the general belief in the correlation of all physical forces, and indicated that all physical energies are only other forms of what is known in mechanics as *vis viva*, which depends merely on the product of the mass of a body into the square of its velocity. The conservation of energy, as is very lucidly shown in the *Unseen Universe*,¹ is really nothing more than the Third of those Laws of Motion on which the science of dynamics is founded, but extended so as to include the various forms of physical energy. It seems therefore quite impossible to avoid the conclusion, that if all physical energies are forms of mechanical *vis viva*, which is a mere function of inert mass and motion, all material phenomena, that is, all effects on matter produced by these energies, must be of the same kind. It is a proof how slowly great truths grow in the human mind, that this conclusion is not universally admitted as self-evident. But in the meanwhile another branch of physical science has been extending its sphere, and, as it has advanced, has pointed even more obviously to the same conclusion. Of late years the Atomic theory of the constitution of matter, which before was merely empirical, has received such aid from mathematical analysis in the researches of Clerk Maxwell and others, that it must now be regarded as a branch of true

¹ Chap. iii. p. 75, &c.

physical science. Yet it cannot be doubted that the Atomic theory, as originally conceived by modern science, presented very serious obstacles to the scientific conception of matter as simply inert. Although the old Atomic philosophy of Greece, as distinguished from the homœomerism of Anaxagoras, represented the atoms as all of the same kind, and the apparent qualities of matter as due only to the motion of the atoms, yet the Atomic theory of modern science, with the phenomena of chemistry to explain, seemed at first to confirm more than ever the existence of some essential and inherent qualities in the several material particles, and appeared likely to prove a stronghold for those who would endure matter with mysterious occult powers. In fact, as in former ages materialists took refuge in the old philosophical Atomism—though very illogically, as Cudworth has shown in his *Intellectual Universe*—so now they have been looking to the new science with revived hopes. The worship of the Atom seemed likely to become the fashionable religion, and to drive Christianity and even Theism out of the field. Its doctrines received an eloquent and brilliant, if somewhat vague and misty, exposition, in a celebrated address by an eminent phenomenologist, as President of the British Association in 1874. The triumph of atomolatriy seemed to be at hand; theologians and metaphysicians were profoundly alarmed, and some thought it the only safe course to repudiate the Atomic theory as a mere speculation and, not very sagaciously or consistently with their own principles, to challenge scientific men to give some visible or tangible proof of the existence of the terrible atom. They little anticipated that meanwhile from the very quarter where they suspected so much danger help was coming. For the latest development of the Atomic theory, far from being favourable to materialism, is exactly in the contrary direction, and, if it can stand the test of mathematical investigation, to which it is being subjected, will supply an amount of evidence against materialism from the constitution of the physical universe, which must be absolutely conclusive. The empirical physicist indeed might have rested satisfied with the idea of the Atom enveloped in a cloud of mystery, and the object of reverential awe.¹

¹ 'He clothes them with force as a garment, those small incompressible spheres ;

Nor yet does he leave them hard-hearted, he dowers them with love and with hate,

Like spherical small British asses in infinitesimal state.'

—*Blackwood's Magazine*, Nov. 1874 : 'British' Association. *Notes of the President's Address.*

But happily, the instinct of real science is at once to attack all occult properties of matter, as pretentious nonentities, and explode the sham mystery. And therefore it was impossible for any truly scientific mind to acquiesce contentedly in the theory that there are ultimate atoms, endued with extraordinary characteristics, out of which the phenomena of nature are produced. He is compelled to inquire what is the dynamical meaning of this constitution. This scientific instinct has led to an hypothesis as to the nature of the atoms, first imagined by Sir William Thomson, which, though as yet in its infancy, is already beginning to stand in the same relation to the original Atomic theory, as the undulatory theory holds to the corpuscular in the science of Light. The atom is, according to this hypothesis, a vortex ring of the ethereal medium in which light and heat are propagated by vibrations; this medium being supposed to be an incompressible perfect fluid, in which case it is proved by mathematical analysis, that the vortex ring must continue for ever, nothing indeed short of infinite power being able either to originate or to destroy its motion. Thomson has already investigated the consistency of this theory with the elasticity of bodies, and with the only hypothesis yet proposed to account for gravitation. In an article on Atoms in the new edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Clerk Maxwell points out that Thomson's hypothesis satisfies more of the conditions of the problem than any hitherto suggested, and he adds—what we have already observed to be true in regard to the undulatory theory of light:—

‘But the greatest recommendation of this theory from a philosophical point of view, is that its success in explaining phenomena does not depend on the ingenuity with which its contrivers “save appearances” by introducing first one hypothetical force and then another. When the vortex atom is once set in motion, all its properties are absolutely fixed and determined by the laws of motion of the primitive fluid which are expressed in the fundamental equations.

‘This primitive fluid has no other properties than *inertia*, invariable density, and perfect mobility, and the method by which the motion of this fluid is to be traced is pure mathematical analysis. The difficulties of this method are enormous, but the glory of surmounting them would be unique.’

With the past successes of mathematical science to encourage us, we may hope that in time difficulties may be solved which at present appear quite insuperable. But when it is remembered that, as Herschel has remarked,¹ every atom in its

¹ See Jevons' *Principles of Science*, vol. ii. p. 451, on ‘The Infinite Incompleteness of the Mathematical Sciences.’

path is solving differential equations, which, if written out at length, might perhaps 'belt the earth,' it is evident that until some new method of mathematical analysis be discovered, which shall be as superior in simplicity and power to those now in use, as ours surpass the geometry of Euclid, we cannot expect more than that here and there conclusions may be deduced from the theory which shall satisfy us, that if the powers of the human mind were equal to the task, the various problems of material phenomena might be explained on this hypothesis.

However, independently of the vortex-ring hypothesis, the Atomic theory, as investigated by Clerk Maxwell and others, supplies some new and rather unexpected presumptions against materialism. The mere phenomenologist, unable (he says) to stop where our microscopes cease to be of use, supplementing by the vision of *his* mind the vision of the eye, discerns in matter latent powers, and the promise and potency of all terrestrial life—that is, he ceases to be scientific. True science looks into these arcana of nature with *its* vision, and comes to an exactly opposite conclusion. It may perhaps seem incredible to the unscientific mind, that the actual size of the ultimate atoms of which matter is composed should be even approximately ascertained; but, after all, it is not more marvellous than that the size and weight of the planets should be determined by us terrestrials. The conclusion from this Clerk Maxwell proves to be, that 'the smallest living being visible under the microscope does not contain more than about a million organic molecules. Some exceedingly simple organism may be supposed built up of not more than a million of similar molecules. It is impossible, however, to conceive so small a number sufficient to form a being furnished with a whole system of specialised organs.' The whole passage affords so instructive an instance of physical science driving materialism from one stronghold after another, that no apology is due for giving Maxwell's argument at length, especially as it bears closely on the questions which we must discuss hereafter:

'Thus molecular science sets us face to face with physiological theories. It forbids the physiologist from imagining that structural details of infinitely small dimensions can furnish an explanation of the infinite variety which exists in the properties and functions of the most minute organisms.

'A microscopic germ is, we know, capable of development into a highly organized animal. Another germ, equally microscopic, becomes, when developed, an animal of a totally different kind. Do

all the differences, infinite in number, which distinguish the one animal from the other, arise each from some difference in the structure of the respective germs? Even if we admit this as possible, we shall be called upon by the advocates of Pangenesis to admit still greater marvels. For the microscopic germ, according to this theory, is no mere individual, but a representative body containing members collected from every rank of the long-drawn ramification of the ancestral tree, the number of these members being amply sufficient not only to furnish the hereditary characteristics of every organ of the body and every habit of the animal from birth to death, but also to afford a stock of latent germules to be passed on in an inactive state from germ to germ, till at last the ancestral peculiarity which it represents is revived in some remote descendant.

'Some of the exponents of this theory of heredity have attempted to elude the difficulty of placing a whole world of wonders within a body so small and so devoid of visible structure as a germ, by using the phrase structureless germs.¹ Now, one material system can differ from another only in the configuration and motion which it has at a given instant. To explain differences of function and development of a germ without assuming differences of structure is, therefore, to admit that the properties of a germ are not those of a purely material system.'²

It must be again noticed here, how emphatically the scientific mind rejects the idea of any differences in matter, beyond 'configuration and motion;' and how necessarily the conclusion follows that for the transmission of the infinite peculiarities of the living existence, there must be *something else* which is not of the same kind with the atoms that are the material substance of the living germ. There must be a substance (call it what we may) that is not matter, *in which, and not in the material structure, these different peculiarities are contained*. And this immaterial substance must be infinitely more capable of comprehending, retaining, and transmitting the peculiarities which appear in the phenomena of life, than any material structure can be imagined to be.

It may perhaps be objected by materialists that it is no marvel that physical science should seem to prove that matter is inert, when its fundamental laws assume the inertia of matter,

¹ See F. Galton: 'On Blood Relationship.'

² Article on Atoms, p. 42. In other words (those of the poem in *Blackwood*, already cited):—

'Thus the pure elementary atom, the unit of mass and of thought,
By force of mere juxtaposition to life and sensation is brought,
So, down through untold generations, transmission of structureless germs
Enables our race to inherit the thoughts of beasts, fishes, and worms.'

The sentiments—we do not, of course, seek to penetrate any secrets of concealed authorship—are evidently identical with those of Professor Clerk Maxwell.

and all its reasonings proceed on that assumption. But, as those laws are verified by actual observation, in whatever direction, and to whatever extent, dynamical science can apply them, the universal truth of these assumptions has acquired a degree of certainty exceeding any that the human intellect could attain by any other process. To suppose therefore that the phenomena of life are the result of certain occult properties and powers in matter, whilst the other phenomena of the material world indicate that matter is simply a passive recipient of motions impressed upon it, is not merely unscientific and unphilosophical, but absurd. The breach of continuity which some imagine in the miracles of Scripture is nothing compared to this. The intellect of man would be utterly and hopelessly put to confusion, if materialism were true. The belief that life and mind are evolved from material atoms may appear a very poetical belief, when set forth in the mysterious and suggestive metaphors of its prophets,—much more poetical than the dull conclusions of mechanical unimaginative science,—almost as poetical as a belief in speaking oaks and winking Madonnas: and, it may be added, quite as irrational. It merely hides its absurdity by taking refuge in infinitesimal atoms out of the reach of the microscope, and, as it seems to imagine, of common sense.

But not only are the actual demonstrations of physical science fatal to materialistic theories, but its student necessarily forms habits of thought adverse to materialism. Instead of being 'a materialist if he speculates at all,' as Hamilton supposes, he is compelled to be an immaterialist and a true mental philosopher, whenever he reflects on the phenomena of nature. He is taught, as we have seen,—that which metaphysicians conclude by another process of reasoning,—that the objective realities of the external material world are not what they appear to us, but that the external world, such as we conceive it, becomes a reality in our minds, only as the result of our mental interpretation of certain physical impressions. He is taught this almost unconsciously, and in spite of himself, because the proofs of it are continually recurring, whenever physical science explains the most ordinary phenomena. Many probably will remember how strange it seemed, and how it opened to them a new sphere of thought, when they first studied the scientific explanation of the rainbow, and discovered that its form, position, and colours were all subjective, and that the bow of one spectator was not the bow of another. Indeed the student of physical science, in tracing phenomena to their physical causes, is continually com-

pelled to look for an objective cause totally different in kind from the subjective effect. It would be impossible for mental philosophy, without the aid of physical science, to prove that the mind has the extraordinary power of so interpreting physical motions as to create a subjective world, which is to the external world not what the wax impression is to the seal, but rather what the meaning of a book is to the type by which it is printed. And yet no more convincing proof could anywhere be found of the existence of mind distinct from matter.

On the other hand, when the student of physical science regards the energies of nature, he is continually reminded that life is of a different order, and must belong to a totally different system of things from that which can be studied by physical science, that is, from matter. He discovers that though life plays so important a part in the world, though it is so evidently superior to dead matter, and certainly determines very largely and with undeniable power the application, and in some sense or other the direction of physical energies, yet it holds no place at all among these energies; it is incapable of being transformed into or exchanged with any of them. It is not a form of physical energy, or it would create *vis viva*. It cannot be the result of physical energies, or it would absorb *vis viva*. It does neither.

There is also a philosophical aspect of the phenomena of life, to which physical science points, and which, though it may never be explicitly present to the mind of the student, yet because it is true, must necessarily govern his thought. He is accustomed to think of the phenomena of matter as simply different configurations of material common to the whole universe: there is no individual *entity* in them. And in living subjects, the mere matter in one is the same material as the matter in another, and might be exchanged in the processes of nature. But sensations are individual, not common. And while the colour of an animal, for instance, we find to be due to a perception in our own mind, and so of all the *qualities* of the material of which the body is composed,—it is quite impossible to reduce to this the existence of the animal as a sentient individual.

Thus, there are many lines of thought which direct the student of physical science to an unseen universe, of life first of all, and then of mind and reason, and produce in his mind fundamental intuitions fatal to materialism. In the language of Professor Stokes, quoted in the *Unseen Universe* (p. 184):—

'Admitting to the full as highly probable, though not completely demonstrated, the applicability to living beings of the laws which have been ascertained with reference to dead matter, I feel constrained at the same time to admit the existence of a mysterious *something* lying beyond, a something *sui generis*, which I regard, not as balancing and suspending the ordinary physical laws, but as working with them and through them to the attainment of a designed end. What this *something* which we call life may be is a profound mystery. . . . When from the phenomena of life we pass on to those of mind, we enter a region still more profoundly mysterious. We can readily imagine that we *may* here be dealing with phenomena altogether transcending those of mere life, in some such way as those of life transcend, as I have endeavoured to infer, those of chemistry and molecular attractions.'

Of this tendency of true physical science to dispose the mind to look for that which is not material in the phenomena of nature, the *Unseen Universe* is, without doubt, an expression. Whether it is a consistent expression, may be questioned ; but, at all events, it suggests conclusive proofs in several directions that the results of dynamical science point, more and more as the horizon of scientific knowledge enlarges, from those things that are seen, which they prove to be temporal, to things that are unseen, in which alone immortality can be found. The arguments cover a very wide field, and in many cases are so condensed, as is the habit with English, and especially with Cambridge mathematicians, that it would be very difficult to do them justice without transcribing every word. Our object will be merely to indicate the main lines of the argument, giving such explanations as may make them intelligible to the general reader, and examining those in which the authors appear to us to have diverged, unless we greatly misunderstand their meaning, from principles which, as representatives of scientific thought, they were bound to maintain.

In the introductory sketch which forms the first chapter of the book, the principal ancient and modern beliefs as to the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the body are briefly discussed. To the statement given by the authors of the Christian belief we shall refer hereafter. They then proceed to explain their own position. They 'assume, as absolutely self-evident, the existence of a Deity, who is the creator of all things.' It is possible that 'extreme materialists' might object to such an assumption, as fatal to the scientific exactness of the argument ; and undoubtedly in their application of it, it means much more than the unintelligent impersonal first cause, which Herbert Spencer, in a passage

quoted by them, contends that we are obliged to recognize in all the phenomena of nature. At all events, it indicates the extreme difficulty, if not the impossibility, of constructing any logical argument on a religious question without the aid of axioms to which the moral and religious instincts bear witness.

Again, by the laws of the universe they understand 'those laws according to which the beings in the universe are conditioned by the governor thereof as regards time, place, and sensation.' And they at once take up the position, on which some of their most important conclusions depend, that it is impossible to imagine any finite intelligence, however superior to ourselves, to be absolutely without conditions. By this they mean, it must be observed, that they do not consider any but *materially* embodied existences to be conceivable, and subsequently (Art. 203) they declare that they regard the trammels of space as necessarily constituting matter. We confess that to our mind the conclusion of Jevons, a singularly exact thinker, seems much more reasonable. He says: ¹—

'Material existences must exist in space, no doubt, but intellectual existences may be neither in space nor out of space; they may have no relation to space at all, just as space itself has no relation to time. For all that I can see, there may be intellectual existences to which both time and space are nullities.'

In this he agrees with that very profound and philosophic thinker, Dr. Thomas Young; ² and though our authors affirm that such finite intelligences, if conceivable, which they doubt, must be absolutely unconnected with the present universe, this can hardly be accepted as a self-evident truth. Their argument, however, as they proceed to expound it, comes to this, that no intellectual existence can be conditioned with regard to *time*, without being material; because, unless time is a nullity to them, they need a memory, and a memory is impossible without an organ of memory, and an organ of memory is necessarily material. For, our authors urge (p. 51), by physiologists, 'memory is looked upon as dependent upon traces left behind in the brain of that state in which it was when the sensation remembered took place.' And they quote Professor Huxley, who speaks of molecules of the brain competent to the reproduction of sensations once received, 'sensigenous molecules,' which constitute the physical foundation of memory.

¹ *Principles of Science*, vol. ii. p. 469.

² *Lectures on Natural Philosophy*, vol. i. p. 468. The passage is quoted in the *Unseen Universe*, p. 160.

It is evident, however, from a passage which we have quoted above (p. 153), that they *do not* mean that there are memory-molecules, which are matter and nothing more. We learn from a subsequent part of their work that their theory is, that besides the grossly material body, every living being has a quasi-spiritual body, or the framework of one, which is not truly immaterial but composed of some highly sublimated matter. Their hypothesis as to the unseen universe, which we shall examine hereafter, compels them to regard as in some sense material everything that has any relation whatever to space. Other persons, who have not an hypothesis of this kind to maintain, will prefer to call that immaterial, which, though it may have a certain relation to space, yet has capacities and properties of a totally different kind from any that belong to that inert matter, of which physical science takes cognisance. That unknown part in the 'structureless germ,' which contains the *potencies*, not merely of physical forms and peculiarities without number, but also of the intellectual and moral qualities, it may be, of a whole race, we are constrained, with Stokes, to regard as something *sui generis*; in other words, immaterial. It is inconsistent with the philosophy of physical science to call it material, because matter in all its forms, separate from the living subject, is found to be simply the passive recipient of motion. We therefore cannot introduce the confusion of ideas, which seems to us to vitiate some of the reasonings of the *Unseen Universe*, by adopting the nomenclature of its authors. And we further maintain, in reference to their argument as to an organ of memory, that there is no proof whatever that any material part of the brain is the ultimate recipient of the perceptions, or is that which so retains them that they may be hereafter reproduced. In the germ we have found that it must be the immaterial part which contains the *potencies*; and though it is apparently necessary to us, who have, as part of our nature, a material body, that for the reproduction of the past into an explicit form of consciousness there should be a material organ, yet it is impossible thence to conclude that there can be no forms of life in which the immaterial part, which is infinitely more capable than anything material, needs an organ of that kind for the reproduction and development of the perceptions—that is, an organ consisting of a substance, which, however refined and subtle, is yet still *matter*, that is the recipient and vehicle of physical energies, having *inertia* or mass, and nothing else.

At all events, our authors' view of the conditions necessary

for intelligent existences can hardly be regarded as a 'physical axiom,' as they designate the principles enunciated in this chapter of their book. The next principle which they discuss, that of continuity, may perhaps be so considered, and their explanation and vindication of this important principle will be found very instructive and suggestive. The account they give of the principle is thus summed up :—

'Continuity, in fine, does not preclude the occurrence of strange, abrupt, unforeseen events in the history of the universe, but only of such events as must finally and for ever put to confusion the intelligent beings who regard them.

'It thus appears that, assuming the existence of a Supreme Governor of the universe, the principle of Continuity may be said to be the definite expression in words of a trust that He will not put us to permanent intellectual confusion, and we can easily conceive similar expressions of trust with reference to the other faculties of man'—p. 60.

We are persuaded, with the authors, that it is impossible to give any rational account of the universal certainty of the principle of continuity, without reference to the Being of the Divine Author of the Universe. Those who attempt to prove it from our knowledge of Nature are continually making assumptions, which further knowledge indicates as at least uncertain. Thus it has appeared hitherto to modern science, that we must assume that ponderable matter is indestructible. 'It has grown,' Herbert Spencer says, 'into an axiom of science that whatever metamorphoses matter undergoes, its quantity' (that is, as measured by its mass, in other words, by its weight) 'is fixed. The chemist, the physicist, and the physiologist, not only one and all take this for granted, but would severally profess themselves unable to realize any supposition to the contrary.' In fact, the absurdity of such a supposition is so self-evident, that it will serve to point a passing sneer at religion. 'The current theology,' in other words, the religious belief of all ages, 'in its teachings respecting the beginning and end of the world, is clearly pervaded by it; and it may be questioned whether Shakspeare, in his poetical anticipation of a time, when all things should disappear and leave not a wrack behind, was not under its influence.'¹ However, as the horizon of human thought enlarges, it seems that 'the current theology' is not quite so absurd as chemists and others might imagine. Jevons demurs to the assumption that there is any necessary truth even in such a fundamental law of nature as the indestructibility of matter.² And although the

¹ *First Principles*, Part ii. chap. iv.

² Vol. ii. 431.

principle must be assumed in regard to the present material universe, yet if the vortex-atom theory of the constitution of matter be true, there are scientific reasons for considering it possible, as the authors of the *Unseen Universe* prove, that the ultimate consequence of this constitution may be that matter as ponderable stuff will cease to exist. They in fact prefix, as the motto to their chapter on the present physical universe, the very words from Shakspeare which H. Spencer regards as containing a self-evident absurdity, but which they view as the expression of a physical truth.

But though we are persuaded that no account of the principle of continuity can be complete without reference to the Divine Creator, we are by no means equally sure that the account given by our authors is quite accurate. Their argument is, that assuming the personality of God, we must infer the principle of continuity as the necessary consequence of His relation to the created intelligences that regard the events of the universe. We hardly think that this is so self-evident as they consider it. Certainly, according to this view of a merely *subjective* necessity for continuity in the order of the universe, the explanation of miracles which they so emphatically repudiate, namely, that 'for the object of removing spiritual confusion, intellectual confusion was introduced, as being the lesser evil of the two,' is absolutely unanswerable. For they allow that there may be other laws which are 'similar expressions of trust with reference to the other faculties of man;' and there is no absurdity therefore in supposing that there might be events in which no finite intelligences could ever trace a sequence of cause and effect, the purpose of which might be that the moral and religious faculties in man might not be confounded.

The authors would, we venture to think, have maintained a more consistent argument, if they had confined themselves simply to the objective necessity for continuity from the Being of the Creator. That this law is the expression of that Eternal and Infinite Being, we are profoundly convinced. That the works of God are not fitful and spasmodic, that there is an eternal order in His universe, considered as one whole, including all things visible and invisible, material and immaterial, and that all apparent exceptions are no exceptions, but parts of and necessary to that Divine Order, is, we believe, the inevitable conclusion from the existence of such a God, as Revelation enables the mind to realize,—One Who 'inhabith eternith,' 'with Whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning,' 'Who was and is and is to come.'

In applying the principle of continuity to the problem of the universe, the authors describe with grim humour the dilemma in which the 'extreme,'—we should rather call it the irreligious—'school of science' finds itself placed by the results of that principle. The genius that was evoked, in the name of order, to swallow up historical Christianity and the immortality of the soul, turns out to be an insatiate demon which destroys the whole visible universe. The error of this school is, that they overlook the existence of a universe that is unseen. The very principle of continuity, on the ground of which they attack Christianity, involves the necessity of something else in the universe besides that which is seen, in order that the universe may continue. And the origin of the visible universe, no less than its end, points in the same direction. 'If the visible universe is all that exists, then the first abrupt manifestation of it is as truly a break of continuity as its final overthrow.' And therefore, if science can discover any conditioned order of things antecedent to the appearance of the visible universe, we have gained a step:—

'In fact, we conceive it to be the duty of the man of science to treat the original production of the visible universe just in the same way as he would any other phenomenon. It is no doubt a very large thing; but we must not be terrified at mere bigness,—we must mete out the same scientific measure to all events, whether they be great or small. We therefore welcome an hypothesis like that of Sir W. Thomson, which regards the primordial atoms of the visible universe as vortices somehow produced in a pre-existing perfect fluid, provided that such an hypothesis is otherwise tenable.

'Let not any of our readers regard this process as an attempt to drive the Creator out of the field altogether, for this is not the case. Is it less reverent to regard the universe as an illimitable avenue that leads up to God, than to look upon it as a limited area bounded by an impenetrable wall, which, if we could only pierce it, would bring us at once into the presence of the Eternal?

'In fine, we do not hesitate to assert that the visible universe cannot comprehend the whole works of God, because it had its beginning in time, and will also come to an end. Perhaps, indeed, it forms only an infinitesimal portion of that stupendous whole, which is alone entitled to be called *THE UNIVERSE*'—p. 65.

But another result follows. If the visible universe must come to an end, the individual immortality of man can only be maintained, consistently with the principle of continuity, by a transference from the present visible universe to another order of things, intimately connected with it. There would be utter confusion if the transference should take place into

a universe in which there was no connection with the *past* of the now existing universe.

The certainty of the temporary character of the present visible universe is then discussed, and its end is proved to be the necessary consequence of the law of continuity scientifically applied (chap. iii.). Probably our unscientific readers will find more difficulty in following the arguments of this chapter than in any other part of the volume. They may, however, satisfy themselves with the fact, that the authors are evidently masters of this branch of the question, and that, whatever be the comparative merits of Carnot and Mayer (in regard to which we have no doubt that our authors are right, and Tyndall is wrong), yet by the admission of all, the conclusion drawn from the law of heat is inevitable. The general results of the arguments may be briefly stated as follows:—The energies which maintain the present universe can only be available so far as they are capable of being transformed, by the heat being transformable into work, and the work into heat. But the heat is no longer transformable when all the bodies are of the same temperature. It follows, however, from the laws of heat, that, in the transformation of heat into work, a large portion of it is dissipated, so as to do nothing more than raise the general temperature of the whole, and to be unavailable for future transformation. Ultimately the result must be, that the available energies of this universe will come to an end.¹

The authors proceed (chap. iv.) to discuss the question of the constitution and structure of Matter. A brief sketch is given of a few of the more reasonable, or historically more important hypotheses as to the ultimate nature of matter. Of all that have been suggested in ancient or modern times, the most recent speculation, the vortex-atom theory of Sir. W. Thomson, commends itself to our authors' minds:

'First, because it shows one way of at once thoroughly accounting

! The only possibility of escape from this conclusion is by imagining the continual interposition of intelligent beings, which (Clerk Maxwell has shown) might without any introduction of additional energies prevent the degradation of existing energies. Such an interposition 'the extreme school' at all events would not allow to be conceivable. Indeed the supposition of doors *without mass* resisting particles which have mass hardly brings conviction to the mind. But, apart from the fantastic notion of doors and demons, the conclusion that the *direction* of physical energies may be changed without expenditure of energy follows from several considerations; and in that case it also follows, that an Infinite Intelligent Will might restore the transformability of energies without any break of continuity. See p. 176 *infra*, and *Unseen Universe*, p. 181.

for the conservation of tangible matter ; 2nd, because it shows the possibility of forming an idea of a true atom, which shall not require, even for perfect elasticity, the inconceivable quality of perfect hardness necessary to the atom of Lucretius.'

We have already quoted other strong reasons, given by Clerk Maxwell, for accepting Thomson's theory as the only really scientific hypothesis. This theory, however, like all that have preceded, fails at present to account for mass or inertia, which is fundamentally necessary to all our ideas of physical energy, or rather, we should say, it fails to account for the different masses of differently constituted substances. But it is impossible not to believe that the question of the mass of bodies is very intimately connected with that of gravitation, since the mass and the specific gravity are always proportionate to each other ; and the only plausible hypothesis for accounting for the attraction of gravitation has been shown by Sir W. Thomson to be consistent with his own theory. Perhaps that theory may, when further developed, give a more satisfactory explanation of gravitation than Le Sage's, and one which will explain also the mass or inertia of material bodies.¹

The only modification of Thomson's theory that our authors suggest, for which they give reasons that at all events are plausible, is that the ether itself may not be an *absolutely perfect* fluid, in which case the vortex rings would not be eternal, but must ultimately disappear, vanishing at last into the ether, from which they were originally evolved. Even without this modification, the theory exhibits, with much clearness, the development of the visible tangible universe, which is the object of our senses, from one that is in a certain sense invisible. But if our authors' speculation be true, the latter also must have been evolved from one that is yet further removed from the gross matter of which the present universe is composed ; and, as they imagine, in order to preserve the law of continuity, that again from another more unlike,—that is, with less irrotational motion, and less inertia,—and so on in an infinite series, of which no beginning can be found except in eternity.

But supposing this visible universe be developed in the primordial form of vortex-ring atoms, what are we to think as to its further development into its present condition ? Was it continuous, or were there breaks of continuity, at least events which must appear such to us ? As regards the diversity of

¹ It is evident that if the vortex-ring theory be a physical truth, the amount both of mass and of gravitation must depend on the nature and amount of the irrotational motion in each body.

elementary substances which we now find in nature, some of which cannot be decomposed by any agencies in our power, the authors incline, for various reasons given by them, to the opinion that all may have been derived (through some natural agency) from one primæval atomic form. Globe development again presents no serious difficulties to the student of physical science. But one point must be noticed in regard to this, namely, that the results of all inorganic development are infinitely irregular. On the other hand, organic development is more or less regular. 'Two living things of the same family are much more like one another than two grains of sand or two particles of soil.' The products, again, of human skill, that is, products developed by an intelligent agent, designing uniformity, are in the highest degree regular.

The question that presents far greater difficulties than these is the development of life. Supposing that life in its simplest material form has appeared in a world in which life, as we know it, is possible,—may we further suppose that the different forms of life, as they exist now, could be continuously derived, by gradual changes from generation to generation, on the principles of the Darwinian hypothesis? The authors make a remark on this question, which is well worthy of attention; they say,—

'Our point of view is somewhat different from that of either of these two parties (theologians and men of science). We think it is not so much the right or privilege as the bounden duty of the man of science to put back the direct interference of the Great First Cause—the unconditioned—as far as he possibly can in time. This is the intellectual or rather theoretical work which he is called upon to do—the post that has been assigned to him in the economy of the universe.

'If, then, two possible theories of the production of any phenomenon are presented to the man of science, one of these implying the immediate operation of the unconditioned, and the other the operation of some cause existing in the universe, we conceive that he is called upon by the most profound obligations of his nature to choose the second in preference to the first'—pp. 131, 132.

On the whole, they conclude that the result of the speculation is—

'to render it probable that there may be in nature, give it time enough, a process which leads to the transmutation of species. The accumulation of successive differences, each representing some element of success in the struggle for life, may easily be imagined in the course of ages to produce a very great change'—137.

But are we to conceive that the changes can ever be so great,

as to include the change from an irrational being into man? We may ask further, can these changes, produced 'by the accumulation of successive differences,' ever have transformed a plant into an animal? Even the most thorough-going Evolutionists allow that the Darwinian theory may require some modifications. Must it not be added, that the laws of this theory being merely phenomenal, and the sphere of observation being infinitesimally small, as compared with the whole extent, in time and space, of life development even on this earth, it is utterly unscientific to conclude that there may not be many points in the course of the development, in which what appear to us breaks of continuity may have been necessary steps in the production of the forms of organic life? Our authors allow, and indeed contend, that the first introduction of life must have been a break of this nature. And whatever explanation may be given of this, will apply to all cases, in which, from *the very nature of things*, such apparent discontinuities were required. It is as unscientific to conclude that there is a continuity in unknown parts of the curve in which some consideration might lead us to suspect the existence of *singular points*, as it is to imagine that the whole series of events is discontinuous.

But the axiom accepted by our authors without remark, that 'it is against all scientific experience that life can appear without the intervention of a living antecedent,' is too important for us to pass over unnoticed. It is true, indeed, that were it otherwise, either the philosophy of physical science is at fault, or nature itself must present most perplexing breaks of continuity. In either case the intellect would be brought to confusion. It is possible, however, that many who have heard in a general way that Dr. Bastian has succeeded in exhibiting organic life in infusions from which the air was excluded, may be surprised that the truth of Biogenesis is thus assumed as indisputable. But general readers are probably little aware how, during the last few years, the positive evidence against the production of life without a living antecedent has accumulated so as to be quite irresistible by any truly scientific mind. The experiments of Professor Lister, in Edinburgh,¹ and others made by Professor Tyndall lately, and described by him in *Nature* last January, are absolutely fatal to all notions of spontaneous generation; and Tyndall's evidence will be the more convincing, because his creed is (or was) that it is a scientific necessity to *believe*,

¹ Described in a paper that received last year the Macdougall Brisbane prize from the Royal Society of Edinburgh.

whatever experience may teach, in the potency of matter under proper conditions to produce organisms. Professor Huxley again, in his article on Biology in the new edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, makes the following remarks (p. 688) :—

‘Not only is the kind of evidence adduced in favour of abiogenesis logically insufficient to furnish proof of its occurrence, but it may be stated as a well-based induction, that the more careful the investigator and the more complete his mastery over the endless practical difficulties which surround experimentation on this subject, the more certain are his experiments to give a negative result ; while positive results are no less sure to crown the efforts of the clumsy and the careless.

‘It is argued that a belief in abiogenesis is a necessary corollary from the doctrine of evolution. This may be true of the occurrence of abiogenesis at some time ; but if the present day, or any recorded epoch of geological time, be in question, the exact contrary holds good. If all living beings have been evolved from pre-existing forms of life, it is enough that a single particle of living protoplasm should once have appeared on the globe, as the result of no matter what agency. In the eyes of a consistent evolutionist any further independent formation of protoplasm would be sheer waste.’

It is impossible not to be amused at the anxiety of the ‘consistent evolutionist’ to give the Creator as little trouble as possible in the production of protoplasm. As if it were any more a break of continuity for life to break forth throughout the whole universe, than for one helpless atom of protoplasm to come into existence !

After discussing, in a very interesting chapter, the scientific possibility of beings superior to man existing in the present visible universe, the authors proceed to expound their conclusion as to the great question of the unseen universe, to which all the previous investigations have been leading us onward. Before, however, we examine their reasonings, it may be well to pause and consider to what point, viewed in the ‘dry light’ of the philosophy of physical science, their investigations have brought us. Without supposing that the vortex-ring theory is the complete truth, we may take it as so far in the direction of the truth as to have very considerably extended and cleared our view. Let us then assume this, as at all events the best conception at present of the constitution of the material universe. According to this conception then, all the material phenomena of the universe are the results of varied modes of motion of the so-called ether, the material base of light-undulations. To avoid confusion, let us suppose with Thomson that the ether is a perfect fluid, for our reason-

ings will be equally applicable, whether the ether itself, or some original ether, has this perfect fluidity. Now this ether, though something very different from what we call matter, yet differs from it, according to this theory, entirely as regards motion. The *substance* of this ether, and of the grossest and densest matter, is exactly the same. We do not offer this as any objection to the theory; on the contrary, the conclusion that density and rarity are ideas in our own minds, produced by the dynamical effects on our sensations of different combinations of motion, is consistent with the general teachings of physical science; and the differences of inertia of the different bodies may possibly be explained, as we have before observed. But however ether and matter may differ, both as regards our sensations and the dynamical effects, still matter is the result of the ether being moved in a certain manner, and the ether is the physical substratum of all matter. The whole hypothesis depends on this, for the vortex rings could not exist, and have any of their peculiar properties, except on the assumption that the fluid has *inertia*. And it seems to be self-evident, that the ether without the modes of motion that produce material phenomena, cannot be essentially different from the ether in these modes. If matter is destitute of inherent properties, and is simply the recipient and vehicle of energy, it is absurd to suppose that the ether itself is something *more*. And it must be noticed that this conclusion follows, whether the vortex-ring theory or some other be true, if the process through which matter is developed is physical. It does not seem, then, that we are brought one step nearer the immaterial by any conception which only carries us from one condition of inert matter to another. Though the amount of inertia may be reduced indefinitely, inertia itself still remains; and by diminishing the one negative quality ever so much, we do not make the matter capable of positive qualities, or the recipient of forces, such as those latent in the immaterial part of a microscopic germ, which are of a different order altogether from physical energies, and incommensurate with them.

But, further, there is great ambiguity in our authors' use of the words 'visible' and 'invisible.' There are material things which we call invisible, because they are not in such a physical condition, and so acted on by physical forces, as to produce the sensation of vision in our eye. The atmosphere may, in this sense, be called, in a popular way, invisible. But the ether our authors seem to consider, in the truest sense, invisible; they say, for example (p. 118), that we 'cannot regard

the invisible universe,' by which they mean the ether, 'as an absolutely perfect fluid.' Yet, if it be not a perfect fluid, but absorbs some of the light of the stars, it is not absolutely invisible, even in the popular sense; and even if it were not at all molecular, yet as its vibrations are the cause of all our vision, and all the objects of our sight are the ether in different physical conditions, we can hardly allow it to be invisible in the true sense of the word. Physical vision is the effect of physical energy, which, change it as we may, is measured by the product of the mass into the square of the velocity: and, therefore, a universe, to be absolutely invisible, must be one without mass, and consequently one from which vortex rings cannot be evolved. It may be replied, indeed, by our authors, that in their theory the original evolution of mass, as well as of physical energies, is hidden in eternity, the amount of mass diminishing as we pass from one ether to the higher form; and that, therefore, the primeval fluid is without mass, and absolutely invisible. If this is their meaning, more exactness is certainly required in the use of the term. And further, though this process would lead up to a fluid without mass, it does not appear that it brings us any nearer that which we require—a substance capable of properties of which matter is incapable.

We seem to stand on much surer ground if we look for our invisible world in a different direction. Let us take the instance of the 'structureless germ,' which we have already found very instructive. We have found that in such a germ, besides the material form, there is something else not of the same kind as matter, which we will call x . This is not merely invisible—that is, destitute of *mass*, and therefore incapable of being a vehicle for physical energies; but also, positively, it is capable of containing the potencies of all terrestrial life. Now the material part (m) belongs to and is a phenomenon of the material universe (M). Let us say that x belongs to, and is an outcome of, an invisible and immaterial universe X . Now X is an invisible universe in a higher sense than any part or condition of M can be. In its points of contact with M its phenomena (we use the word for the want of any other) have some relations to space, but apparently not precisely the same as those of M . Indeed, what the relations to space, and the other conditions, of X may be, we are altogether ignorant; but though the conception of such a universe may be pronounced, in the school of Herbert Spencer, to be unthinkable, it does not follow that it is untrue, or that it fails to give more satisfaction to the mind

than one which, through a process of exhaustion, tries to grasp an invisible universe, and finds *nothing but negations*.

It certainly would have tended much to the distinctness of our authors' arguments, when they proceed to discuss the question of the unseen universe, if they had first defined exactly, and after careful examination of the difficulties to which we have referred, the meaning of the terms. In the absence of this, we feel in doubt at times whether we rightly understand their arguments, and therefore, that we may not impute to them conclusions which they do not intend, we shall keep as nearly as possible to their own language.

They begin by observing that one inference from the previous physical investigations is the apparently wasteful character of the arrangements of the physical universe, by far the greatest part of its energy doing nothing else, it seems, than travelling through space with immense rapidity. But they ask, may not this be 'only an arrangement by which our universe keeps up a memory of the past?' 'Mr. Babbage has pointed out that if we had power to follow and detect the minutest effects of any disturbance, each particle of existing matter must be a register of all that has happened.'¹ Undoubtedly, 'if we *had* power to follow.' But if we have not this power, and if there is nothing but the result of waves of heat travelling through space, it seems that we have only an infinite number of infinitely indeterminate problems! In the organization through which man receives those impressions which are the physical basis of memory, there is provision made by a complicated structure for a most accurate *differentiation* of the impressions. What analogy to this do we know, or can we conceive, to exist in the physical universe? Besides which, this material notion of memory, as we have already noticed, is utterly insufficient. The mind alone discriminates and interprets. The memory is of the idea² in the mind with which the object that caused the sensations was associated, and not of the amount of the energies that caused them. It is surely an utter confusion of ideas, as to the meaning of memory, to suppose that after endless transformations of energy, in which the energies exercised in one event have been confused times without number with those exercised in others, the heat travelling through space should

¹ Quoted from Jevons' *Principles of Science*, vol. ii. p. 455.

² So Dr. Carpenter expressly argues (*Mental Physiology*, Second Edition, p. 431). 'Although it is commonly stated that memory consists in the renewal of past sensations and of the ideas they have excited, it may be questioned whether impressions are left on our minds by anything else than *ideas*.'

retain traces of all these transformations. It might as well be argued, that because a writing is the record of the past, therefore if the ink were washed off, and mixed with ink from all other writings in the world, after it had been used for innumerable other purposes, the mixture would be the history of all earthly events. As if the ink itself, and not the letters it formed, were the record of the events. However, that we may not misrepresent our authors, we must let them explain themselves—

‘Whether is it more likely that by far the larger portion of the high-class energy of the present universe is travelling outwards into space with an immense velocity, or that it is gradually transferred into an invisible order of things? May we not regard ether or the medium as not merely a bridge between one portion of the visible universe and another, but also as a bridge between one order of things and another, forming as it were a species of cement, in virtue of which the various orders of the universe are welded together and made into one? In fine, what we generally call ether may be not a mere medium, but a medium *plus* the invisible order of things, so that when the motions of the visible universe are transferred into ether, part of them are conveyed as by a bridge into the invisible universe, and are there made use of or stored up. Nay, is it even necessary to retain the conception of a bridge? May we not at once say that when energy is carried from matter into ether it is carried from the visible into the invisible; and that when it is carried from ether to matter it is carried from the invisible into the visible?’—p. 158.

We may perhaps misunderstand the meaning of this extraordinary argument; but it seems to us to affirm that the ether which is the *substance* of all material things, *includes the unseen universe*. It amounts, as we understand it, to the self-contradictory assertion that M is M *plus* X, in which case all phenomena of M must be phenomena of M *plus* X; in other words, matter in all its forms is matter in union with the unseen universe, and must be (as well as the ether itself) capable of transmitting energies into the unseen universe. The language would be, according to our view of the invisible universe, only true, *mutatis mutandis*, of such a substance as the living brain. This is matter *plus* a certain outcome of the unseen universe, or according to our notation *m plus x*. But no reason whatever is given for supposing that the ether is matter in that peculiar condition, in which the material particles in the brain must be. On the vortex-ring theory, this muts mean that the whole material of the universe is in this condition, unless the irrotational motion is supposed to *kill* the ether. And on any theory no reason whatever can be given

for this marvellous hypothesis, of the ether being the living brain of the universe, beyond our authors' anxiety to make some use of this infinite amount of physical energy which seems to them to be doing no good, but only wearing out the visible universe. This curious teleological argument may be necessary to their hypothesis of the connection between the seen and the unseen; if so, we fear the hypothesis must be greatly in need of support. Why need we concern ourselves as to the future employment of these physical energies? no doubt they will not be ultimately wasted, but will in the course of ages play some useful part in the order of things to which they belong. The late Professor Rankine's speculation that they might be reflected, and thus again become capable of transformation, would probably be rejected by our authors: but at all events, as Jevons has observed, 'there is this use in such speculations, that they call attention to the finiteness of our knowledge;' and, we must add, they indicate also the possibility of an Infinite Intelligence providing for the restoration of the Visible Universe in a new form, by means of these very energies which, to our limited knowledge, seem only to be running to waste.

In close connection with this hypothesis of the ether being the living brain of the universe, but not necessarily dependent on it, is the theory, that 'we possess a frame, or the rudiments of a frame, connecting us with the invisible universe, which we may call the spiritual body.' In this and other cognate questions our authors have followed, perhaps unconsciously, in the steps of a certain school of ancient philosophy, which asserted that the intellectual soul had, besides the grosser visible body, a certain ethereal body as an inner garment, of which it is not denuded when it puts off this mortal body. Cudworth, in his *Intellectual Universe*,¹ gives a full account of the teaching of this school, and maintains that it is consistent with the doctrines of Christianity. We cannot, however, see the least reason to suppose that it is consistent with those principles which physical science establishes. The idea of a twofold body, of the same material, hardly commends itself to the mind. That the $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ can be regarded as distinct from the $\pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$, the true personality in man, that it may belong to a lower order of things, and be in far more intimate connection with the body, we fully admit to be a legitimate theory; it certainly has the sanction of many high authorities; but that the $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ is immaterial, in the sense of having capacities which belong to

¹ Chap. v. sect. iii.

no form of inert matter, the reasons which we have discussed already must, we think, sufficiently prove to every unbiassed mind.

The position at which our authors have now arrived is (they observe) as follows:—

‘What we have done is to show that immortality is possible, and to demolish any so-called scientific objections that might be raised against it. The evidence in favour of the doctrine is not derived from us. It comes to us from two sources : in the first place, from the statements made concerning Christ ; and, in the second place, from that intense longing for immortality which civilized man has invariably possessed’—p. 166.

But there are supposed to be scientific objections, also derived from the principle of continuity, against the Christian evidence for the doctrine, that is, the resurrection of Christ. The validity of such objections is therefore examined, by regarding ‘the problem of the universe, not from the side of the future, but from that of the past.’ These investigations are profoundly interesting and highly suggestive, and though the conclusions require, in our judgment, very important modifications, they undoubtedly throw new light on some of the most momentous questions that have ever occupied human thought.

The first question is as to the beginning of the present visible universe. We must conclude from ‘that great physical principle, the dissipation of energy,’ that the visible universe cannot have lasted for ever, but must have made its appearance in time. What conceivable antecedent can have given rise to this stupendous phenomenon? Creation, in time, out of no previous existence, we must set aside from our inquiry ; for such an act would carry us out of the universe altogether, and deny the principle of continuity. ‘We are, therefore, driven to look to some kind of development’ from the invisible universe as the cause of the appearance of the visible universe. This development ‘may either have been through the living or through the dead ; either it was the result of a natural operation of the invisible universe or it was brought about by means of intelligence residing in that universe and working through its laws.’ In what direction does the actual nature of the production point ?

‘Now this production was, as far as we can judge, a sporadic or abrupt act, and the substance produced, that is to say, the atoms which form the material substratum of the present universe bear (as Herschel and Clerk Maxwell have well said), from their uniformity

of constitution, all the marks of being "manufactured articles." . . . We have already shown that development without life, that is to say, dead development, does not tend to produce uniformity of structure in the products which it gives rise to. Thus the argument is in favour of the production of the visible universe by means of an intelligent agency residing in the invisible universe'—p. 169.

But this must be examined from another point of view. Supposing the visible universe to have been evolved from one that is unseen, the principle of continuity compels us to consider this unseen universe that has preceded only as one step in an infinite series, reaching into the infinite depths of a past eternity. That principle demands—

'an endless development of the conditioned. We claim it as the heritage of intelligence that there shall be an endless vista, reaching from eternity to eternity, in each link of which we shall be leading from one form of the conditioned to another, never from the conditioned to the unconditioned or absolute, which would be to us no better than an impenetrable intellectual barrier'—p. 169.

The possibility of this infinite series of developments is then discussed on the assumption, which is made '*for the sake of bringing our ideas in a concrete form before the reader, and for this purpose only*,' of the truth of the vortex-ring theory. It must, however, be observed that, if the particular concrete form assumed is open to objections which would apply to every other hypothesis *of the same kind*, the reasoning cannot be considered satisfactory. Now the general supposition which follows from the previous investigations of the authors is, that as the visible universe (1) is developed from the ether (2), so this has been developed out of an invisible universe of a higher order (3), and so on till the origin is lost in an eternity of the past; the material substance of (1) being a phenomenon of (2), that of (2) a phenomenon of (3), &c. And it is argued that the energy of each lower system must be less than that of the higher system, out of which it is developed. But although this conception of successive *material* developments is not only conceivable, but truly philosophical, so long as we confine our thoughts to the merely physical universe, there are several arguments, which seem absolutely conclusive against our authors' interpretation being anything more than a solution of a very small part indeed of the whole problem. In the first place, is it to be conceived as in accordance with a law of continuity, that a series of developments, beginning in eternity, should gradually diminish in energy and at last terminate and come to a dead stop in this mate-

rial universe? We ask, what is the next step onward in this mighty and majestic march of the ages? We claim of the authors that they should fulfil that which they contend the human intellect has a right to claim, 'that there shall be an endless vista of developments from eternity to eternity.' What, according to their interpretation, can be conceived to be the next? They confess the failure of their scheme by marking the next possible development as (o)—nothing. They can only illustrate it by 'an intelligent agent in the present universe' developing vortex rings; in other words, by a man blowing *smoke rings*! The illustration, no doubt, must be due to some habit of the writer, in which he realizes most vividly that he is an 'intelligent agent;' but we fear that the world in general must consider it a *reductio ad absurdum* of his theory. And further, is it not a serious flaw in our authors' theory, which (if we understand them aright) conceives of these successive developments as the Divine order of the universe, that the development of the present material universe is of a different order altogether from any conceivable development of the universe that has preceded it? Number one (1), the visible universe, even if scattered throughout an infinite space, yet only occupies an infinitesimal part of space, and it is infinitely heterogeneous, differentiated, and multiform. The ether (2), on the contrary, must be, if it has any physical existence at all, a continuous homogeneous substance filling all space, and the same must be true of (3), (4), &c. There is not the remotest reason, beyond the necessities of our authors' speculations, for imagining any differentiations of the ether even to be possible. There must have occurred, therefore, an abrupt change in the character of these developments, which certainly looks as if we had not discovered the true Divine order of God's Universe.

Some other conception therefore is absolutely necessary in order to fulfil the law of continuity. But to complete the hypothesis, and make it consistent with that law, we have merely to recognize the truth—which our authors elsewhere acknowledge, though here it is left out of consideration—that the physical universe, including all its successive developments from its primordial mass-less ether to its present form, is only one very small part of the whole universe of God. We may suppose indeed that this physical universe is but one development, by Divine agency—not through any process which, like the formation of vortex rings, is physical, but by some relation of cause and effect suited for the purpose—

from a universe which is really immaterial, although in some sense or other conditioned. Nor need we stop here, for we must conceive that in the truly spiritual universe there are still steps upwards, heaven above heaven, till they are lost in the light which no one can approach unto. Surely a conception of this nature is nearer the truth, and presents to the intellect none of the insurmountable objections which embarrass the very limited speculations of the *Unseen Universe*. And if it be asked, how the difficulty is thus solved of the order of God's Genesis apparently terminating with the dissolution of this material frame, there is one completely sufficient answer. It is the only possible answer that can be given to this objection; and it is one perfectly consistent with a conception that includes the whole of God's Creation, material and immaterial, but incompatible with an hypothesis that regards the Divine order as merely vortex-ring development, or anything of that kind. It is this; that the Son of God having descended from the highest heaven, through all the universes, even as low as this material universe, and having submitted even unto death in our nature, rose from the dead in that nature under new conditions, and then ascended in this spiritual body above all heavens to the Throne of God, in order that when the fulness of time may come, He may be the author of a new development—far more glorious than any that have preceded—from which a new and eternal order of the ages shall begin.

But we are now brought to a point at which we must examine the religious consequences of the investigations of the *Unseen Universe*. A full examination of these would require a separate article to do them justice. Our limits will only allow us to touch somewhat slightly on the more important points.

The argument of our authors has indicated that to account for the development of the visible universe, it is necessary to conceive of 'an infinitely energetic, intelligent, developing agency residing in the universe, and therefore in some sense conditioned.' They point out that the Christian Faith satisfies this conception; that in it, while the Father is represented as absolutely unconditioned, the Second Person of the Trinity is revealed as developing the will of the Father, submitting to enter into the Universe, and in some mysterious sense to become subject to conditions. Their theology, which, as might be expected, is not in the most exact dogmatic form, is supported here as elsewhere by detached texts. In confirmation of their view of the Son or Word, the Revealer

of the Father, submitting to become for the fulfilment of the Divine purposes in some sense or other conditioned, even before the Incarnation, they might have referred to the manifestations of God under the old dispensation. But the truth that Holy Scripture teaches, it must be remembered, is not that the Son of God is contained in the universe, but that the universe is contained in Him. *Τὰ πάντα ἐν αὐτῷ συνίστη-κεν*, 'all things subsist in Him.' And when the act of creation is spoken of, it is not only *by* Him (*δι' αὐτοῦ*) as the *δημιουργὸς*, but *in* Him (*ἐν αὐτῷ*), and also *εἰς αὐτὸν*, *for* Him, as the end and reason why creation exists and is what it is. That such language implies a very intimate connection between the developing Word and the Universe, so that this agency is in the universe, and not merely from without, will not be questioned.

They then follow out the same course of reasoning in another direction. As regards the mystery of life, no less than in that of matter, science traces the principle of development. But, as in the inanimate material creation we came ultimately to the atom, for the development of which no finite power is sufficient, and the existence of which indicates an intelligent agency ; so even if we should allow that evolution can account for the different varieties of life, nevertheless, as life is only derived from life, we are brought at last to the primordial germ, and must account in some way or other for the appearance of life where it did not before exist.

There must therefore be an antecedent not belonging to this physical universe, but to the invisible world, and such an agency is recognized by the Christian faith in the action of the Holy Spirit, the third Person in the Trinity, the 'Giver of Life.' He is 'regarded in this system as working in the universe, and therefore in some sense as conditioned, and as distributing and developing this principle of life which we are bound to consider as one of the things of the universe.' In the genesis of the material world, 'the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters ;' and when in the fulness of time the Word of God assumed flesh, His incarnation was effected by an operation of the same Spirit. The authors, in this connection, discuss the position of life in the universe, without bringing us, as far as we can perceive, any nearer an intellectual conception of that position ; in fact, their own hypotheses have obscured this question rather than cleared our view ; and they speak grandly of driving the mystery of life into the structural depths of the universe, that 'region of thick darkness which no created eye is able to penetrate,'

which appears to us hardly appropriate language to use of protoplasm, inexplicable as the mystery of its vitality is by the laws of the material world. However, the conclusion that the principle of continuity points to the necessity of a divine intelligent agency, acting from the unseen universe to originate, develop, and distribute life, is precisely the same, whatever conception of development be adopted.

But in describing the special work of God the Holy Spirit, the authors have again not very exactly represented the faith of the Church. They seem to confine the agency of the Word to one sphere of development, that of matter and energy, and the agency of the Spirit to another, the development of life. This, however, is perfectly arbitrary on their part, and there is no reason assigned by them for this separation of the agents. The Christian faith is, that the sphere of the Divine Agents is the same, but that the character of the action is different. Holy Scripture teaches of the Revealing Word; that 'in Him was life,' and again He says of Himself, 'As the Father hath life in Himself, so hath He given to the Son to have life in Himself.' The creation of living intelligences is expressly attributed to Christ. On the other hand, the action of the Spirit in the genesis of the world certainly includes the whole of the material universe. 'By His Spirit hath He garnished the heavens.'¹ Christian theology indeed teaches us to regard the Father as the one *αἰτία* and *ἀρχή*, the *fons et origo* of all divine operations; the Son, as the Divine *δημιουργός*, in Whom all things subsist, and by Whom they are developed and established in the form consistent with the Divine idea; and the Spirit as the active power and energy, by Whom all things are completed and perfected.²

¹ Job. xxvi. 13.

² Cf. *S. Basil. de Spir. Sanct.* cap. xvi. 'Ἐν δὲ τῇ τούτων κτίσει, ἐννόησόν μοι τὴν προκαταρκτικὴν αἰτίαν τῶν γενομένων τὸν πατέρα, τὴν δημιουργικὴν τὸν υἱόν, τὴν τελειωτικὴν τὸ πνεῦμα. S. Basil is speaking of the creation of the Angels, and seems to confine the teleioteic work of the Holy Spirit to the imparting of holiness and the grace of perseverance to rational creatures. The same is taught in Homil. in Ps. xxxii. S. Gregory Nyssen says more generally (*Ad Ablabium*, tom. iii. p. 22. Ed. 1638):—*Πᾶσα ἐνέργεια θεόθεν ἐπὶ τὴν κτίσιν δέχουσα, καὶ κατὰ τὰς πολυτρόπους ἐννοίας ὀνομαζομένη, ἐκ πατρὸς ἀφορμάται, καὶ διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ πρόωσι, καὶ ἐν τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ τελειοῦται.* Klee, in his *Dogmatic* (Part ii. chap. iii.) speaks of it as both a patristic and a mediæval notion, that Creation bore throughout an impress of the Holy Trinity: the stamp of the Father in the substance, of the Son in the form, of the Holy Spirit in the relation of each created thing to its end. We have not yet verified his references, but he appeals to S. Clement of Alexandria, Hippolytus, Epiphanius, S. Chrysostom, Theodôret, S. Augustine, S. Gregory the Great, Isidore, Peter Lombard, and Aquinas.

With regard to the other view of our authors, that the Holy Spirit is *in some sense* conditioned, so as to work within the universe, and not merely from without, the idea may be thought to derive some confirmation from those expressions of Holy Scripture, in which the Spirit is represented as brooding upon the waters, as coming down in a bodily form (*σωματικῇ ἰδέῃ*) like a dove upon Jesus Christ, and as descending upon the disciples like flames of fire. Indeed, as regards the latter manifestation, it is difficult not to suppose that the gift of the Holy Ghost which was promised by the Saviour as the result of His ascension, and which was initiated on the day of Pentecost, implies some very intimate relations of the Holy Spirit with created Being.

It is however obvious, whatever view be taken of an intelligent and infinitely powerful agency in the universe, that if it be admitted that such agency exist at all, the so-called scientific difficulty regarding miracles, as if they were breaks of continuity, entirely disappears. Science, we have seen, points distinctly to various phenomena of the material universe, for which it is impossible to account except by some act which may be described as a transference of energy from an unseen universe into that which is visible. And that similar effects should take place, whenever it might be necessary for the purposes for which the universe is created, cannot present any difficulty to the mind which has once grasped the idea of the universe, visible and invisible, as one great whole. Much less shall we feel any difficulty in admitting this, if we receive the distinctive faith of Christianity, that the Son of God, the Divine *δημιουργὸς*, assumed to Himself our humanity in all its conditions, and united with His own Divine Being human life derived from human life, so as to be in that world which was made by Him. It then follows as a self-evident truth, that events which to our limited intellects would appear as breaks of continuity might be expected to precede, accompany, and follow so stupendous a change in the relations between the unseen universe and that which is visible.

The subsequent discussions in the book, in which the authors apply the principles which they claim to have established to other religious questions, we need not examine. There is, however, one most vital question, to which reference has been already made, but which we reserved for a few remarks at the close of our review of the argument, because the solution of it seems to us to be very clear, and very simple, when once the true theory of the universe is accepted. The hypothesis of the authors as to the physical relations of

the seen and the unseen necessarily requires a particular view of the resurrection of the body. In their introductory sketch they repudiate, not without justice, the grossly materialistic notion of the resurrection which no doubt has prevailed generally in unscientific times, and which is still the vulgar acceptance of the doctrine, though it is expressly contrary to the teaching of S. Paul in his First Epistle to the Corinthians. They endeavour, on the other hand, to secure the truth of a future life in a really material, though highly refined and spiritualized body, by that theory of a spiritual body which we have already discussed. The obvious objection to this is, that in this case a resurrection is not needed, and cannot be a reality. Their reply (p. 162) is as follows:—

‘All that we have done is to remove the scientific objection to a future state, supposed to be furnished by the principle of continuity. We know nothing about the laws of this state, and conceive it quite possible, if otherwise likely, that the spiritual body may remain veiled or in abeyance until the resurrection. We only maintain that we are logically constrained to admit the existence of some frame or organ not of this earth, which survives dissolution—if we regard the principle of continuity and the doctrine of immortality as both true. Besides, the analogy of Paul, in which the body at death is compared to a seed put into the ground, not only implies some sort of continuity, but also expresses his belief in a present spiritual body. *There is*, says the Apostle (observe, not *there shall be*), a spiritual body’—p. 162.

This reply of the authors has grown in successive editions, but it does not, as it appears to us, even with the addition of the argument from S. Paul's writings, remove the difficulty which *their view* of a spiritual body presents to the Christian mind. S. Paul's ‘spiritual body’ is a totally different idea from theirs. His is distinguished, not merely from a natural body (σῶμα ψυχικόν, a body with sensational life), but from the ‘living soul.’¹ It is the supernatural result of the Incarnation and Resurrection of the Lord of Life. If they had studied the context of the words they quote, they could not have understood the Apostle as speaking of an ethereal framework in the body of man, which connects us naturally, according to the law of our creation, with the invisible world. When he says ‘there is a spiritual body,’ he means, not that there is such naturally in every man by descent from Adam, but that there is in Christ for those that are His. The Apostle uses the present tense, as his manner is, to express that which we possess in our Divine Head, and which is

¹ Ἐγένετο ὁ πρῶτος Ἀδάμ εἰς ψυχήν ζῶσαν.

realized in the resurrection of the body. 'It is sown a natural body; it *is raised* a spiritual body. There is a natural body, and there is a spiritual body.' And the law of continuity, which no doubt S. Paul's argument recognizes in the illustration of the seed, is just as truly fulfilled by the *ψυχή*, which is the 'structureless germ,' being immaterial, as by its belonging to the material system of the universe, and having a clothing of inert matter; *which is the only question at issue.*

But it will be instructive to compare our authors' reply with one given by the philosophic Cudworth to a similar objection. He says:—

'It is not at all to be doubted, but that Irenæus, Origen, and those other ancients, who entertained that opinion of souls being clothed after death with a certain thin and subtle body, suspected it not in the least to be inconsistent with that of the future resurrection; as it is no way inconsistent for one who hath only a shirt or waistcoat on, to put on a suit of clothes or exterior upper garment. Which will also seem the less strange, if it be considered, that even here in this life our body is as it were twofold, exterior and interior; we having besides the grossly-tangible bulk of our outward body, another interior spirituous body, the soul's immediate instrument, both of sense and motion; which latter is not put into the grave with the other, nor imprisoned under the cold sods. Notwithstanding all which that hath been here suggested by us, we shall not ourselves venture to determine anything in so great a point; but sceptically leave it undecided.'¹

Our authors' view of the resurrection, however, differs considerably from that to which Cudworth refers. Theirs, as we understand them, is that the ethereal body *is* the eternal body, only remaining 'veiled or in abeyance till the resurrection.' His is that the resurrection body is something additional, developed (as we should now say) by Divine power out of it—a new reality. And as it is evident, from the teaching of S. Paul, that on this question of the resurrection the whole Christian faith turns, and that the fundamental truths of the Gospel are imperilled by a denial of it, Christians cannot be too jealous of any notion that may enfeeble our sense of its reality. It is certain that the Gospel histories supply an accumulation of evidence to the reality of Christ's risen body, as not only visible but tangible, and something very different from an ethereal body. 'Behold my hands and my feet, that it is I myself; for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have.' And yet there are doubtless indi-

¹ *Intellectual System of the Universe*, chap. v. p. 806. (Ed. 1678.)

cations also, of that body being, like what used to be regarded as imponderable substances, capable of passing at will through gross matter. The accounts seem to imply a peculiar mode of material existence, such as had never before appeared in the universe, a mode, in which are combined the properties of the material and the immaterial, of the seen and the unseen. Indeed Holy Scripture expressly teaches us to look forward to results of redemption, of which 'the resurrection of those that are Christ's is only one part ; to 'new heavens and a new earth ;' to 'times of the restitution of all things,' when the ascended Saviour shall again be manifested in the visible universe ; to creation 'being delivered from the bondage of corruption' (*φθορὰς*), of that irresistible tendency to decay of the energies of the material universe, which science distinctly proves to be its necessity. Such expressions clearly point to a new order of the universe, a new creation, as the consequence of the incarnation, death, resurrection, and ascension of the Son of God, to be realized and manifested at His second coming. This is a view of the future which, as far as we can see, our authors' hypotheses do not, and cannot, reach ; though surely their conception, if true, ought to have pointed in that direction, as we have seen that one that includes the truly immaterial does point. Reason, no less than Revelation, must infer that some new development will succeed the dissolution of this material universe ; the true character of that development Holy Scripture alone can teach us. To this new universe, according to the Christian faith, the risen body of the saints will belong ; not to a past development, as our authors conclude, or to the present as some imagine ; although even as the quickened germ carries, by virtue of its immaterial part, all the elements of the past into its future existence, so these spiritual bodies, sprung from the seed that was sown, must carry into the future universe, not only the memories and records of their present life, but those elements of moral and spiritual character which have been formed in this mortal state.

It is not easy for us to sum up briefly, yet accurately, our judgment as to this most remarkable and most interesting volume. We will merely say, that although we have indicated, without hesitation, several lines of thought in which the authors seem to us to have diverged, not merely from the teachings of Religion, but from principles established by physical science itself, yet this does not alter our conviction, that this book is one, which, probably more than any that has appeared in modern times, will affect religious thought

on many momentous questions, insensibly it may be, but very largely and very beneficially. It is impossible to study the book without finding our hold of these questions greatly strengthened. If, indeed, we have succeeded in detecting serious flaws in the reasoning, at all events our authors may say with the eagle—

τὰδ' οὐχ ὑπ' ἄλλων, ἀλλὰ τοῖς αὐτῶν πτεροῖς
ἁλισκόμεσθαι.

ART. VI.—THE BURIALS QUESTION.

1. *The Burials Question.* A Speech by the Right Hon. R. ASSHETON CROSS, M.P., in the House of Commons, March 3, 1876. (London, 1876.)
2. *The Burials Acts, 1852 to 1871.* By W. CUNNINGHAM GLEN. Third Edition. (London: Shaw and Sons, 1874.)

To dispute about the Burial of the Dead seems to be a thing contrary to the feelings, not only of Christians, but of men. In the grave it is commonly thought that all animosities and dissensions are laid to rest, and it cannot be a wrong instinct which associates with burial-places thoughts of peace. 'Their bodies are buried in peace.' At the same time, truth must not be sacrificed to sentiment, however beautiful; and if proposals are made to deal with our burial-grounds in a way which we believe to be wrong, such proposals must be resisted, even at the risk of incurring the charge of bigotry and intolerance.

We hope to show, in the course of these pages, that the position of the Church of England in this matter is neither bigoted nor inconsistent with that spirit of large toleration, which she, perhaps more than any other Christian community, combines with a fearless enunciation of Divine Truth.

We propose to speak briefly of these three points: 1. What is the present state of the Law of Burial in England. 2. What alterations have been proposed in that law. 3. What may wisely and safely be done on this much-vexed subject.

1. As to the present state of the law: the learned Chancellor of the diocese of Ely drew up a paper for the

Conferences held in that diocese last year, from which we have derived great assistance. He says, 'Every person dying in the parish, and every person whose body may be cast on shore in the parish, and possibly every parishioner, whether dying in the parish or elsewhere, has a right to be buried in the churchyard.' But this statement, we venture to think, needs qualification.

We have heard a good deal lately about the 'common-law right of burial.' Mr. Osborne Morgan, whose name is now inevitably mentioned in every burial discussion, in his celebrated resolution of March 3, 1876, asked the House of Commons to affirm 'that the parish churchyards of England and Wales had been by the common law of England appropriated to the use of the entire body of the parishioners.'

Now, going back to ancient times, we find that when churches were first erected in England, 'no part of the ground surrounding them was originally reserved for the purposes of sepulture' (Glen, p. 13); and again, 'the practice of burying at a place remote from the church appears to have continued in England until about the year 750, when Cuthbert, Archbishop of Canterbury, introduced from Rome the custom of having churchyards attached to churches for the greater convenience of the priesthood in offering prayers for the dead. Churchyards were carefully inclosed and consecrated, and appropriated for the burial of those who had been entitled to attend Divine Service in those churches.' And though Lord Stowell (in *Gilbert v. Buzzard*, from which Mr. Glen quotes above) says, 'The rule of law which says that every man has a right to be buried in his own churchyard is to be found most certainly in many of our authoritative text-writers,' that rule of law does not mean all that it has been assumed to mean.

The following statement of the law from the work of the learned Burn (vol. i. p. 256, 9th edition) will be read with interest :—

'As to the original of burying-places, many writers have observed that at the first erection of churches no part of the adjacent ground was allotted for interment of the dead, but some place for this purpose was appointed at a further distance; especially in cities and populous towns, where, agreeably to the old Roman law of the Twelve Tables, the place of inhumation was without the wall, first indefinitely by the way-side, then in some peculiar inclosure assigned to that use. Therefore, the Roman Pontifical, amongst other inventions, is in this matter convicted of error, that it makes Pope Marcellus, under the tyrant Maxentius, appoint twenty-five churches

in Rome to bury martyrs in; when at that time laws and customs did forbid all burials within the city. Hence the Augustine Monastery was built without the walls of Canterbury (as Ethelbert and Augustine in both their charters intimate), that it might be a dormitory to them and their successors, the kings and archbishops, for ever. This practice of remoter burials continued to the age of Gregory the Great; when the monks and priests, beginning to offer for souls departed, procured leave, for their greater ease and profit, that a liberty of sepulture might be in churches or in places adjoining to them. This mercenary reason seems to be acknowledged by Pope Gregory himself, whilst he allows that when the parties deceasing are not burthened with heavy sins, it may then be a benefit to them to be buried in churches, because their friends and relations, as often as they come to these sacred places, seeing their graves, may remember them, and pray to God for them. After this Cuthbert, Archbishop of Canterbury, brought over from Rome this practice into England, about the year 750, from which time they date the original of churchyards in this island.

It is probably an incontestable proposition that every member of the Church, 'every one who has been entitled to attend Divine Service in the parish church,' has a right to be buried in the sacred ground which—not from time immemorial (as we have shown above), but from a very remote age—has been attached to such church.

That the right is not absolute at common law seems to us to be proved by the fact that two statutes have been passed in the present century to confer it upon those who had it not. The first is 48 Geo. III. c. 75, which is entitled 'An Act for providing suitable interment in churchyards or parochial burial-grounds in England, for such dead human bodies as may be cast on shore from the sea, in cases of wreck or otherwise;' and the second is 4 Geo. IV. c. 52, which provides for the burial in the churchyard or other burial-ground of the parish of the bodies of such persons as are declared by a jury to have died ('felones de se') by their own hands, such persons having been previously buried in the highway with a stake driven through their bodies. So that, putting aside the case of parishioners dying elsewhere than in their own parish, it would appear that the only persons, who have an absolute right to burial in the parish churchyard, are the baptized residents who are not excommunicate. What the rights of the unbaptized may be, is not clear; but we know that custom has given them a resting-place in consecrated ground, though without the offices of the Church; and with this custom we would by no means interfere: on the contrary, we desire to give it legal shape.

It can never be too often maintained, because there is so much ignorance (we fear we must add misrepresentation) on the subject, that as regards burial the Church knows no difference between Dissenters (as such) and her own most attached members. Nonconformists on both sides, or on every side, are daily buried within the holy grounds which are attached to the parish churches of England; and we venture to think that, if they had been left to themselves, the representatives of conscientious Nonconformity in England would never have raised the agitation which has lately so much vexed our peace. Ignorant or malicious declaimers accuse the Church of senseless bigotry, because (they say) she fears the desecration which the body of a Dissenter would bring into her churchyards. But they ought to know better; for, excommunication having practically fallen into disuse, the only question which can be asked as to the body of a person brought to burial is, whether or not he has been baptized? We omit the case of deliberate suicides, because we have never heard that any one gravely contends for anything more than the law has given them. Now as to Baptism, we would respectfully ask, is there any other conceivable test between Christians and non-Christians? It would indeed be a grievance to the consciences of thousands of Church-people if the rites of the Church could be claimed by those who have not even 'professed and called themselves Christians;' and it would be even more shocking, if any Pantheistic rites were invented for use in our churchyards, for the benefit of all who could not by the loosest discipline be classed as Christians.

We are aware that an appeal has been made, and on high authority, for the accidentally unbaptized children of Christian parents, and for the Quakers. We do not wish to exclude the possibility of a service, to be drawn up by the Convocations, for the consolation of mourners at such funerals. But as 'hard cases make bad law,' we do humbly but firmly submit, that we must not be led away by such appeals to ignore that which is the only outward difference between those who are Christians and those who are not.

So that, on the whole, the conclusion seems to be that what is true in law is also right in justice, viz. that the churchyards of England are open to all professing Christians who have not, either by their excommunication or by their self-inflicted death, shut themselves out from Christian privileges. More than this, we are ready to admit that the churchyards, without Church Service, are also—or may reasonably be made—open to all, without any restriction but this: that the

friends of the deceased will consent to an orderly interment in silence, in the case of those to whom the Church is compelled to refuse her rites.

But we have somewhat anticipated a later part of our subject. Let us go on to consider, 2: What proposals have been made for the alteration of the existing law.

These have been numerous. They are very conveniently summarized in the Chancellor of Ely's paper, to which we have before referred; and an enumeration of them may be useful to our readers.

The first measure which appears to have been proposed on the subject was introduced by Mr. Hardcastle (who is not now in Parliament) in 1857. It provided that clergymen might bury in unconsecrated ground, and use any part of the Burial Service. Also that a Dissenting minister might bury in consecrated ground, and use his accustomed religious service, provided there be nothing repugnant to the Burial Service of the Church of England. This Bill never proceeded beyond a first reading. The subject does not seem to have created great enthusiasm, for we find that nothing more was proposed for four years. In 1861 Sir Morton Peto brought forward for the first time in the House of Commons his proposals, which were these: that the Burial Service might be dispensed with at the burial of Nonconformists, if the representatives of the deceased give notice to the clergyman; and that any service might be celebrated by any person appointed by such representatives, except a clergyman of the Church of England. This was lost by a majority of 81; the numbers being for the Bill 236, and against it 155.

In the next year (1862) the same Member proposed that it shall be lawful for any officiating minister to grant permission to any clergyman or minister, not of the Church of England, to perform a service according to the rites of his denomination at the grave of any member of his congregation. If permission is refused, the reasons are to be sent to the Bishop, and thence to the Home Secretary. The officiating minister shall not perform the service at a funeral of a Nonconformist, unless required. This Bill was amended, by a Select Committee to whom it was referred, to the following effect: The officiating minister *shall* grant permission for burial without the Burial Service. He *may* grant permission to a Dissenting minister of the religious denomination of the deceased to perform a service, on receiving a written application stating the facts, the name of the minister, and the

nature of the service. Such service, if not according to a published ritual, is to consist only of prayers, hymns, and extracts from Holy Scripture. If permission is refused, the reasons are to be sent to the Registrar of the Diocese, and thence to the Home Secretary. The permission to use another service was not to extend to the consecrated part of public cemeteries. This Bill in its amended form proceeded no further in 1862. In 1863 it was again introduced in this new shape, but found even less favour with the House of Commons than the first Bill, being lost on second reading by a majority of 125; the numbers being 221 to 96.

It will be remembered that Sir Morton Peto's attempts at legislation were made during the reign of a Liberal Government, though that Government was presided over by the modifying influence of Lord Palmerston. Nothing more was done, or was proposed to be done, until the year 1869, when Mr. Hadfield introduced a Bill giving power to the minister of the denomination to which the deceased belonged to perform customary service in the churchyard. This Bill contained an exemption for burial-grounds attached to new churches, when the old burial-ground was left for the general use of the parishioners. This Bill proceeded no further than its introduction.

In the year 1870 began the ecclesiastical campaign of Mr. Osborne Morgan, which has been waged ever since, with the single exception of 1874, the year of the General Election and of the first Conservative majority since the days of Sir Robert Peel.

This campaign began auspiciously for those who claimed what is called Religious Equality. The Irish Church Act and the Endowed Schools Act had both been passed; and, though the Nonconformists had not obtained in these and in other measures the full triumph which they considered to be their due, their power was a fact, which could not be overlooked in any Parliamentary calculations.

Mr. O. Morgan, on March 23, 1870, proposed the second reading of his Bill, which provided that, on notice being given to the Incumbent, a burial might take place in the churchyard without the Burial Service, and either with or without any other religious service. The service might be conducted by any person authorized by those who have the charge of the funeral, and all services were to be conducted in a decent and solemn manner. Repairs of churchyards used under the Act might be charged to the poor-rate. The second reading was carried by what seemed to those present the overwhelming

majority of 111, the numbers being 233 to 122. Not unnaturally flushed with such a victory, the Nonconformists resisted all proposals for compromise; and to a motion of the then Home Secretary to refer the Bill to a Select Committee they offered a strong opposition. But the position of things was here reversed, and, the moderate Ministerialists and Conservatives uniting, the proposal was carried by a majority of 91, the numbers being 226 to 135. The result of the deliberations of the Select Committee did not materially alter the Bill. The chief modifications were, that no clergyman of the Church of England might perform any service other than the Burial Service; that no persons might officiate at funerals, who were not ministers or members of some religious body having a registered place for public worship; and that all services were to be religious services. Facilities were also given for the provision of unconsecrated burial-grounds, and where any such provision was made the Bill was not to apply. When the Bill came to the House again, it was (naturally) not much more popular with the opponents than it had previously been, and its further progress was but scanty. The Bill was ultimately withdrawn.

In 1871 the amended Bill was again introduced; the second reading was carried by a majority of 62, the numbers being 212 to 149; it was again discussed in Committee, some amendments being rejected by very narrow majorities, and it was once more abandoned.

In 1872, the same Bill was introduced, and was read a second time by a majority of 71, the numbers being 179 to 108. The order for going into Committee was carried in a thin House by a majority of only 21, the numbers being 73 to 52; and, by one of those unexpected events known in Parliamentary warfare, the further progress of the Bill was (on June 25) postponed to September 3, in other words *sine die*, by a majority of 52, the numbers being 130 to 78.

Once more, and for the last time in the Parliament which had witnessed the triumph of the Nonconformists, Mr. O. Morgan introduced a Burials Bill, in its most modified form, in 1873, and carried the second reading by 63, Mr. Disraeli leading the opposition, who mustered 217 against 280. No further progress was made that year. In 1874, as we have said, the question was left at rest; but in 1875, with a valour and determination worthy (we venture to think) of a better cause, Mr. O. Morgan returned to the charge.

Thinking, no doubt, that in a Parliament where the majority for the Conservative Government was between 50 and 60,

and showed no signs of diminishing (for up to that time the balance of the bye-elections had been in favour of the Government), there was very little prospect of a Burials Bill being received with favour, in whatever shape it might be proposed, Mr. Morgan made his propositions in the barest and most undisguised shape. 'Safeguards,' if they deserved the name, were swept away; and the only protection which was left was that all burials under the Act, whether with or without a religious service, should be conducted in a decent and orderly manner; in other words, that those strange rites, which might conceivably be introduced into our churchyards, were not to be less decorous than the ordinary assemblages in our streets. So sweeping a proposition was only lost by the majority of 14, the numbers being 248 to 234. The result was startling, and the consequences have not been inconsiderable. This is, perhaps, hardly the place to enter fully into the causes of the meagreness of this majority: it will probably be sufficient to indicate that the Conservative party includes a number of Scotch and Irish Members, whose constituents appear to feel strongly upon English burials, and who, at any rate for this purpose, do not follow the leaders of the party to which as a rule they are attached.

Much has been said by Scotchmen about the ungenerous conduct of English Churchmen in not allowing the same liberty in England to Dissenters as English Churchmen (being *there* Dissenters) enjoy in Scotland. But it should be remembered (1) that in Scotland the graveyards are under the jurisdiction of the heritors. These are to a large extent Episcopalians, who may be trusted to protect their own co-religionists, and also to be responsible for their good behaviour. Probably no Establishment in the world receives so much money annually from those, who are not members of it, as the Established Presbyterian Church of Scotland. But in England the Dissenters have for some years withdrawn their pecuniary contributions to graveyards, and yet claim to officiate in grounds for which they pay nothing. Again (2) it should be borne in mind that, in opening the churchyards to Roman Catholics and Episcopalians, the Scotch Presbyterians have guarantees, which will be wholly absent if the wholesale concession now asked is made in England. For both bodies use only definite forms of prayer: whereas the English Dissenters claim not only to pray as they may be moved upon the occasion, but even to express (as it has been quaintly put) 'their estimate of their deceased friends' on the occasion of their funerals. Be the cause, however, what it may, the

consequence of this narrow majority upon the first occasion of the proposal of a Burials Bill to a Conservative Parliament has been a very extensive discussion of the subject from that time to the present.

In every assemblage of men in which ecclesiastical matters are canvassed, the Burials Bill has found its inevitable place ; members of Parliament and of Convocation have made and received suggestions without number. And if any subject could be said to have been well 'ventilated,' it is this most unfortunate Burials question. The session of 1876 opened less auspiciously than usual for Mr. Osborne Morgan. For the benefit of our non-political readers, it may be well to state that Wednesday is the only day of the week which is practically at the disposal of private Members, the only day on which they can count for certain upon any measure which they may introduce being really debated. But happily, as those think who disbelieve in amateur legislation, the number of Wednesdays in the session is limited. The House only sits for such purposes till the end of July (the sad and sultry days of August being practically absorbed by the Government) : the Easter Vacation suppresses two or three Parliamentary Wednesdays, the Whitsuntide recess one more, and the Derby Day (must we confess it?) another. So the number of Wednesdays being reduced, the demand for them amongst ardent legislators is great. How these gentlemen are to be accommodated can only be decided by what is called 'ballot,' but what might more properly be described as 'casting lots.' This year the decision of the urn was against Mr. Morgan : the Irish Home Rule Members were eager for the fray ; they were many, they were united, they were determined ; they gave notice of so many Bills that the chances of English Members became sadly reduced, and Mr. Morgan, who had in past sessions secured a Wednesday before Easter, found himself banished to a Wednesday in July. Fearing that the excitement would not last so long, and that possibly his friends might then be too weary to rally round him, he abandoned his Bill altogether, and took refuge under the cover of a cleverly-drawn Resolution, which he gave notice that he intended to move on March 3, as an amendment to the Speaker leaving the chair on going into Committee of Supply. The result of that debate and that division is so recent that it needs few words from us. It is sufficient to say that the debate was signalized by a vigorous, manly, and well-reasoned speech from Mr. Cross, the Home Secretary, and that the division showed a majority of 31—or in truth 33, as Colonel

Kennard voted by mistake in favour of the Resolution—being more than double the majority of last year.

We have given at some—we trust not unreasonable—length the proposals which have been made in a sense antagonistic to the Church. Our retrospect needs only to be completed by an enumeration of the few measures which have been proposed on the other side.

In 1871 Mr. Cawley proposed a Bill for amending the Burials Acts, for providing more unconsecrated burial-grounds, without the necessary erection of chapels, and for allowing burial without service in the churchyards of those places which have unconsecrated ground. This Bill did not proceed to a second reading.

In the same year Lord Beauchamp passed an important Bill through the House of Lords. As originally introduced it differed somewhat from the shape into which it was cast by a Select Committee; but we think it only necessary to give its chief provisions, as finally settled, which were these: When the deceased, or those responsible for the funeral, shall have expressed in writing an objection to the Burial Service of the Church, the Incumbent shall not be bound to attend at the interment, which shall be decent and solemn, but without any service. Facilities were given for the grant or sale of land for Nonconformist burial-grounds. This Bill was sent down to the Commons, and there read a second time, but it proceeded no further. The same Bill was introduced by the same Peer, and met with the same fate, in 1872.

In 1875, Mr. J. G. Talbot introduced a Bill containing most of the provisions of Lord Beauchamp's measure; but, notice of opposition having been given to it by Mr. Osborne Morgan, the forms of the House prevented its reaching a second reading.

In the present year Mr. Talbot has also introduced a Bill to facilitate the provision of unconsecrated burial-grounds, without the necessity of constituting Burial Boards. This Bill proposes to give power to a minority of the parishioners to set the law in motion. Notice of opposition has been given by Mr. Osborne Morgan; and it may be here noticed by those who desire to settle this question, that it is the promoters of the Burials Bill who prevent the passing of measures of alleviation, doubtless from the conviction that if their 'grievance' be in any measure reduced, it will become infinitesimal.

Thus it will be seen that proposals and counter-proposals have not been wanting on this confessedly delicate and difficult subject. And, whatever may be its ultimate solution,

posterity must at least acknowledge that the present generation have given to it a full share of the attention, which in these restless days is claimed by so vast a number of questions.

It remains only to consider, 3 : What can be done in the future? That something must be done, we may probably assume. For, even if Churchmen were satisfied that the *status quo* was in all respects satisfactory, we may be very sure that our opponents do not consider it so ; and that a very slight turn of the wheel of power would place us in a position of great danger.

The question should be settled ; and this is the time for its settlement. By the word 'settlement' we must not be supposed to mean the removal of all possible complaints ; for there are some complainants on this matter, who cannot be satisfied except by the surrender of a principle which we can only surrender under compulsion. But we mean that measures should be taken, and speedily, for reducing the grievance (if there be any) to a minimum, and at the same time for placing our burial arrangements on a systematic footing. At present, as in so many other parts of our modern life, there are such a multitude of authorities, and so little supreme authority, that the wonder is that things go on so smoothly as they do. It was a noticeable part of Mr. Cross's speech, in which he pointed out that there was in England no obligation at common law to provide burial-places. And it seems to be no exaggeration to say, that, after all the talk we have had of Church intolerance, people have been content to leave the provision for the burial of the dead in many instances to the charity of the Church. Strange anomalies have resulted from this state of things, of which two instances happen to have come under our own notice. In the town of Northampton the only cemetery existing (the churchyards being all closed) is a cemetery containing no consecrated ground ; so that Church-people desiring Church rites in the ordinary way are obliged to go to the churchyards of the neighbouring parishes, paying extra fees as non-parishioners :—

'In the borough of Northampton, by a very proper order of one of my predecessors, all the churchyards were closed. They were closed about the middle of last July, and there is no power, either by common law or by statute, to compel any one of the parishes within that town to provide burial-places for any persons who may die within its limits. The only place where they can be buried at present is in a private cemetery and in unconsecrated ground. There is no power to compel any of the parishes to provide burial-grounds,

either consecrated or unconsecrated, and if the cemetery to which I refer was filled to-morrow, there would practically cease to be a burial-ground for the town of Northampton'—*Mr. Cross's Speech*, p. 7.

In the city of Oxford all the cemeteries are wholly consecrated ; so that Dissenting funerals, of which those who are in charge desire that they should be treated as such, must be taken some three miles to the nearest unconsecrated burial-ground. These are anomalies which amount to grievances ; and we think the time has come when there should be as distinct information in the hands of the Government as to the provision of burial-grounds, as there now is with regard to the relief of the poor, and to the enforcement of sanitary regulations. This word 'sanitary' often raises a smile in public discussions, and it was strongly objected to the Government in the recent debates that they put the matter too much on a sanitary footing. No doubt there are other and even more solemn considerations which must not be lost sight of ; and we hope to say a few words upon them before we close. But is not the sanitary branch of the subject a most important one ? is it not a great reason for the universal attention paid by mankind to the burial of the dead, that if not restored, 'earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust,' these perishing parts of our nature corrupt the abodes of the living ? Now we will venture to assert that, if there is an official inquiry into the condition of our burial-grounds, it will be found that in very many instances it is not satisfactory.

There are churchyards throughout the country needing to be closed, and to which no addition ought to be made ; for they are in the centre of villages or small towns, and the water-supply is often dangerously near to them. There is at present plenty of opportunity for closing churchyards and providing burial-grounds, if the local authorities move in the matter, or if the central authority interfere ; but there is very little security to the public that the general health and decency shall be regarded as a matter of course. We cannot understand why, as every district is now required to provide a sufficient supply of efficient education, every district should not be required to provide for the decent interment of the dead in such a way as shall be least prejudicial to the health and comfort of the living. And, in any such provision, we think it would be a very fair concession to enact that part of every new burial-ground should be left unconsecrated, and maintained out of the poor-rate.

At the same time, we trust that inquiry will be made

into the condition of the burial-grounds near London and other large towns, and that their managers will be compelled to enlarge them, or close the existing grounds, and provide new ones elsewhere, where their condition requires it.

We think also that it would be wise to face the difficulty of the unbaptized, which to our own mind is far the greatest, and which we believe to have been simply ignored by the law. We believe that at present it would be very difficult to show that the body of any unbaptized person has a *right* to be buried anywhere. This, we venture to say, is a grievance: not that the unbaptized should have no right to Christian burial, for this seems only reasonable; but that there should be no security against individual caprice, which might refuse them interment altogether.

This matter was discussed at very great length in both Houses of the Convocation of Canterbury, and also in the Convocation of York, at their recent sessions. It seems probable that at the next sitting of the Southern province the matter will be decided. But, from what we can gather, it appears likely that the two Houses will not come to a unanimous conclusion. The Upper House appear to have in a measure committed themselves to what seems to us the perilous experiment of providing a service for the unbaptized, which 'it shall not be unlawful' for the clergyman to use at the burial of such persons. Now this seems to tread upon very delicate ground; and we confess to a shudder at the thought of such a proposal being submitted to Parliament. It is of course one of the Divine mysteries, what is the condition of the unbaptized in God's sight? but into this we feel this is not the place, nor are we the persons, to enter. What we have to do is to see how the outward machinery and order of the Church are to be maintained. And we must say it does appear to us that it is almost (if not quite) a contradiction in terms to call upon the Christian Church to provide Christian burial, in any degree, for those who have never professed nor called themselves Christians; nay, who may have blasphemed that holy Name by which Christians are called.¹ With all respect to our Right Reverend Fathers,

¹ On this head it may be not amiss to quote the words of Sir John Nicholl, who, in giving judgment on the case *Kemp v. Wickes*, said: 'The Court finds it difficult not to concur with the learned counsel, who spoke last, that *unbaptized and not being Christians* amount to pretty much the same thing.' This judgment, be it remembered, was delivered in the year 1809, when ultra-sacramental views were certainly not in vogue. It should be noticed also that this judgment gives no assistance in determining the question of the rights of the unbaptized to burial; for the

we think that this dangerous step has resulted from the mistake of confounding the duties of the Church and of the State. It is the duty of the State (as we conceive) to provide that all dead bodies are decently interred: it is the duty of the Church to offer to all her members—using that word in its largest sense of all baptized persons—the rites of Christian burial.

To the proposal of the Lower House¹ we heartily agree. We can see no objection to a shortened service which the clergyman may use, on the application of the friends, care being taken that no discretion is vested in the clergyman; and this as much for his own protection as for that of the people. We have, again, as we have already stated, no objection to burial without service, either to be made absolute in the case of the unbaptized, or to be used at the request of friends, for the sake of allowing other ministrations at the house or at a Dissenting chapel, as is now not unfrequently done (though probably without authority) in the case of Roman Catholics buried in our churchyards. Finally, we have the greatest desire to see every facility given for the multiplication of unconsecrated burial-grounds.

Further than this we cannot, we dare not, go. Probably it would be impossible to go further, even if our churchyards alone were in question; but if ever the quotation 'Proximus ardet Ucalegon' was appropriate, surely it is in this case. Let those plain and honest words of Sir Wilfrid Lawson's at Carlisle, in January 1876, be ever remembered by Churchmen who are inclined to temporize: 'Well, but I will be honest. I don't say, "Let us get rid of this and the Church will be stronger." No. I admit fully—let me be honest about it—that if you let the Nonconformist into the churchyard, IT IS ONLY A STEP TOWARDS LETTING HIM INTO THE CHURCH.'

Let it also be remembered that this measure is advocated by those who call themselves friends of 'Religious equality;' and how can there be equality, if one funeral is allowed only in the churchyard, whilst another goes into the church also? A Dissenting funeral in a town cemetery the other day, we were told, occupied twenty minutes in the chapel, and five minutes at the grave. How long would it be before the same

matter which the learned Judge had to dispose of was, whether or not a clergyman was bound to bury with the Service of the Church a child, who had been baptized by a Dissenting minister—a matter not now disputed. We must repeat that every baptized person, *no matter by whom baptized*, has a right to the Burial Office of the Church.

¹ For the Resolutions of Convocation, see note at the end.

liberty which the Church enjoys, of using part of her Office in the Church and part at the grave, were demanded for all denominations? Let it be remembered, again, that in towns no difficulty is felt as between Churchmen and Dissenters; that many Dissenting chapels have graveyards attached; that many more could have them, if their members desired it; that in many parishes there are no Dissenters at all; that a great multitude of Dissenters prefer to be buried in the parish churchyard, with the Church Service, and by the parish priest; and, these things being borne in mind, let English Churchmen say, whether it is worth while, for the sake of satisfying a set of men who will not thus be satisfied, to shake to its foundations the position of the Established Church of this land? We are persuaded that the more Church-people will look into this matter for themselves, the more they will resolve, charitably but firmly, to declare that, for the sake of the public good, the churches and churchyards of England shall remain, as in ages past, under the control, in spiritual things, of the responsible Clergy of the Church, and of them alone.

NOTE.—It may be useful to have, in a comprehensive view, the Resolutions adopted by the two Houses of the Convocation of Canterbury, in their Session of February 1876 :—

‘1. The Upper House sent down the following Resolution to the Lower House :

“His Grace the President desires the Lower House immediately to take into its consideration the following amended form of a Rubric agreed to by the Upper House, and sent down to them in an early Session of 1875, on the Burial Service of the dead :—

“Nevertheless, it shall not be unlawful, in the case of any that die unbaptized, or whensoever the friends or kindred of the deceased desire it, for the minister to read a Service, to be approved of by the Ordinary, taken from the Holy Scriptures and the Book of Common Prayer.”

To which the Lower House replied by the following :

“That having regard to the important character of the message sent down to the Lower House by his Grace the President this afternoon, that House respectfully requests that the consideration of it be deferred till the next group of Sessions.”

‘2. The Lower House agreed upon the following Rubric.

“On the request, or with the consent, of the kindred or friends, it shall be lawful for the minister to use only the following Service at the burial :—The three sentences of the Scriptures to be said or sung on meeting the corpse at the entrance of the churchyard; and after they are come into the Church, one or both of these Psalms following: Ps. xxxix. and Ps. xc., next, the Lesson, 1 Cor. xv. 20.

“When they come to the grave, while the corpse is made ready to be laid in the earth, the priest shall say, or the priest and clerks shall sing, the four paragraphs beginning ‘Man that is born of,’ &c. Then shall follow the words ‘Lord have mercy,’ &c., the Lord’s Prayer, and ‘The

grace of Our Lord.' Further, it shall be lawful for the minister, at the request or with the consent of the kindred or friends of the deceased, to omit this Service, and to permit the corpse to be silently committed to the grave in the church or chapel yard of the parish, and, in registering such burials, the minister shall enter the words 'no ceremony' before his signature."

'And 3, the following supplementary Resolution:—"That this House declines to recommend any change in the law of burial in churchyards, except as follows:—1. Those changes which were approved by this House in the Session of February 16, 1876; but that in all such cases no service be performed in the churchyard at the time of the interment. 2. That facilities be granted to any parish, or any two or more parishes, to procure, at the charge of the poor-rate, a burial-ground for such parish or parishes, which shall be wholly unconsecrated, but with a portion (if so desired) reserved for consecration, without also or previously procuring a new consecrated ground."

ART. VII.—FEMININE FICTION.

1. *Aurora Floyd, Dead Men's Shoes, &c.* By Miss BRADDON.
2. *Strathmore, Under Two Flags.* By OUIDA.
3. *He Cometh Not, A Passion in Tatters, &c.* By ANNIE THOMAS.
4. *Cometh up as a Flower.* By RHODA BROUGHTON.
5. *Mad Dumaresque.* By FLORENCE MARRYAT.
6. *Archie Lovell, Ought We to Visit Her? Leah.* By Mrs. EDWARDES.

ONE of the most remarkable features in the history of English literature during the last sixty or seventy years is the rise of the Novel into the position, which it at present occupies. Novels now form so large and familiar a part of the regular literary currency of the day that most people are apt to forget the evil reputation which so long attached to them, and that it is only in comparatively recent years that this class of literature has obtained free and unchallenged admission into what may be considered respectable society. In the beginning of the present century, novels—so called because they offered the novelty of animated pictures of modern life as a substitute for the stilted and artificial romances of the old school—had become a recognized branch of literary industry, but were still regarded with suspicion and distrust. Novel-reading was then held to be, if not a rakish dissipation, at least a frivolity beneath the dignity of any person of sense and character. In the eyes of pious parents, this was one of the most serious offences which a young person could

commit ; and even among those who were less strict in their ideas, there was a strong feeling that novels, even when not actually immoral, had a mischievous effect in unduly exciting the imagination and spreading false and foolish ideas. Sheridan, who will not be suspected of prudish delicacy, in one of his plays, denounces the novels of his day as 'an ever-green tree of diabolical knowledge.' Miss Austen indicates the existence of the same feeling, when in *Northanger Abbey* she represents a young lady, who is caught with a novel in her hand, laying it down with affected indifference and shame ; and Miss Edgeworth, when she published her first effort in fiction, called it 'a moral tale,' 'not wishing,' as she said, 'to acknowledge a novel,' because 'so much folly, error, and vice are disseminated in books classed under that denomination.' It must be admitted that the prejudice against novels at this period was fully justified by their contents. One or two great novelists had appeared in the course of the eighteenth century, but towards the end of it this branch of literature had sunk to a very low and degraded condition. The novels of the day were, as a rule, both coarse and stupid, and the writers showed that they had very little respect either for themselves or for their readers. It is, in fact, impossible to imagine more despicable stuff than the ordinary fiction of this period. It was not till Miss Burney, Mrs. Radcliffe,—a novelist of more real power than is commonly supposed, and who at least cannot be accused of indelicacy—Miss Austen, and others, proved that there was no necessary connection between wit and grossness, that the reproach which lay on novels as a class began to be removed. The advance of education, and the stimulating influences which the country experienced during a great crisis of national life, gradually prepared the way for imaginative efforts of a higher and purer kind, though as yet mainly in the poetical form. It is no disparagement to the genius of Scott to say, that he started on his career as a novelist at a time, which was peculiarly favourable to the experiment. The course was clear for a new genius, and until nearly the close of his life Scott was able to occupy almost exclusively the attention of the reading public. Without ascribing any very lofty purpose to the series of novels, with which Scott charmed his generation, it must be admitted that they had an important salutary effect in opening up a new and delightful kind of literature at a period when, although the taste for reading was extending, there was a sad want of wholesome fare. As it happened, Scott had no near rival in

his own line, nor did he found a school ; but it is easy to trace his healthy influence in all the best fiction which has since appeared. His genial and chivalrous spirit at once elevated novels into a higher sphere, and they became henceforth an accredited branch of respectable literature, which nobody need be ashamed to write or read. From that time forward, though the novels of the day have varied in style and quality, they have become increasingly popular. The prejudice, with which they were formerly regarded, has almost wholly disappeared ; and, judging from the swarm of novels, which are continually pouring from the press, the great object of modern literary activity would seem to be the production of this once despised class of writings. Everybody now-a-days reads novels, and apparently it may not be long before almost everybody writes them. More than half of the books which are published are novels, and there is scarcely a week without three or four new ones. The novel, in fact, would seem to have become not merely a luxury, but a necessity, of modern civilization.

Seeing, then, the extent to which the novel has taken hold of modern society, it is worth while to observe how far this revolution of feeling is justified by the improved character of the works in question. We may as well say at once, that we are not at all disposed to take a puritanical view of novels. Excessive indulgence in novel-reading, as in any other amusement, must necessarily be debilitating, however good in themselves the books may be ; but there is no reason why, when taken in moderation, this kind of recreation should not be healthy and instructive. Nor are we inclined to overrate the degree in which novels influence, either for good or evil, the minds of those who read them. As a rule, they are rather skimmed through than read, and the impressions which they leave behind are slight and evanescent. Readers are content to be amused, and there must be very few, we imagine, who are silly enough to go to such works for rules of practical guidance in real life. It will be understood, therefore, that we have no wish to raise a sensational cry against novels as a powerful agent of corruption. There are some ways in which, as it seems to us, they do harm, and we should be glad to see more caution and discrimination shown in the supervision of the books which young people are permitted to read. But we are quite willing to admit that, on the whole, English fiction is now very different from what it was in the beginning of the century, and that it is honourably free from the corroding foulness which runs through a large proportion of French lite-

ture of this class. English novels are seldom coarse, and anything approaching to open indecency or immorality is altogether exceptional. At the same time, it may be doubted whether the easy, unquestioning confidence, with which they are admitted into families, is not carried a little too far in the present day. If, on the one hand, an indiscriminate condemnation of all novels as necessarily demoralizing is unjust, an equally indiscriminate acceptance of all novels as innocent and wholesome is clearly going to the other extreme. It is possible that novels may not produce any very deep or lasting effect on the minds of the majority of readers; still they cannot fail to have some effect in fostering certain impulses and ideas, and in setting the fashion of sentiment for the day. It must be remembered that a book, though not directly immoral, may have a very injurious influence in conveying false impressions of life, and in encouraging morbid ideas and ways of looking at things. It is from this point of view that we propose to examine a class of novels which has developed conspicuously in the last few years, and which furnish some very surprising and, as we think, very unpleasant characteristics.

One of the chief features of modern fiction is, that it is largely produced by women. Probably much more than half of the novels of the day are written by women, and the proportion is continually increasing. Nothing can be more natural than that this should be so. Novel-writing is a kind of work, which is in various ways especially suitable for women. They possess many of the qualities which are required in story-telling, such as an appreciation of detail in giving interest to narrative, a capacity for delicate and discriminating analysis of character, and a certain sympathetic tone which is apt to be wanting in the writings of men. Moreover, it is work which can be done quietly at home, and does not involve personal contact with the rough jostling of the outer world, and it has also the temptation of being at least fairly remunerative. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that novel-writing should have become in a large degree a woman's profession, and much might be hoped from this, if the opportunity were used in the right spirit. We remember reading some years ago a work on English women of letters, by one who has herself obtained some reputation among them, in which it was pointed out that the share which women now had in writing fiction not only afforded them an opportunity of displaying their intellectual qualities, but had an important effect on the actual condition of their sex in

society. 'For a long time,' she said, 'men wrote alone, and their minds were the minds of humanity. We had not the perfect twofold human being until woman wrote. The whole of literature was influenced by the change. Delicacy and refinement, a pure, moral, and religious tone, were its favourable results; its unfavourable were, and are, the predominance given to love in the great problem of human life, and an exaggeration of refinement that leads to social hypocrisy.' These are no doubt the kind of results which might be expected from the participation of women in the production of fiction, and in the writings of some of them they are happily represented; but this cannot be said of those of the class generally. As a rule, we find indeed a predominance given to love-affairs, but we fail to trace any exaggeration of refinement. The ordinary woman's novel of the day, written by women, and, we fancy, chiefly read by women, would seem to be distinguished by a marked absence of delicacy and refinement, and of a moral and religious tone. We have spent some time in looking over the novels written by women within the last few years which, from their position in the circulating libraries and book-stalls, appear to enjoy the greatest popularity, and we must confess that the result has been painfully disappointing. The works, which we have perused, seem to be systematically opposed to a sound conception of the true duty of art, which is to elevate the mind and cultivate the higher qualities of human nature. They are, in fact, especially directed to the exhibition of humanity in its meanest and most disagreeable aspects, and inspire, instead of a healthy and generous sympathy with the struggles of our fellow-creatures, rather a feeling of depression and disgust. The most powerful and accomplished of living novelists—herself a woman—shows, we fancy, some perception of the unfortunate drift of modern fiction when, in a work now in progress, she makes a mother say to her daughter—'You do read such books, they give you such ideas of everything. I declare that when aunt and I were your age we knew nothing about wickedness. I think it was better so.' And we imagine, or at least hope, that there are many others of the same opinion.

The most prolific, and in a certain sense perhaps the most popular writer of the school of which we are now speaking, is Miss Braddon, who in the course of the last twelve years has contrived to spin out about a score of three-volume novels. Her earlier writings, though disfigured by marks of vulgarity and fondness for sensational horrors, seemed to give promise of

better things. Unhappily this promise has not been redeemed, and we do not know a more melancholy example than that which she has offered of the way in which natural gifts may be rapidly debased and exhausted by reckless pandering to a craving for what is shocking and horrible. Miss Braddon has fallen steadily year by year in the standard of her work, and has now sunk into a mere mechanical reproduction of her earlier combinations. She has long ago abandoned any attempt to keep within the realities or possibilities of life, and her style of art reminds one of the perambulatory showman, who comes to the door in country places with the wonderful sight of the head and shoulders of a monkey attached to the tail of a fish. At every step she turns human nature upside down, and outrages every law of moral probability. She delights in physiological monstrosities, such as a delicate, beautiful lady, who marries one groom and horsewhips another, or who endeavours to screen her bigamy by murder and arson; a grave London physician, whose head has been turned by a passion for a pretty girl, and who pines in his solemn mansion with remorse for having, as he fancies, killed his rival; a barrister 'of good blood and good breeding,' who writes hard statistical articles for the reviews, but is quite ready at a moment's notice to shoot his young cousin for the sake of his property. We have saints, who are constantly hovering on the edge of perdition, and sometimes going over; men of rank and honour yielding on the instant to impulses of the most atrocious wickedness; in short, every element of character is thrown into the wildest confusion. Here is a description from *The Lady's Mile* of what Miss Braddon supposes to be the common history of fashionable life:—

'The lives of the women of the present day are like this drive which they call the Lady's Mile. They go as far as they can, and then go back again. See how mechanically the horses wheel when they reach the prescribed turning-point. But on the highway of life the boundary line is not so clearly defined. There are women who lose themselves in some unknown regions beyond the Lady's Mile, and whom we never hear of more.'

This is the suggestion of all Miss Braddon's works. On every side there are unsuspected bigamists, poisoners, and cut-throats, filling high positions in society, and wearing the ordinary clothing of respectability, but all the while contending with a dreadful secret. One can fancy an impressionable young person, fresh from the study of such books, speculating, at a dinner-table or in a drawing-room, how many types of the concealed criminal are to be found among the guests. The

heroine of Miss Braddon's latest story is supposed to be a true-hearted, loving, and devoted wife ; yet she deceives her family by a secret marriage, deserts her husband when his money is spent, resumes her maiden name in order to join a rich uncle, whose fortune she covets, tells lies to her husband when he discovers her and asks about his child. At the end of the first year she has consoled herself for having deserted her husband. 'Life at Lancaster Lodge was such an easy thing ; and it is so pleasant to have everything one desires, to be praised and petted, that conscience is lulled to sleep.' A curious resemblance has been observed between Miss Braddon's *Henry Dunbar* and the career of the Tichborne Claimant, and it will be remarked that it was from the works of this writer that he borrowed his favourite maxim about 'the man who has brains and no money.'

We do not, of course, mean to imply that Miss Braddon's stories are deliberately intended to instigate to criminal courses ; but they are certainly calculated to do mischief to weak minds, by saturating them with details of vice and crime, and throwing into confusion all ideas as to the ordinary course and possibilities of life. One of Miss Braddon's books is called *A Strange World*, and this title might be appropriately given to the whole series. The world, as she pictures it, is a world of monsters, who move about in defiance of all outward laws. It is unnecessary to suspect Miss Braddon of any desire to make crime attractive ; but she certainly gives the impression that crime predominates, and that innocence proceeds rather from weakness than any higher quality.

Following upon Miss Braddon come the novels of another writer, 'Ouida,' who seems still to enjoy an equivocal popularity. Her more recent works, which are comparatively sane and modest, appear to fall rather flat ; but it has been thought worth while to publish a new edition of her earlier productions, which are of a more free and unrestrained character. To some extent, perhaps, this writer corrects the mischief which might otherwise be done by her pictures of brutal passion and debauchery by the rhapsodical extravagance of her style. The hero of her first novel is represented as possessing noble qualities, and ultimately becomes, first, a great statesman, and then a saint. On one side of his character, however, he is depicted as 'a moral bloodhound.' 'Men of his race,' we are told, 'never yielded to the memory of mercy, to prayer, or pity, or the rights of justice ;' their 'revenge was always swift and silent, but they tasted it slowly, yet thirstily, drop by drop, with the fierce delight of the

vulture as it sweeps and circles above its prey before it swoops down to wrench and tear.' This wild beast is matched by a paramour, who is described as 'a soft and radiant creature, cruel as any panther that ever crouched, any snake that ever reared its brilliantly painted crest.' In another scene we are not surprised to find the bloodhound springing upon her and 'bruising her white skin.' Another of 'Ouida's' favourite characters is the young Adonis of the Guards. One of these seraphs, who has 'a gentle, mournful, love-sick look about the eyes,' is allowed 'the run of the boudoirs and drawing-rooms, much as if he were a little lion dog.' Another is a 'tall, fair man, with the limbs of a Hercules, the chest of a prize-fighter, and the face of a Raphael angel.' These gallant fellows sustain life chiefly on *curaçoa*, and one of them is so exhausted, after being out on duty as escort to the Queen, that 'unlimited soda-and-brandies, three pipes smoked silently, a bath dashed with *eau-de-Cologne*, and some glasses of anisette,' are required to bring him round. Yet we are asked to believe that a passion for mere animal enjoyment,—though it is rather an insult to animals to put them on such a level—and disregard of the moral code all round, is quite compatible with the noblest and most chivalrous character. This writer's pet type of her own sex is an embodiment of rank Bohemianism, as, for example, the little *vivandière* in *Under Two Flags*, who 'could swear, if need be, like a Zouave, fire galloping, toss off her brandy or vermout, or deal a blow, like a trooper; and who had all the wickedness of a Paris *gamin*, and could sing *guinguette* songs, and dance the *cancan*.' These accomplishments lead up, of course, to a saintly ending.

Miss Annie Thomas is a writer of a different type from Miss Braddon or 'Ouida.' She does not exhaust herself in devising mysterious plots or working up romantic rhapsodies. She keeps clear of sensationalism, and is content to remain within the range of ordinary people and everyday events. Yet, out of these commonplace materials, she makes up a view of society, which is, in its way, quite as false and revolting as that presented by her bolder sisters. Her men and women are a miserable set of creatures, weak and irresolute, and incapable of the slightest moral self-control. Coarse flirting, with a tendency to get to something worse, is the whole business of their lives; and, though they are supposed to be perfectly innocent, and to mean no harm, they are continually exposing themselves to scandalous suspicions by their equivocal behaviour. The women are always, by some odd

fatality, falling in love with one man and marrying another, and getting into situations which necessarily cast a cloud over their reputations ; and the men are equally loose in their affections. The hero of *He Cometh Not* is a weak-minded, heartless fop, without the faintest sense of principle or self-respect, who bewitches all the women in the story one after another. He tries to win an heiress by passing himself off as another man ; cruelly pursues and tortures a poor girl who is deeply in love with him, and for whom he is himself supposed to have a genuine affection, till she drowns herself in despair ; and finally marries a worthless widow for her money. We are asked to believe that this 'handsome, glorious young fellow' is, with all his faults, a 'lover whom few women can resist loving ;' and that he has only to show himself, and respectable girls instantly lose all sense of propriety and are ready to go out with him for lonely walks and midnight interviews. Nothing can be more abject than the abasement of Olive in her infatuation for this wretched hero. In *A Passion in Tatters*, the heroine, who is represented as a fine, high-spirited, noble-minded young woman, falls in love with the hero, while engaged to his friend, and continues to indulge this passion, even after she is married, and when the hero is married also. The hero of a *Narrow Escape* is Captain Bellairs, an Irish Apollo, who was 'a marked man by right of several attributes, which women deem almost divine ;' that is to say, 'he was a handsome rider, had a winning tongue, and in his behaviour was a mixture of effrontery and chivalry ;' which, being interpreted, means that he leered at every woman he met, believed himself to be necessarily victorious, and acted accordingly. Miss Mervyn, the heroine, goes to a public ball without a friend or chaperone, meets the captain, flirts with him, and makes an appointment with him next day for a ride. He is suddenly called to town, and she agrees to keep him company for part of the way ; but somehow the train does not stop, and she is carried to London. Here, however, they part for the time ; and after each passing through other love-affairs, are finally united. Again, in the *Maskelynes*, there is a similar unpleasant confusion of the affections. The heroine being in love with a certain Sir Edward, marries, first, in a fit of jealousy, her cousin Guy, who kills himself, and next Sir Edward ; then dies herself ; and Sir Edward consoles himself with another bride, who had previously said to him, with unsophisticated candour, 'I really think you would like to marry both of us.'

Miss Rhoda Broughton exaggerates the vices of Miss

Thomas's style. We have seen only two of her novels, but they certainly do not inspire any desire for further acquaintance. The heroine of *Cometh up as a Flower* is introduced as 'gambolling up to her father'—a clergyman—'in a kid-like manner.' A casual remark sets her 'thinking what an interesting young corpse I should make, lying in the big four-poster, in the red room, with my emaciated hands folded on my bosom, and a deluge of white favours about me.' This ingenuous young person assures us that it was a 'matter of unfeigned and heartfelt gratulation' to her that her mother was dead, for otherwise she would have had to 'keep her house tidy,' and learn stitching and the piano. She makes the acquaintance of an officer at a party, and immediately afterwards, her father, coming home, finds the captain, a perfect stranger, lying on the grass at his daughter's feet, and clasping her hands; and the next time they meet we find her 'burrowing her countenance into his velveteen shoulder.' In short, she flings herself at the head of this heavy dragoon in the most shameless and unwomanly way. Her joy in this amorous paroxysm is, as she describes it, 'frenzied and drunken.' She whispers to heaven the 'hallowed, chastened, pious prayer,' that 'God will send her any troublesome, agonizing sickness, any form of suddenest, cruellest death, but not rob her of her yellow-haired lover.' Here is one of her reflections on going to hold a stolen interview with her lover:—'If it is a sin to disobey a parent, it is also a sin to break one's word, and when one must commit one of two sins, one may well choose the pleasantest.' The heroine has a sister, who intercepts a letter from the captain, and persuades her to marry a Sir Hugh, under the impression that her lover has deserted her. Afterwards the captain turns up, and she begs him to elope with her; but to do him justice, he is not bad enough for that. Then she dies of consumption in the most approved style. The mingled grossness and profanity of this work are simply sickening; yet, though it was published several years ago, it seems still to hold its ground in the libraries. In *Not Wisely but too Well*, there is a similar combination of pious reflections and erotic fervour. A respectable girl, under the care of a clergyman, meets a disreputable fellow out of doors, gets into talk with him, and falls in love. She has clandestine meetings with him, without the least compunction; and when he asks her to throw over 'a prudish, antiquated code of propriety' for his sake, she consents to run away with him as his mistress. This disaster is accidentally averted, and she becomes, of course, a Sister of Charity.

None of Miss Broughton's young ladies seems to have the faintest conception of modesty or maidenly reserve, even of the most primitive kind; but this is represented not as a fault—it is, of course, the pruders who are sneered at and flouted—but as a proof of candid innocence.

Even Miss Broughton's heroines, however, are distanced in coarseness and vulgarity by those of Miss Florence Marryat. In one of her novels she thus apostrophizes her sex: 'So sit at home and take your ease, daughters of the land; eat well of the fat and drink of the lees, but don't flatter yourselves that the inspirations of your lords (if they have any) are drawn from the contemplation of your well-bred propriety.' In other words, women are warned that if they wish to make an impression on men's hearts, they must discard propriety, and appeal to men on the lowest side of their character. She has also a theory that 'there is something in mysterious affinity of soul, something so awful, so transcendent, so overwhelming, that it repulses us from, instead of drawing us to, one another—the perfect union of the spirit was not intended for this earth, and, if ever communicated, is soon cut short again;' which perhaps accounts for the mistakes which Miss Marryat's characters are continually falling into in regard to their affections. In one of her novels the heroine, who is described as 'warm-hearted to a degree,' lives in a style 'of luxury, incompatible with anything under 30,000*l.* a year.' She enjoys this magnificence, however, on condition that she shall marry her cousin the Earl of Valence, and being violently in love with a Captain Stourton, is in rather a dilemma. But as the captain magnanimously says, 'I can wait,' she marries the earl, who is in bad health, in order to make sure of the property, and afterwards gets to like him. The hero of *Mad Dumaresque*, however, is entitled to the palm as the most repulsive blackguard in the whole range of feminine fiction. He is steeped in debt, and hopes to save himself by marriage with a widow, who literally flings herself into his arms. A disreputable sporting man, to whom he is in debt, finds him flirting with his daughter, and insists on his marrying her instead of the widow, and the cowardly wretch abjectly consents. He sponges on a poor cousin, who gets a living by writing, and is also, of course, in love with him, and afterwards bolts with the widow, who has married in the meantime, and shoots himself. The vulgarity and coarseness of this book are beyond description.

It might be thought that in the case of the novels just cited, the conspicuous offensiveness of the style would tend

to limit their circulation ; but there is reason to fear that habitual contamination tends to deaden purity of taste as well as the sense of moral judgment. There is, however, a still more dangerous, because more insidious, class of novels, as to which a special caution seems to be required. We mean the school of fiction which deals in pictures of society such as those of Mrs. Edwards—who must not be confounded with Miss Betham-Edwards, a writer of a very different class. Here the warning, which the coarser novels bear upon their face, is wanting. Mrs. Edwards is a clever artist, and takes care to disguise under a sentimental colouring the real tendency of her writings. She has a bright, animated style, and a happy touch in drawing character. The professed lesson of her stories is to excite admiration for frank, generous, devoted natures, which rush into peril through their utter unselfishness, and for that simple, unsophisticated innocence which allows itself to be compromised by its own unconsciousness of evil. Mrs. Edwards is very severe on the hard, callous, conventional ways of the world, and sighs for primitive candour and natural unrestrained manners. But when we examine her stories, we find running through them an undercurrent of contempt for what she considers the prudery and hypocrisy of respectable people, and of apology and extenuation for those who, in one way or another, break through the social proprieties. She insidiously imparts a stupid or despicable air to women who deem it a duty to be prudent in their conduct, to keep clear of suspicious entanglements, and to govern or conceal their feelings, while at the same time the opposite characteristics are gilded with a romantic varnish which renders them attractive. The heroine of *Archie Lovell*, for instance, is a bright, impetuous young beauty, with a weakness for cigarettes, who is perfectly ready to scrape acquaintance with any young fellow who catches her eye in the street, and follows up a sudden intimacy with a perfect stranger by giving him a midnight audience at an open window, on the sill of which she sits. Afterwards she leaves her home, unknown to her parents, in order to see her chance lover off by the steamer to England—the scene, it should be mentioned, is laid at an imaginary Morteville-sur-Mer—and accepts his invitation to go on board. In the confusion of starting, she is carried off with the vessel, and with undisturbed equanimity accompanies her equivocal companion to London, where she parts from him to return home. All this is represented as a mere innocent caprice on the part of a virtuous girl, for whose subsequent sufferings we are expected

to feel the deepest compassion. By the side of this radiant creature is placed in ungainly contrast another young lady, who is made 'cold and repellent by her air of indefinable propriety,' having, we are told, been brought up 'according to the doctrines of Hannah More,' and being therefore 'unnaturally staid and good.' The *Vagabond Heroine*, by the same author, displays a similar character, equally remarkable for her looseness of behaviour. *Ought We to Visit Her?* is the story of a flighty young married woman, whose principal charm seems to be 'a trick of looking back to you across her shoulders, which is simply irresistible,' and whose Parthian glances, it is needless to say, are not thrown away upon her own sex, but are reserved for the other. She gets hold of a soft English lad at Ems; calls him by his Christian name at the second interview; sits with him in a corner while her husband and his friends are deep in cards; mixes spirits and water for him with a hand 'less sparing of the alcohol than of the diluent;' and generally brings to bear all her fascinations on the poor simpleton. And this she does, not because she has really any weakness for him, but simply to spite his mother and the young girl to whom he is engaged to be married, who have, she thinks, slighted her. After causing a great deal of misery in this way, she is supposed to be deeply wounded by the neglect of her gambling husband, and is on the point of succumbing to a tipsy duke, with whom, indeed, she makes an appointment at a foreign port, which a fortunate fever prevents her keeping. Among the other female characters in this work is Lady Rose Golightly, the duke's sister, who, having obtained a divorce from her husband, is living in quasi-widowhood at a country-house, where she consoles herself with queer company, and a large consumption of cigarettes, champagne, and 'sentiment'—which last includes 'flirtation, intrigue, call it what you will,' and Lady Rose's bosom-friend, Loo Childers, a loud, painted, foul-tongued scandal-monger, who also contrives to create scandal by her own behaviour. All through the book there are hits at 'the British dragoness that guards our hearths and homes;' 'the formal Philistine, the universal Mrs. Grundy.'

It is in her latest novel, published within a few months, however, that Mrs. Edwardes, probably emboldened by success, reaches what we may call the climax of insidious apology for scandalous violation of the decencies of life. It is entitled *Leah, a Woman of Fashion*, and we will endeavour, as nearly as we can—for there are some parts with which we prefer not to offend our readers—to give some idea of the

sort of people to whom we are introduced as a fair sample of London society. Leah Pascal is the eldest daughter of an impecunious captain, who for good reasons lives abroad ; and the story begins with an amusing picture of a Parisian *pension*, copied from Thackeray's *Philip*. Leah has a 'fair, low forehead, suggestive of kisses rather than intellect ;' eyes 'deep sunken, passionate ;' 'lips rich at present in youth's first sweetness, yet with lines about them that age may render sensual and crafty.' Her walk is supple, her voice mesmeric, and 'her mind well furnished through extensive novel-reading.' 'Her heart,' we are told, 'is striving towards good, if good happens to comprise diamonds, liveries, excitement, woman's envy, man's love ;' but 'if evil comprise the same—why, then, towards evil.' The drift of a character thus made up is the problem to be worked out. The girl has lived with bad examples around her, and her father wishes to marry her for money to a worthless sot, whom, however, notwithstanding his revolting habits, 'she does not absolutely dislike,' because he is expected to inherit 100,000*l.* before long. The marriage has, in fact, been arranged, and within a few days of it Leah happens to meet a guest at the *pension*, named Dalton, a young doctor, of whom she knows nothing except that he is rather careless of his character for respectability. As soon as she sees him she falls in love with him. 'They have known each other,' we are told, 'one minute and a half, and already their talk borders on intimacy.' She asks him to come to a dinner-party that is to be held to celebrate the approaching marriage, 'with eyes raised timidly, beseechingly to his.' She has another admirer, Lord Stair, an elderly, disreputable nobleman, whom she had 'resolved to subjugate before she had lifted her eyes to his face' and with whom she has already established a sort of regular flirtation. She is flattered by his attentions, and thinks his title may be useful, bad as his character may be. But her fancy for the new-comer, Dalton, is now, as it is elegantly expressed, 'out and out the strongest emotion her life has hitherto known.' Dalton, however, does not yield at once, and she consoles herself with 'food and wines,' and continues her flirtation with the disreputable nobleman. When Dalton turns up again, after a brief disappearance, she meets him with 'suffused soft eyes and heaving white breast.' One of Mrs. Edwardes's maxims is that 'our virtues snare us to the full as effectually as our vices ;' and in her books the two things are somewhat confused. Living under the same roof, Leah and Dalton have easy opportunities of meeting ; she does not

scruple to visit him in his own room, under the chaperonage of her little sister, who immediately goes to sleep, and after dinner one night she slips out of the house for a solitary ramble with him through the streets of Paris, taking on their way a *café chantant* in the Champs Elysées. It should be noted that she is to be married in a couple of days, and that she has known her new friend for only about half a week. 'Every silent moment spent together,' we are told, 'is intoxication.' They confess their love, and she promises to reflect whether she will go through the marriage arranged. A report that Dalton has already a wife in London shakes her for a moment, and when he explains that his wife is dead, she is again drawn towards him. They have a midnight interview in the *atelier*, but next day Leah decides for the moneyed man, who is in a rapid consumption, and is wedded accordingly. In London we see her 'floating over the rapids, every day faster,' with Lord Stair, who has made his calculations, constantly in attendance. She renews her acquaintance with Dalton, though her husband had forbidden it, and after the death of the latter marries him, her fortune, however, being thus forfeited. Although the writer does not exactly hold up Leah as a model, yet she extenuates her offences, and suggests that true passion will cover any derelictions of social or moral duty. It is difficult to imagine anything more poisonous than the whole atmosphere of this book. Leah, a weak, sensual coquette, bent on making the best of the world for herself, and destitute of anything like moral principle, or even instinct, is surely not a model to be set before sentimental young girls. Mrs. Edwardes teaches that it is possible for a woman to set aside every rule of maidenly propriety, every check on the impulse of sudden passion, to place herself in equivocal and compromising positions, such as those through which Leah passes, without tainting her innate purity; but the practical experiences of life tell another tale. Leah's only fault, we are led to suppose, is that she was not quite so prudent as she might have been. One of the other characters in the story is the 'well-known Dowager Duchess of St. Ives, friskiest of dowagers'—'fast, popular, reckless as to men's report, or women's censure,' who with Lady Vi, her daughter, has for years been 'seeing life behind the scenes of theatres with the last handsome star or aspiring young actor in favour; dancing incognita at casino balls in Paris,' and so on. There is also a Bell Baltimore, who spends a very independent life in London while her husband is in the diplomatic service abroad, and who, we are told, has 'floated with occasional submergences';

and 'are there not submergences in every career, political, literary, artistic?' It is evident, however, that the writer intends 'submergence' in this case to be taken in a peculiar sense, which it is unnecessary to explain. To complete her picture of society, Mrs. Edwardes also introduces her readers into still viler and more shameless circles, apparently for the purpose of suggesting that being within and without the pale is little more than a question of keeping up appearances. Her lesson to the young and inexperienced—and though somewhat veiled, it is unmistakable—would seem to be that women, as a rule, are all more or less wanton and corrupt, but some are more expert than others in disguising their misconduct. Taken altogether, this is obviously a very dangerous book to put into the hands of young people. It introduces them to aspects of life which carry contamination with them, and it also tends to confuse and bewilder their sense of moral obligations.

We ought, perhaps, to apologize to our readers for bringing such matters before them in anything like detail, but in such a case vague denunciations are useless. It is necessary to show exactly what is the character of the books in question, and the sort of ideas which they disseminate. It will be seen from what we have said that the 'delicacy and refinement, the pure, moral, and religious tone,' which it was not unreasonably hoped might be suffused through fiction by the agency of women, has not been altogether realized. It would of course be a great injustice to include all feminine fiction in a sweeping condemnation. To say nothing of the lady-authors, who have written tales with the avowed purpose of inculcating religious principle, such writers as Mrs. Gaskell, Mrs. Oliphant, and others who might be named, have shown that humour, sentiment, and fertility of invention are quite compatible with scrupulous purity and refinement. But this must not blind us to the fact that there is also a large and widely-circulated class of novels in which these characteristics are unfortunately conspicuous by their absence. Instead of 'delicacy and refinement,' and a 'pure, moral, and religious tone,' we find just the reverse—indelicacy, vulgarity, impurity; and an immoral and irreligious tone. One of the prominent characteristics of modern novels, and especially of those written by women, is a marked predilection for taking up doubtful or objectionable subjects, and treating them in a way which can hardly fail to have an unsettling, if not corrupting, effect on young and impressionable minds. In these works the ruling aim of life is dissociated from all ideas of sober duty or principle, and is determined by mere pas-

sionate desire. Directly a young woman falls in love—as the phrase is—she is supposed to be entitled to discard all the restraints and precautions with which the experience of ages has surrounded the chastity of women, to set aside all natural obligations, to deceive or defy her family, to trust herself unreservedly to the solitary companionship of any good-looking man she may take a sudden fancy to, though, perhaps, a perfect stranger, and to subordinate her whole life to the master passion. The late Dr. Norman Macleod, who, as editor of a Magazine, had a painful experience of novels, in one of his letters to his publisher cannot restrain a little groan on this subject. ‘I do so hate,’ he says, ‘these eternal love-stories, this everlasting craving after a sweetheart! I wish they would marry in the first chapter and be done with it. Is there nothing to interest human beings but marriage?’ And there can be no doubt that the interest of most novels is too exclusively concentrated on this one subject. This, however, would not be so bad in itself, if it were not for the ideas which are spread of the dominant power of a real or fanciful affection, and the right of people in love to trample on social proprieties. We are aware that in novels the heroines are usually preserved by some mysterious accident from the consequences of their own folly and imprudence; but this is perhaps the most dangerous part of the teaching. In actual life, it is prudent to assume that a certain line of conduct, if persisted in, will lead to certain results; that if a girl forgets herself she will be likely to suffer for it, and that, if she plays blindly on the edge of a precipice, she will be apt to fall over. It is not safe to trust to help coming in an unexpected and supernatural way just at the critical moment, and just in time to preserve the person in peril unscathed. But the ordinary novel upsets this sensible state of mind, and is continually insinuating that there is a spell about true love which is a sufficient security against all risks, and that it is absurd to attach so much importance to mere prudish forms.

We do not mean to say that young people actually shape their lives on what they read in novels, but still their ideas of good and bad, of propriety and impropriety, must necessarily be to some extent affected by the manner in which such questions are dealt with; and considering how large a part of life consists of what is called conduct, and how subtle and insidious are the influences on which it depends, it is evident that this is a very serious matter. It is dangerous for the mind to lose the habit of feeling disapproval of, and repugnance to, certain things, and to begin to look on them with equanimity, if not

favour ; and this is the tendency of the kind of novels we are speaking of. Again, it may be said that care is taken by the writers to dispense rewards and punishments, so as to distinguish between the evil and the good. This is the 'fundamental' of Defoe—which, if we remember rightly, Miss Braddon also adopts in self-defence. He pleads that in a certain novel of doubtful character 'there is not a wicked action but is first or at last rendered unhappy or unfortunate ; there is not a speculative villain brought upon the stage but he is either brought to an unhappy end or brought to be penitent.' Unfortunately, however, readers are apt to pick and choose in a story, and to be tickled with what pleases them without paying much attention to the warnings conveyed. Besides, there is a tendency in most people to believe that they will be cleverer or more fortunate than the characters exhibited for their edification, and will escape their fate. Apart, however, from distinctly moral considerations, there must unavoidably be something very unwholesome in brooding over these morbid aspects of human nature which form the stock of so many novels. It is no excuse to say that, because certain things are true, they ought therefore to be set forth conspicuously in a novel. There are many dark and loathsome aspects of life which cannot be ignored, but which it is not desirable to dwell upon. Every one knows that there is what may be called an hospital side of human existence ; but a close study of hospital matters, not with a view to practical remedies, but merely for the sake of amusement, can hardly be recommended as bracing to the mind ; and the mischief of concentrated attention on such subjects is of course enhanced when they are represented as the preponderant feature of life. We must say that we think there is much to be said for the old-fashioned notion that there are many things, which we cannot help knowing to a certain extent, but which it is as well not to think about too much. The scientific study of disease is one thing, and the indulgence of a morbid and prurient curiosity another, and it is to the latter that the class of novels we are now speaking of is apt to pander. There could hardly, for instance, be a more striking and significant contrast than between the treatment by Scott of such a story as that embodied in *The Heart of Midlothian*, and the way in which it would now be treated. In the original, Jeannie Deans, without youth, good looks, genius, romantic passion, or any of the qualities which are supposed to render heroines attractive, from beginning to end concentrates all our interest and sympathy. Effie, although justice is fully done to her

winning beauty and sweetness, is left comparatively in the background, and excites pity rather than admiration. But if any modern version of this story were undertaken, we should expect to find Effie elevated into the central place, and surrounded with every attribute of fascination, her errors being ascribed to her self-sacrificing devotion to her lover and her scorn for petty conventionalities. Jeannie, on the other hand, would become a purely subordinate character, introduced merely in order to be useful as part of the machinery for carrying out the apotheosis of her sister. Miss Annie Thomas or Mrs. Edwardes would have found in her a capital butt for their sneers at hypocritical primness and propriety; while Effie's interview with her lover would have been invested with a romantic charm. Scott's novel is a healthy and satisfactory work, but the fashion is unhappily changed.

Moreover, apart from distinctly moral considerations, it is impossible not to be struck by the curious change which has taken place in the tone and aim of novels. Once it was supposed to be essential that a hero should be in every sense a perfect gentleman, pure, chivalrous, and high-minded; and this ideal perfection was of course deemed still more indispensable in the heroine, who was depicted as summing up all the virtues of her sex. This system is no doubt capable of abuse, and in a certain well-known school of novels the heroes and heroines are possibly beings of a too ethereal and exalted kind, and too apt to lose a real resemblance to ordinary humanity. Still, the theory that novels ought to present an ideal of noble and lofty character, that we ought to look up rather than look down, is a sound one, from the point of view alike of morality and art. A wise writer has laid down the rule that fiction has no business to exist, unless it is more beautiful than reality. 'The monstrosities of fiction,' he says, 'have no place in literature, because, in literature, the one aim of art is the beautiful. Once lose sight of that, and you have the mere frightful reality.' This is a very fair description of what English novels seem, as a rule, to be coming to. They are given up to 'the mere frightful reality.' There are no doubt many troublesome and unpleasant people in real life, but existence would become intolerable, if we were actually surrounded by such a set of perverse, distempered, ill-conditioned creatures as are to be found in most novels of the day. The hero is often a brute, and sometimes a blackguard. The heroine is usually a vixen of the most bewildering and exasperating character, and entirely destitute of sweetness and grace,

Thackeray says somewhere:—‘If it is right to set up a hero, let us at least take care that he is admirable;’ but now-a-days heroes and heroines are turned out on a very different principle. The idea that a novel is intended to please and refresh the mind, to inspire sympathy with humanity at large, and elevate the imagination, would seem to be quite going out of fashion. Reading a novel of the period is to any person who is at all sensitive, very like being dragged backwards and forwards through a thorn-hedge. The reader’s feelings are jagged and scratched at every turn. He finds himself in a world where the chief mission of woman is to be rude, worrying, and wildly unreasonable. She is supposed to be always at war with her surroundings, and ready to go out of the way to do preposterous things in order to make herself an object of interest. And this is especially the characteristic of women’s novels. In actual society we meet with women who find existence bearable enough, and who aim at making it pleasant for others; but there is a spirit of discontent and resentment in most of the novels, which women write, which strikes one as very strange, and suggests the idea that the writers must somehow be a class apart from the rest of their sex. They are up in arms at everything, and alternately rage and sneer at the ordinary system of the world, as if it were a personal grievance.

Mrs. Linton, for instance, is a writer of undoubted intellectual power, and quite above pandering to vulgar tastes. She has a keen eye for character, considerable humour, and a passionate sensibility; but nevertheless her stories do not afford solace or refreshment. The characters are of a disagreeable and, if we may use the expression, spiky type, and there is a tone of bitterness running through the stories which is altogether inconsistent with mental relaxation. In *Patricia Kemball* we have a heroine who is no doubt warm-hearted and well-meaning, but who is always bouncing about in a wild, uncomfortable sort of way, so that people find it difficult to get on with her, and who is meant to contrast with a nice-mannered, plausible young lady, with a pretty pink face and golden locks, who might by her looks pass for a fairy, but turns out to be an incredible fiend, absolutely selfish and ready at any moment for any crime that suits her purpose. The other characters are all more or less repellent, and in fact there is none with whom it is possible to feel at ease as an acquaintance. In the same writer’s latest work, *The Atonement of Learn Dundas*, we have a story equally out of keeping with anything like recreation. The writer

goes out of her way to be spiteful and offensive. She sneers, whenever she has an opportunity, at 'the expressed trust in Providence, which is a part of the garniture of English respectability.' It is the story of a crazy girl who, out of love for her mother, poisons her mother-in-law; and here again we have the same monotony of mean or ugly types of character. Leam's creole mother is a mere savage animal, her stepmother is an adventuress and impostor, her father is a rank fool, Leam herself is touched with insanity, the parson is a selfish snob, and the neighbours generally a dull, unamiable set of people. But it is on the parson's daughter that the writer chiefly delights to pour out her sarcasm. She is sarcastically represented as a model young lady—'a girl of acknowledged good sense; calm, agreeable; holding herself in the strictest lines of lady-like reserve, and governing all her emotions without trouble, patient and unsurpassed. Hers was a character that would never floreate into irregular beauties to give her friends anxiety; and crowd her life with embarrassing consequences.' Her religion was of the 'quiet, easy-going' kind, 'which does nothing that society would disapprove, but does not break its heart in trying to found the kingdom of God on earth.' 'All her relations with life and society would be blameless, orthodox, ladylike, and thoroughly English.' And then Mrs. Linton goes on to show that at bottom she is selfish, insincere, and practically a heathen at heart. According to this writer the model English girl, when she becomes a mother, neglects her children, treats her servants as 'serfs, whom she assumes to have bought by food and wages, in soul as well as body, in mind as well as muscle.' But then she is 'loyal to the Queen and Royal family, the nobility and Established Church, bracketing republicans with atheists, and both with unpunished felons.' Further, she is 'pitiless and repellent,' 'a Christian in name and creed, but above all things a well-mannered, well-conducted English lady, a person of spotless morals and exquisite propriety, in the presence of whom humanity must not be human, truth beautiful, nor nature natural.' Many good qualities are disclosed in the heroine, who murders her stepmother; but poor Adelaide, who is only respectable, gets the stripes. Yet this sort of thing is inserted and circulated in one of our most respectable Magazines.

Now, it seems to us that, in the first place, real life is not of this uniform gloom; and that, even if it were, that would be all the more reason why in a novel we should seek to rise into a clearer and more inspiring atmosphere. If novels are in-

tended merely to reflect and to deepen the sensations of annoyance and depression, which are part of ordinary life, they have missed their *raison-d'être*. The true test of a good novel ought, we think, to be whether it puts the reader in contact with people, with whom it is pleasant and improving to have acquaintance, and in whose company we feel more open and sympathetic towards the best impulses of our nature. The novel ought to brighten, not sadden, life; it ought to foster good taste and good feeling, and encourage aspirations towards a less narrow and sordid kind of existence than what is apt to close us in. Unhappily the manufacturers of contemporary fiction adopt just the opposite principle in their writings. We hardly ever meet any characters, with whom, as the old phrase puts it, we could fall in love; on the contrary, we are shocked, disgusted, and repelled. If the characters of almost any modern novel were seen advancing in procession as living creatures to spend the day with any one, who had already met them in literature, the threatened victim would be certain to take refuge in precipitate flight. It seems to us an essential principle that a novel of the right kind ought to leave behind some addition to the stock of pleasant memories upon which the mind is glad to dwell; but of how many novels of the day can this be said? As a rule, we are glad to forget them as quickly as possible, like a bad dream.

It is much to be regretted that even in its highest form, fiction seems to be losing its refreshing and exhilarating qualities. It would be unfair to sit in judgment on a work which is still in progress; but enough has appeared of *Daniel Deronda*, to suggest a doubt, whether the writer is not falling into the error of giving too many unpleasant characters and dismal reflections. Here, too, we come upon the fashionable type of the young women of the period. Gwendoline Harleth has 'a soul burning with a sense of what the universe is not, and ready to take all existence as fuel.' Social institutions, generally, we are told, were all objectionable to her; and she has determined, as the governing principle of her existence, that she would not lead the same sort of life as ordinary young ladies do. It is hinted, indeed, that this sort of character is not practically so dangerous as it might be thought to be, because the burning soul is 'held captive by the ordinary network of social forms, and in the end probably does nothing particular;' but it is possible to conceive that a picturesque representation of the fascination supposed to be exercised by girls, who make a point of always being original and unex-

pected in their behaviour, and never doing as other girls do, may tend to bring this uncomfortable type into the same prominence in real life which it now enjoys in fiction.

So far as we can judge, the novel of the day, though it has thrown off the grossness and immorality of an earlier phase of its existence, is by no means so innocent and edifying an article as seems to be generally supposed. There are, of course, many good, or at least harmless novels, as well as bad ones; but the mischief lies in the easy, good-natured admission into respectable families of novels of every class, without the slightest suspicion or discrimination. If it were a question of bodily nourishment, fathers and mothers would, no doubt, take care that there was no chance of any poisonous element lurking in the food which they provided for their children; but the purity and wholesomeness of moral and intellectual nourishment seem to be thought beneath notice. 'No doubt all novels are very silly,' says the grave adult, as he or she nods over one; 'but the idea of their doing any harm is absurd;' so an abundant supply of novels is duly obtained from the circulating library, on the supposition that the publishers and circulating library are too respectable to send out anything of doubtful quality. All we say is, let parents read these books for themselves, reflect on the patterns set up, and form their own conclusions.

Even if its faults are only on a negative side, the ordinary novel must be pronounced unwholesome. It certainly does not cultivate tender sympathies or generous impulses, or quicken the mind in any way to brighter conceptions and aspirations. It accepts life at a low level, as a normal fact, and deals with it chiefly in its mean, distorted, and objectionable, if not actually vicious, aspects. Instead of exhibiting characters to be looked up to with love and admiration, it concentrates itself chiefly on unlovely and repellent types, which are offered rather as curiosities than as examples. The novel, in fact, has become a sort of study of the morbid anatomy of human nature. It is chiefly occupied with the sickly observations and perversities, the diseased and unnatural features of life, and competes with the newspapers in the details of crime. The more violent forms of sensationalism seem to be now almost exhausted, and an attempt is made to supply the desired stimulant in the milder form of an irritant. The patient is, as it were, pricked into a kind of tingling susceptibility, which, though hardly enjoyment, is, perhaps, a relief from the monotony of a vacant mind. Imagination in its higher form is

paralysed, and 'frightful reality' is the only inspiration of romance. Such characters as the novelist delights to portray may possibly be true to life, but they are very far from being pleasant or profitable objects of contemplation. A character of real nobility, rising above the level of sordid ambition or amorous longing; visions of heroic effort in any direction, or any of those sweet and wholesome thoughts, which nourish the mind and refresh it when weary, are, apparently, the last things to be discovered in the voluminous issues of the circulating library. We should imagine that, so far as these works have any influence at all, it is of an injurious and enervating kind. The continual iteration of the same set of false ideas of life and confusing suggestions as to morality must after a time make an impression on the mind, as water does on a stone, not by its force, but by its constant dropping. Indeed the extent to which novels are read now-a-days is itself a sign of an unhealthy appetite. There are, we suspect, great numbers of people, even in the classes which are called educated, who scarcely ever read anything except a newspaper or a novel, and who get into the way of regarding everything as mere food for idle and prurient curiosity; and this must necessarily have an injurious effect in deadening sensibility and disconnecting emotion from its natural impulses. Thus, when an atrocious murder is committed, the horror which a healthy and active moral sense would inspire is lost in the sensation of being interested, or, we may almost say, amused. This is one of the chief dangers of the excessive novel-reading which at present prevails, and those who wish to understand its moral effects may see them in America, where the gravest public events excite only the dramatic interest, which belongs to a novel or a play. Those who are disposed to think this an idle alarm, must have a very imperfect conception of the effect of a continuous strain of excitement in a particular direction.

On the whole, then, it may be thought that the reaction in favour of novels as an innocent and wholesome kind of literature has been carried at least far enough, and perhaps a little too far. Fiction, in any case, forms too large a proportion of the general reading, and the greater part of it, if not directly unfavourable to morality, tends indirectly to shake the foundations of sound feeling and good manners, and to produce a confusion and insincerity of mind in regard to the more delicate shades which distinguish virtue from corruption. This is a subject which it is difficult, if not impossible, to treat usefully from the pulpit, but it is one of which the clergy cannot

fail to see the importance, and in dealing with which they might lend valuable assistance by their private influence. It is difficult to believe that parents are themselves really aware of the character of the books, which arrive in great bundles every week for the delectation of their families. Even when not absolutely poisonous, those works are apt to have a lowering effect both on the mental and moral constitutions of those subjected to their influence. Everybody in these days of sanitary reform knows what a doubtful atmosphere in a house will do. There is perhaps no open outbreak of violent disease, but cheeks get gradually blanched or flushed ; there is a taint of headache and feverishness flying about the household, and the common report of health is, 'out of sorts.' After a series of painful warnings, the drains are thought of, and the mysterious mischief explained. The accumulations of distempered fiction, which lie about many houses all the year, are occasionally responsible for a similar miasma. They tend to disorder the functions of plain, quiet, everyday life, and to produce a state of mind and feeling unfavourable to steady morality and common sense. They diffuse unsettling ideas, and a general sense of discontent with ordinary life ; and their effect is perhaps most serious in the case of the sex, which is now-a-days the chief producer and consumer of such literature. It is unavoidable that boys should soon begin to see something of the world, and ideas derived from imaginary narratives are corrected by hard experience. But girls see less, and have more to take on trust, and nothing can be more injurious for them than the ideas and suggestions of the sort of novels, which we have attempted to describe. An affectionate mother takes care to watch her daughter's health, sees that her nutriment is good, and that she has plenty of fresh air. But the innocent and inexperienced girl is too often left with the whole range of what at her age is fascinating literature open to her without the slightest check or supervision. There may be good and evil in the indiscriminate heap thrown down before her, but she has no warning what to touch and what to avoid. As we have said, we are not disposed to make too much of the effects of novel-reading in a moderate way, and with a prudent choice of books ; but no one who knows anything of the insidious influence of imaginative writing on young minds can doubt that the loose way in which novels of all kinds get admission to families, without challenge or examination, must in many cases have baneful results.

ART. VIII—ALL SOULS, OXFORD, AND THE NATION.

1. *Worthies of All Souls: Four Centuries of English History illustrated from the College Archives.* By MONTAGU BURROWS, Chichele Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford and Fellow of All Souls. (London, 1874.)
2. *Social Life at the English Universities in the Eighteenth Century.* Compiled by CHRISTOPHER WORDSWORTH, M.A., Fellow of Peter House, and sometime a Scholar of Trinity College in Cambridge. (Cambridge, 1874.)

WE have no history of our Universities. It is scarcely creditable to us to have to make such an acknowledgment, and it is certainly a matter of regret. And yet it could hardly be otherwise. We do not ignore the good work done in this field by antiquarians and scholars, both of Oxford and of Cambridge. The magnificent work of Antony à Wood is an invaluable repertory: Mr. Cooper's *Annals* are laborious *memoires pour servir*; but in spite of what they and others have accomplished, there is still a lack of materials, out of which such a history might be adequately constructed. Mr. Wordsworth has brought together a mass of facts bearing on the social life of the Universities in the eighteenth century; but he modestly calls his work a compilation, not a history, and likens it to a collection of building materials which await the hands of the architect. That the architect will at a future date be found in himself we have every reason, judging from his present volume, to hope and to expect.

A history of Colleges is first needed before a history of the Universities can be constructed. Professor Burrows' volume is the first instalment of this greatly needed work. It certainly is a surprising thing that the treasures within their reach have not led some attached son of each of our historic Colleges to illustrate its annals by a systematic story of men nurtured by it to be the ornaments or supports of Church or State. Professor Burrows has set an example which it is to be hoped will be largely followed by members of other Colleges. What could be more interesting than biographies, well selected and tersely written, of the worthies of Christ

Church, Oxford, or Trinity College, Cambridge? We believe indeed that there is not a single College in either University which would not well repay the loving care thus spent upon it. And it would be well indeed, if at the present moment we had such a record of the inestimable good done by Clerical Fellowships.¹ All Souls has an advantage, which Mr. Burrows has not failed to make use of, in having the Archbishops of Canterbury for its Visitors. As the Primates of All England were, with few exceptions, men of mark down to the time of William III., the historian of All Souls finds himself by their means brought into contact with the chief events which stirred the heart of the nation, and has not to rely only on the home-born products of his College to lend an interest to his tale. From 1437 to 1852, Mr. Burrows throws open to us the archives of All Souls, and by their means illustrates for us the history of the nation from a new point of view.

His first worthy is Archbishop Chichele, whose career he depicts with the firm and truthful hand which becomes a Professor of Modern History, combined with a loyal regard, which is not unbecoming in a Fellow of Chichele's foundation.

Chichele was a great man and was occupied in the course of his life in great and stirring events. He was not only Pri-

¹ We call attention to the following facts noted by Dr. Pusey and by the Dean of Chichester :—

'The residence in our Universities was formerly very long, and when works were not produced here, the foundations of solid study were here laid, which were built upon in later life, as a Senior Fellow, a Head of a College, or member of a Cathedral. To take some instances out of one hundred which I have given elsewhere, from the time of the Reformation :—Dean Colet resided at the University 22 years; Cranmer, 26; Ridley, 17; Barker, 14; Nowell, 22; Sandys, 12; Grindall, 17; Jewell, 19; Whitgift, 19; Hooker, 17; Bancroft, 13; J. Reynolds (a translator of the Bible), 32; Boys (also a chief translator), 22; Davenant, 27; Laud, 21; Dr. Jackson, 28; Ussher, 24; Hales, 16; Sanderson, 18; Pococke 12 (besides his studies in the East); Hammond, 15; Castell, many years; Whitaker, Mede, Barlow, Fell, Hyde, Aldrich, Hudson never left'—(*Evidence to the Committee of the Board of Heads of Houses*, 1853, by Rev. Dr. Pusey, p. 12.) 'It was because he had first been a studious Fellow of Corpus, that Hooker was enabled, long after, to write his *Ecclesiastical Polity* at Bishopsbourne, in Kent. Sanderson made himself a ripe scholar while he was a Fellow in Lincoln; else had the world never seen the splendid Divinity which is dated from Boothby-Pannell. When did Hammond become a theologian if not in the ten years during which he was a Fellow of Magdalen? Bull depended upon an annual excursion to the University for those stores of sacred learning which enabled him to become the champion of the Faith. Butler went straight from Oriel to deliver his immortal sermons at the Rolls Chapel in London'—(*Letters of Endemus and Ecdemus*, p. 12, quoted in article on 'Clerical and Lay Fellowships,' in the *Christian Remembrancer* of July 1855).

mate of All England, but Prime Minister to boot,—like many of his predecessors and successors, until the scaffold, on which Laud perished, proclaimed that the political rule of ecclesiastics in England was over. As Primate he was brought face to face with Popes and Councils ; as Prime Minister he was on terms of intimacy and affection with the great King Henry V., but neither as Primate nor as Prime Minister did he effect anything for the good of Church or State, which was comparable in its results with the foundation of All Souls College. We might speak more strongly. It would not be too much to say, that Chichele's rule was disastrous to his country and to his Church; that his country suffered for centuries, and that his Church is suffering to this day from the weakness or errors of the Archbishop. It is only as the Founder of All Souls that we are able to forgive the man, who betrayed the independence of the Metropolitans of England, and who is more than any other answerable for the blood shed in Henry V.'s French wars—

‘ Whose guiltless drops
Are every one a woe, a sore complaint
'Gainst him whose wrong gives edge unto the swords
That make such waste in brief mortality.’

Henry V. Act i. Scene 2.

It is probable, indeed, that the motive attributed to Chichele by Shakspeare for hurrying Henry V. into war with France was not that which actuated him. Our great dramatist, as all will remember, represents the Archbishop as involving Henry in the war with France for the sake of staving off the question of disestablishment and disendowment. The charge is made on the authority of Halle, the chronicler, who lived in the reign of Henry VIII. Halle reports that the Lollards were so strong in the Parliament of Leicester, held April 30, 1414, as to have introduced a proposal for the confiscation of Church property. Dr. Hook has no difficulty in throwing doubt upon this statement, by pointing out that there is no contemporary evidence of any such proposal having been made. But it is certain that, whether or not a Bill was formally introduced in that Parliament to that effect (which is very improbable, considering its character), there was a strong party in the nation, partly religious and partly political—not unlike in that respect to the Political Dissenters of the present day who constitute the Liberation Society,—whose persistent object it was to humble and impoverish the Church. Shakspeare makes the Archbishop pronounce the impending bill to be a mere resuscitation of that—

'Which, in the eleventh year of the last king's reign,
Was like, and had, indeed, against us passed,
But that the scrambling and unquiet time
Did push it out of further question.'

Henry V. Act i. Scene 1.

If the Archbishop may be acquitted, as probably he may be, of plunging the country into war to save the property of the Church, he can hardly be acquitted of doing so for the sake of saving a dynasty. It was the policy of Henry IV., which he bequeathed to Henry V., to occupy his subjects with war, in order to turn away their attention from the defect of his title to the throne. There were two fields, into which the Henrys could reckon to be willingly followed by Englishmen;—Palestine and France. The father chose the former, the son the latter.

'I well might lodge a fear
To be again displaced ; which to avoid,
I had a purpose now
To lead on many to the Holy Land,
Lest rest and lying still might make them look
Too near unto my state. Therefore, my Harry,
Be it thy course to busy giddy minds
With foreign quarrels : that action, hence borne out,
May waste the memory of the former days.'

Second Part of Henry IV. Act iv. Scene 4.

We may acquit the Archbishop of any more Machiavellian scheme than that of throwing his weight into the advocacy of the policy inherited by Henry V. from his father. That he did this with eagerness, and through the enormous influence that he possessed, with effect, is undoubted : so that 'the Primate was as much the cause of the decisive movement, which for more than a generation deluged France with blood, as any single person in the realm'—(Burrows, p. 16). It is almost a satisfaction to note that this Lancastrian policy was unsuccessful ; that instead of confirming the dynasty, the French war, when its fortune changed, gave the opportunity, which might otherwise have been wanting, to the Yorkists, to effect the purpose for the prevention of which the responsibility of so much bloodshed was incurred.

If Chichele's conduct of affairs as Prime Minister was a failure, if the Lancastrian policy which he advocated resulted in the fall of the House of Lancaster, and in the wars of the Roses, which paved the way for the Tudor despotism, his government of the Church was no less short-sighted and injurious to the rights and privileges of the See of Canterbury.

From the time of Hildebrand, the Popes of Rome had claimed an undefined authority to interfere in the internal affairs of National Churches, as being possessed of an extraordinary jurisdiction to be exercised for the good of the whole Church when occasion might arise. This claim had come to be acquiesced in. Martin V. took a step onwards. He had been nominated at the Council of Constance, and was found to represent, not the principles of that Council, but a reaction from them. He resolved on gathering into his hands, not only the extraordinary, but the ordinary government of the various National Churches of Europe. Latin Christendom would not be ready for another four centuries and a half for a Vatican decree vesting the entire episcopacy of the Church in the Bishop of Rome, but a noticeable step towards that consummation was effected by Martin V. He would no longer have National Churches ruled by the Primate of the nation. If the Primate ruled, it must be as the Legate of the Apostolic See, and he was no longer contented with the Primate being the *Legatus natus* of the Apostolic See. The National Church was henceforward to be governed by the *Legatus à latere*, and the *Legatus à latere* might be the Primate, or any other bishop at the discretion of the Pope.

Cardinal Beaufort, whose character is drawn in such dark colours by Shakspeare, had the fortune to reach Constance, as a pilgrim-tourist, at the time when the Council was in doubt whether, first, to take in hand the election of a Pope or the reform of the Church. The question was referred to Beaufort, and he decided in favour of the election of a Pope, thereby throwing back the reformation of the Church from the fifteenth to the sixteenth century. Pope Martin was elected, and remembering the good turn that he had received from Beaufort, he nominated him Cardinal and *Legatus à latere*. But at this time Henry V. still reigned, and he refused his assent to the nomination in no measured terms. Martin waited; Henry died; and Beaufort became a leader of one of the parties, by which the realm was distracted in his little son's reign. Then Martin resumed his frustrated purpose. Beaufort was created Cardinal, and it was ruled that a Cardinal took precedence of the Archbishop. The English Church did not recover the independence of its Primate until the days of Parker.

Thus it came about that Chichele's career as a politician and as Archbishop was a failure; and we can understand the good old man laying down the burden of his office before he was relieved of it by death, giving as his reason that he was 'heavy laden and extremely old, infirm and beyond measure

weak, unequal to the cares he had long borne and continued to bear, and incompetent to discharge his duties.' But however much he had failed in the conduct of affairs, the benefits accruing to his countrymen from the foundation of All Souls College may be charitably regarded as overbalancing the evils which he did not so much bring about as failed to hinder. It is hardly possible to over-estimate the perennial benefits which flow from a College in a never-failing stream for the refreshment and instruction of generation after generation. The founders of our noble collegiate institutions might, as many did, have left their property to an heir, and in that case one person in each generation—some twelve persons, perhaps (with their families) in 400 years—would have been benefited by it; but the founder of a college supports by means of the same property, not one man in each generation, but the whole body of Fellows and Scholars for whom his bounty has provided; and each generation is so much shorter than the ordinary length of a man's life, that the number of persons benefited increases at a startling ratio. In 400 years in a College, like All Souls, of forty Fellows, 1,600 persons would be supported, if we take ten years as the average duration of the Fellow's life; in a College of twelve Fellows, twelve Scholars, and sixty Commoners (again estimating the Fellow's life at ten years and the Undergraduate's life at three years), there would be no less than 2,150 persons during the same time supported and 8,000 persons benefited: and meantime a public benefit is wrought, far greater than is ordinarily effected by a single great family, however munificent. Who can say how much good has been done to Church and State, and how many persons have been temporally and spiritually advantaged by each one of our collegiate institutions in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge?

All Souls has not done so much as other Colleges with smaller natural capacities for good. It has not thrown its energies into the work of education, as all its sister institutions have done. Perhaps this was owing to the original vice of its foundation. It was a chantry as well as a place of study. The members of the foundation were to pray for Henry VI. and Chichele, for Henry V. and all his 'noble' subjects that perished in the French wars, and for all the faithful departed. A pang of conscience may have led the old man to give this character to his foundation—he may have been following the example of Henry V.—

'Who had built

Two chantries, where the sad and solemn priests

Sang still for Richard's soul.'—*Henry V.* Act iv. Scene 1.

The result of this special character may have made Fellows of All Souls feel themselves at liberty to look upon themselves as intended by their Founder rather to lead a life of study and piety than to occupy themselves with teaching. Whatever the reason might have been, it is the fact that All Souls has never been a training school for the young like other Colleges. Once an effort was made to develop the College capabilities in this direction. Archbishop Parker, with the practical wisdom for which he was noted, resolved on adding a body of scholars who were to be elected from the school at Canterbury. Dr. Barber, the then Warden, began the erection of a new building for their reception in the year 1571, but the plague coming in the following year, and Parker dying in 1575, nothing was done in this direction. Some poor scholars, or servitors, were indeed admitted, to the respectable number of thirty-one, but they were not placed upon the foundation, and consequently they passed away as they came, and left only five Bible clerks to represent them in what became too like an aristocratical club. Professor Burrows does not tell us, but we believe that we are not wrong in stating, that a vigorous effort was made in 1852, by the more intelligent and earnest-minded members of the College, to change half of the Fellowships into twice as many Scholarships, the holders of which were to have been educated by the Fellows, as is the case in other Colleges. This scheme found no favour with the Commissioners of 1854. The object of the Commissioners was to strengthen the University element at the expense of the collegiate—not to create one more effective College. Consequently this admirable proposal, originating, as we believe, with one who now holds the highest post of honour in the University of Oxford, was put aside. The four Bible clerks still continue to be the only young men to whom an education is supplied by the noble appliances and large funds of Chichele's foundation. Let us derive what comfort we may from the fact that its revenues have been devoted (shall we say diverted?) to the support of Professors who have lent an honour to their College and their University, Mr. Max Müller, Mr. Mountague Bernard, and Mr. Montagu Burrows.

Chichele followed the example of Walter de Merton, Eglesfield, Adam de Brome, and Wykeham, in excluding the regular clergy from his foundation, which he intended to be a nursery for secular priests and ecclesiastical lawyers. The legal element was made stronger than in any other collegiate foundation, and from the beginning gave a special character to All Souls, which may have suggested to the Commissioners

of 1852 the specialities of the scheme by which they superseded Chichele's regulations, though no doubt Chichele intended that his ecclesiastical lawyers should still be priests.

Mr. Burrows fixes on the Elizabethan age as the golden age of All Souls. We think he is wrong. Neither All Souls nor any other College reached its golden age, until the reforms of Archbishop Laud had been effected. Mr. Burrows points to the great men of All Souls in the days of Elizabeth. Who are they? Lord Chancellor Weston, Sir Daniel Dunn, Sir William Bird, Sir Clement Edmunds, William Aubrey, John Williams, Sir Antony Sherley. Not belonging to All Souls ourselves, shall we be pardoned, if we acknowledge that we are by no means struck dumb with this galaxy of eminence and talent? When we look on to the period of 'the Laudian Revival,' as Mr. Burrows terms it, we find the far greater names of Brian Duppa, Sheldon, and Jeremy Taylor, the last of whom was introduced by a specific, and perhaps arbitrary act of authority of Archbishop Laud himself, in his character of Visitor.

In fact, post-Reformation Oxford can hardly be said to have been Oxford until the chancellorship of Laud. Passing over the glories of the Oxford of the middle ages, which was then the great public school of England, there is nothing to rivet the attention in the annals of the University until Laud has stamped his policy upon it by the force of his strong will. We should have been glad to see a more frank admission of the great merits of Laud in Mr. Burrows' pages. Happily for the Church of England, death did not snatch away from us the late Dean of Chichester until he had had time—though, as we read, we see that he had not had full time—to depict the life of one in many respects so similar to himself, whose high position gave him the occasion which he so gladly used of furthering the highest interests of the Church of England throughout his life and by his death. The Laudian school was a necessity of the Church of England. It had been necessary to advance boldly in the direction of liberty. It was now become necessary to prevent the progress towards liberty degenerating into licence and anarchy. Had Laud lived a century earlier, he would have been an unflinching reformer, for there was a robust Protestantism about him, as there was about Dr. Hook, which abhorred Popery, as distinguished from Catholicism, with a perfect hatred. Living as he did in the seventeenth century, he saw that what the Church and nation now needed was rather a protest in behalf

of Church order against the excesses of Puritanical anarchy. Called to high place in Church and State at a time when it was still considered right that kings and ministers should rule the people instead of being ruled by them, he put forth his own power and that of his master to stem the tide which was running headlong into the abyss of Puritanism and Communism. The Archbishop and the King were swept away by the flood, but by yielding up their own lives they saved both the Church and the Monarchy.

What was Oxford before Laud? What was it in Elizabeth's time? What in that of James I.? What a picture of Calvinistic bickerings and bitterness is opened before us by the history of the early days of Laud himself, when the young Fellow of S. John's was flouted and persecuted as an Arminian, and what a change passed over the spirit of the place from the time that Laud's statutes fashioned the outward form of the University, and Laud's spirit infused itself into every member of the body politic which he had reconstituted. It is hardly too much to say that since the chancellorship of Laud down to the year 1852, every person who during his education at Oxford has yielded his mind to be formed by the *genius* of the place, has been morally brought into contact with Laud, and received an impress from his strong will. In 1852 he and his had notice to quit—and is the University any the better for their banishment?

Little as Mr. Burrows is disposed to look upon Laud in too favourable a light, he makes the following frank acknowledgment:—

After his magnificent reception of Charles and Henrietta at S. John's College in 1636, and the promulgation of his statutes, he might well cry *Nunc dimittis* as far as Oxford was concerned. He had put an end to the disorders of the University, procured a new charter, entirely reformed its statutes, established a cycle of Proctors (which existed until a few years ago), instead of that debased system we have already noticed, instituted a new residence for the Bishop of the diocese, largely encouraged the study of Oriental languages and other hitherto neglected subjects, and given back to the place that ecclesiastical tone which the loose habits of the age had sensibly impaired'—p. 149.

The following letter of the Archbishop to Vice-Chancellor Frewen shows the vigour with which he set about his reforms, while at the same time it exhibits that affection to his beloved Oxford which Laud never ceased to feel:—

'I am given to understand that formalities (which are in a sort the outward and visible face of the University) are in a manner utterly

decayed, not only abroad in the streets, but also in the very schools, convocation, and congregation-houses, and at Latin sermons : inso-much that strangers, which come thither, have scarce any external marks by which they may know they are in a University. If this go on, the University will lose ground every day, both at home and abroad ; and especially with his Majesty, who is a great lover of order and decency in all seminaries of good learning. And he hath already given me strict charge to look both to this and other particulars in their several times.

‘And I desire you would bespeak your companies fairly, both because I presume most men there, in their generous and liberal education, will be such lovers of order that they will run to the practice ; and because I heartily desire that, as I am chosen Chancellor with a great deal of unexpected love, so I may be enabled ever to govern with a like measure of it. My heart ever was, and I hope ever shall be, set to do that place all the good I can. And I shall take it for one of God’s greatest temporal blessings upon me if I may have your joint concurrence to perfect the good I wish. And I will not doubt, but that you do so love and honour that our venerable mother, that you will cheerfully afford me this assistance.

‘I pray take care to go on with the delegacy for the statutes, that there may be a settled and a known body of them.

‘Neither will I proceed in anything but that which shall promote the honour and the good of yourselves and that famous University. And in this way, he that gives me best assistance shall be most welcome to me.’¹

Mr. Burrows notices as the first result at All Souls of ‘the spirit generated by the sort of reforms Laud effected,’ that some attempt was made, ‘for the first time since the iconoclastic proceedings of Edward VI.’s commissioners,’ to restore the chapel to decency and order. But it was during the Civil Wars that that spirit began to exhibit itself on a large scale. Oxford became the head-quarters of Charles’s court. ‘The tranquil and majestic city,’ as Macaulay has termed it, was transformed into a fortress and a camp ; and a delegacy of thirty members of the University became no inefficient council of war. The loyal liberality with which the Colleges contributed money, and even gave up their beloved plate for the King’s cause, is well known—a liberality which has made the bareness of the College Boards, rather than their richness, a matter of pride to each succeeding generation. Mr. Burrows seems to think that All Souls was even more liberal than other Colleges. ‘In almost every other College,’ he says, ‘some articles of value were retained among the general wreck, and concealed till the Restoration ; but at All Souls some half-dozen fragments, the very purpose of

¹ Quoted in Hook’s *Life of Laud*.

which can hardly now be guessed, alone represent the ancient part of that property, of which two Fellows are still annually appointed, according to ancient usage, *custodes jocalium*'—p. 172. According to the Tanner MSS., on the occasion of the second contribution for Charles's needs, Magdalen College gave the largest amount, All Souls the next, then follow Queen's, Trinity, Christ Church. Mr. Burrows calculates that in the two contributions of July 1642 and January 1643, no less than 10,000*l.* of our money was contributed by All Souls alone, which he justly describes as a prodigious sum to come from one College. Nor was Oxford content with serving vicariously by means of its money only. Wood states that Pembroke College alone, small as it was, provided fifty officers for the royal army. Magdalen Hall and New Inn Hall alone remained Puritanical and on the side of the Parliament.

A few years later the University exhibited another aspect, no less worthy of being contemplated. Charles I. had passed out of the city that he loved so well, crossing Magdalen Bridge in the disguise of a servant, with but one attendant, in the grey of the morning, as the clock struck three, having left behind him in Sheldon's care, that solemn vow, of one day restoring all Church land, which had been wrung from him by his conscience, as an acknowledgment of, though it could not be an atonement for, the weakness that he had been guilty of in yielding up his faithful servant Strafford to the malice of his enemies. The city had surrendered to the Parliament; receiving a guarantee, by the terms of capitulation, of being exempted from sequestration, fines, taxes, and all other molestation. Probably both parties knew that these terms were not to be observed. Oxford had to suffer for her loyalty and she knew it. The first step on the part of the Parliament was to send down seven preachers with liberty to occupy any pulpit in Oxford as often as they liked. Six months later Parliamentary Visitors were sent to undertake the task of reformation, and the University set itself to resist them with all the doggedness, which Laudian principles inspired, and which the collegiate constitution of the University enabled it to exhibit with effect. It is almost laughable to watch the dignified and ponderous manœuvres by means of which Dr. Fell and the other Heads of Houses foiled and baffled their antagonists. The opening scene of the Visitation was typical of the rest. The Vice-Chancellor and the Heads of Houses were cited to meet in the Convoca-

tion House between the hours of 9 and 11 a.m. The Visitors, before proceeding to the Convocation House, went to hear one of the seven preachers at S. Mary's. The preacher, elated by the occasion, lengthened out his sermon so that the clock struck eleven before he released his dignified auditors. Meantime the Convocation was assembled according to the citation. When the clock struck eleven Dr. Fell instructed the Proctor to announce that the time fixed for holding the Convocation had expired; and a public notary having duly attested the fact, he dismissed the meeting and proceeded on his way to Christ Church, attended, as usual, by the bedells, and by a number of gownsmen. Crossing the quadrangle he entered the narrow passage leading into the school-buildings, and there he met the Visitors on their way from S. Mary's to the Convocation House. 'Make way for Mr. Vice-Chancellor,' cried the bedells, and the academical train swept by, the Vice-Chancellor gravely raising his cap and informing the Visitors that it was past eleven o'clock. The Visitors continued on their way to the Convocation House, and found it empty.

Four days previously a genuine Convocation had been held to prepare measures of resistance to the expected Visitors, and at this Convocation a bold determination of exercising a passive resistance was proposed and carried with only one opposing voice. That vote was an act of stubborn courage, which showed what stuff the University was made of. All seemed lost. The King a prisoner; the Parliament triumphant; the city in the hands of the enemy; and yet only one man—a Christ Church man, who had lately been at Geneva—was found to vote for submission. His name was Godfrey. He might well have been known, like the one Lacedæmonian who turned his back in the field of battle and fled, as 'the trembler.'

The collegiate character of the University gave it a power of resistance which would not otherwise have existed. The Visitors, with the Chancellor at their head, found themselves in the presence of a number of armed citadels, of which they had to make themselves masters one by one; each of which, when captured, shook off the yoke, to which they had been obliged to submit, as soon as the Visitors had turned their backs upon it. Nothing exhibits more clearly the strength of the loyal feeling pervading Oxford than the hardly veiled scorn and sarcasm, with which one Head of a House after another replied to the demands of the Visitors. The Parliamentary ordinance, under which the Visitors acted, had been

hypocritically issued in the name of the King. This gave occasion to Mr. Wightwick, the Master of Pembroke College, when asked if he acknowledged their authority, to reply, 'that he had seen and considered their commission under the broad seal, but having some scruples upon him whether it might be genuine or not, he desired liberty might be granted him to wait upon his Majesty in person, to know the truth of that matter : because if it had been issued contrary to his Majesty's intentions, he could by no means submit to it, under pain of falsifying the oaths he had taken to his Majesty, the University, and his own College.' Mr. Wightwick's reply cost him his mastership, which was bestowed on one of the Parliamentary preachers. But the very fact of such a reply being delivered in writing by one holding the dignified position of Head of a College to persons whom he knew to be invested with full powers of depriving him of house and home at their discretion, showed an undaunted resolution and an *abandon* of courage, which proves how strong was the public opinion on which the writer must have relied to support him in his respectful audacity. The reply of the Vice-Chancellor and Delegates, presented through the Proctors, was no less firm, though free from the irony of Mr. Wightwick's answer. They protested 'that, with all due submission to the Parliament, they could not own any Visitor but the King, and that, having sworn to maintain his rights, they could not, without manifest perjury, submit themselves to this visitation ; where-with they desire them to acquaint the Parliament.'

The brunt of the battle fell first upon the Dean of Christ Church. On the same day on which the University's protest had been handed in, he was declared deprived of the Vice-Chancellorship ; and on his continuing to perform his duties as though no such declaration had been made, he was taken into custody and sent to London ; Dr. Potter, President of Trinity College, as pro-Vice-Chancellor, taking his place. The scene of the battle changed for a while from Oxford to London, where a decision was soon arrived at that 'the answers of several Heads of Houses and of others of the University were derogatory to the authority of Parliament,' and sentence of ejectment was passed against Dr. Fell and other dignitaries of the University. The order for the ejectment of Dr. Fell was transmitted to Dr. Hammond, who held the office of sub-Dean of Christ Church, for publication. Hammond refused to publish it, and was himself deprived of his canonry and of the post of Public Orator. A few months later, the Chancellor of the University, Lord Pembroke, an unworthy

brother of him from whom Pembroke College took its name, proceeded to Oxford to enforce the authority of Parliament on the contumacious city and University. Dr. Fell was in custody, but Mrs. Fell held the Deanery, and defended it with the resolution of the Countess of Montfort herself. The Visitors cited the members of Christ Church to appear before them in the Dean's lodgings. On demanding admittance, they found the doors locked and barred, and had to send for a body of soldiers to break them open. Having made their entry, they found Mrs. Fell in full possession, who declared her purpose of remaining, unmoved by threats and promises. The Visitors retired discomfited from the encounter; but a fortnight later, having surrounded themselves by a strong body of dragoons, they proceeded to the assault of the Dean's lodgings. Mrs. Fell still refused to surrender, and was carried out at length by the soldiers in her chair and set down in the middle of the quadrangle. Having vanquished Mrs. Fell, the Visitors were successful in breaking open the doors of the hall and buttery, and striking the names of Dr. Fell and Dr. Hammond from the books.

On the removal of Dr. Fell from Oxford, Gilbert Sheldon became the most conspicuous figure at Oxford. He had belonged to the party of Hyde and Falkland—men who, having to take their choice, chose the royal side in spite of some prepossessions which they had originally entertained against the King. Soon he became Charles's chief ecclesiastical adviser, holding the offices of Chaplain and Clerk of the Closet; and in 1647 he had the honour of being consulted, together with Hammond, Morley, and Sanderson, on the concessions demanded by the Parliament from the imprisoned King. He returned from his master's side at Carisbrook in time to face the Visitors at Oxford. He was asked whether he would acknowledge their authority. He replied that he could not yet satisfy himself that he ought to submit to this visitation. On April 13, 1648, having in the morning made themselves masters of Magdalen College, the Chancellor and the Visitors, with their guard of soldiers, proceeded to All Souls. We cannot do better than follow the example of Mr. Burrows in relating what took place, in the words of Wood's *Annals* :—

‘Finding none of the Fellows in the Hall, they were much troubled. At length they send for Dr. Sheldon, the Warden (then walking in his garden), who, appearing before them, did with great moderation of mind ask them by what authority they summoned him? Upon which the authority was shewn and read. Dr. Sheldon told them that it concerned not him at all, for it was dated March the 8th,

and gave the Chancellor and Visitors power to give possession to those which were *then* voted into the places of such that had been removed by them. Also, that he was not so much as then questioned, nor voted out of his place till March 30th, etc. This puzzled the Chancellor and Visitors very much, nor was there any answer for the present given. At length the Chancellor asks Mr. Prynne, who stood by him, what he could say to the matter; Mr. Prynne answers nothing; whereupon the Doctor leaves them and goes into his garden again, into which he could enter without going into his lodgings. They consult almost an hour, and Mr. Prynne confessed that they had no power by their commission to do it, but the Parliament must not be baffled, and that they might do many things, *ex officio*, agreeable to the mind of the Parliament, though not in their commission. Well—to it again they go, send for the buttery book, dash out Dr. Sheldon's name, and enter that of Dr. Palmer in its place. Which done, they send to Dr. Sheldon to deliver up the keys of his lodgings; he refuses; they break them open, and give Dr. Palmer possession, with an order (directed to the Provost Marshall of the garrison of Oxford or his deputy) for Dr. Sheldon's commitment to prison for refusing to submit to the authority of the Visitors, or, as they worded it, for his contempt. The Doctor read it, and finding therein base and aggravative language against him, desired the Chancellor to read it, telling him that his lordship was pleased two or three times to say that his answer and carriage was very civil, and desired to know whether that language was fit to be given to one that had so demeaned himself. The Chancellor said, "they were hard words;" and when 'twas told him that the lawyers drew it (Prynne and Cheynell were the men), the Chancellor answered—"Whosoever drew it, it had very hard language in it." In the carriage and debate of the business, the Chancellor asked the Doctor pardon three or four times, and told him openly that "what he had done in breaking open doors, he knew not; let the lawyers look to that." Dr. Sheldon was sent forthwith to James Chesterman's house against the Cross Inn, with a guard of musqueteers, followed by a great company of scholars, and blessed by the people as he passed the streets, and there was kept in safe custody till further pleasure.—*Burrows*, p. 183.

The Fellows were no less firm than the Warden. They were asked whether they would submit to the authority of Parliament in the visitation. All but one returned answers which were regarded by the Visitors as refusals, and five of them were at once expelled. The remaining members of the foundation were not allowed to go unmolested. Hollingworth, the butler, was immediately expelled; an inscription in the cloisters still records him as one who '*officia et justè et generosè executus est; Collegio simul et Regi (ultra vulgus famulorum) fidus.*' The cook, the under-cook, the under-butler, and the page were then summoned. They replied as follows:—

'Wee, whose names are underwritten, being desirouse not to be misunderstood in a matter we understand not, shall submit to the authoritie of Parliament in this visitation soe far forth as our former oathes will permit.'

For this 'saucy' answer they were expelled. Mr. Burrows has done well in recording their names: Harding, William Griffin, Gibbs, Davis, Thomas Griffin; for, as he justly says, these men were 'heroes;' they gave up all for conscience's sake.

The same work was carried out in every College. Out of fourteen Colleges (Magdalen, Christ Church, Trinity College, Brasenose, S. John's, Wadham, University, Merton, Exeter, Oriel, Corpus, Queen's, All Souls, New College), 187 members were found to submit, and 382 to refuse submission. In three Colleges alone, Merton, Trinity, and University, was there a majority that submitted. Sheldon was kept in the prison to which he had been committed by the Visitors for several months; after which he was released from confinement on the condition that he should not come within five miles of Oxford, or go to the Isle of Wight. So careful were Prynne and his friends that the imprisoned monarch should derive no comfort from his chaplain's liberty.

One of the most valuable parts of Mr. Burrows' work is the vindication of Sheldon's character from the aspersions made upon it by Burnet, and those who have followed Burnet's authority. That a man belonged to another political party was sufficient to make Burnet attribute to him, in all good faith, the basest of motives, and Sheldon's reputation has suffered by Burnet's having blackened it. Giving him credit for learning, ability, business habits, quickness of apprehension, good judgment, generosity, charity, pleasantness in conversation, he continues: 'He seemed not to have a deep sense of religion, if any at all, and spoke of it most commonly as of an engine of government and a matter of policy. By this means the King came to look on him as a wise and honest clergyman, though he had little virtue and less religion.' This is what Burnet dared to write of one, who was 'the intimate friend and constant associate of Clarendon, Falkland, Sanderson, Hammond, and Morley; the fellow-worker with Laud, the adviser of Jeremy Taylor, the chosen spiritual counsellor of Charles I., the rebuker of Charles II.' (Burrows, p. 254). We need not be surprised that the words 'though he had little virtue and less religion' were omitted by the editors of Burnet until Dr. Routh brought out his Oxford edition. All that the passage means is, that

Gilbert Sheldon belonged to a different political party from Gilbert Burnet. From Burnet's history the charge has been copied into Kennet's *Register*, Neal's *History of the Puritans*, Hallam's *Constitutional History*, and almost all biographical dictionaries. Mr. Burrows has traced the genesis of the slander, and we should be glad to think that he had given it its death-blow.

Sheldon had been a conspicuous figure during the Civil Wars and the Commonwealth. At the Restoration he steps into the first rank. Palmer, the Warden intruded at All Souls by the authority of the Parliamentary Visitors, died in 1659, and Sheldon was once more acknowledged as Head of the College. He did not, however, return to Oxford. A wider sphere than that of the University was now opened to him. Hyde and Sheldon, who had been friends in their youth before the Civil Wars commenced, had now the task, in mature age, of reorganizing the affairs both of Church and State. Charles had appointed Sheldon Dean of the Chapel Royal when they met at Canterbury on the royal progress to London. 'I am the more at ease,' wrote Brian Duppa, Bishop of Salisbury, to him, 'because I know you stand ready upon the place to lay hold upon all opportunities, and are diligently upon your watch "ne ecclesia aliquid detrimenti capiat." One of his first steps was probably to exhibit to the son the vow of Charles I., which he had for thirteen years kept buried underground. As soon as the proper arrangements could be made, he was consecrated Bishop of London, while Juxon became Archbishop of Canterbury. In this office Sheldon ruled the Church of England, as Blomfield in the Archiepiscopate of Howley and Wilberforce in that of Longley; and we can imagine that Sheldon preferred such a position as this to that of the Primacy, to which he was promoted in 1663. For he was singularly free from the vanity, that makes a man demand that he should be himself conspicuous in the work which he accomplishes; so that the work were done, he was satisfied. This characteristic was exhibited in the Savoy Conference. All that was done, and all that was not done, at that Conference, was the work of Sheldon, and yet he hardly appears in it. We may discern the spirit of Laud acting through a man of far less lofty character, but of far greater political talents, and giving a fixity to the Church of England which stamped it once more in the eyes of the world as the Catholic Church in England, not one out of a number of contending and hardly dissimilar sects. The Archbishop's friendship with Clarendon continued until the latter's death.

Together they restored the old landmarks which had been swept away by the Great Rebellion ; together they attempted to stem the tide of immorality which flooded England in the time of Charles II. ; together they attempted to confirm the unsteady mind of their dissipated Sovereign ; together they had the honour of incurring that Sovereign's hatred, for resisting his immoral purposes, and when Clarendon died in 1674, he left his invaluable manuscripts to be suppressed or published by the advice and approbation of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Winchester. In 1677 the venerable Archbishop followed his friend to the grave.

The next occasion on which Oxford comes prominently forward in the history of the country was in the last year of James II., when the mind of that monarch was filled with that madness, which precedes destruction. If there was one place in the whole of England, which deserved to be treated tenderly and generously by the representative of the House of Stuart, it was Oxford. The city that had proved its passionate affection for Charles I. in a hundred ways, might have been supposed to have earned some gratitude from Charles's son, but all the sacrifices that had been so gladly made went for nothing with 'the dull, stubborn, self-willed tyrant,' as Macaulay styles him. Oxford was once more to be turned into a Roman Catholic Seminary, and James knew but one way of effecting his purpose, the employment of force. The College that stands forward now to bear the brunt of the battle is Magdalen College. Obadiah Walker had declared himself a Roman Catholic at University College, and was authorized by James to retain his mastership. A Roman Catholic Dean had been appointed at Christ Church in the person of John Massey, and James next resolved on forcing Magdalen College to follow in the same path. Amongst the loyal Colleges of Oxford, Magdalen had been one of the most loyal. During the Civil War it had been the head-quarters of Prince Rupert, and, at its conclusion, fifty-five members of it had refused submission to Parliament, and had thereupon been ejected from the College, until the Restoration brought back the survivors of them to their old home. Its members, too, had shown a stedfast loyalty in the time of Monmouth's rebellion.

It was for the Headship of this noble College that James had the shamelessness to recommend Anthony Farmer—a man of signal depravity, but a Roman Catholic. In vain the Fellows represented that the man was legally as well as morally dis-

qualified for the post. No notice was taken of their representation, and, having waited in vain for a reply, they elected for their President John Hough. The Fellows were summoned before the High Commission at Whitehall, which declared Hough's election void. Ashamed of his first nominee, the King wrote and commanded the election of Parker. The College replied respectfully that the Presidentship was not vacant. James proceeded himself to Oxford, and summoned the Fellows to meet him at the Deanery. Refusing to receive any explanation, he furiously commanded them to elect Parker. They returned to their Chapel, and with only one dissentient voice refused obedience to his command. Violence having failed, the King attempted cajolery. Penn was sent to persuade the Fellows into compliance. He threw out the bait of a bishopric to Hough to induce him to retire, and, mingling threats with promises, tried to bend the Fellows to the royal will; assuring them that if they would but yield, no similar attempt would be made upon another College, as the Roman Catholics would no doubt be satisfied with University, Christ Church, and Magdalen College. Penn's cajolery having failed, a Royal Commission was issued; and the Commissioners, escorted into Oxford by soldiers, once more pronounced Hough an intruder. Every Fellow, except one, refused to acknowledge the sentence. Parker was installed by a proxy in the presence of only two members of the College, and (as we found before at All Souls) the College servants were as loyal as their superiors. The butler and the porter refusing to recognize the intruded President, were dismissed, and none but their own servants would obey the Commissioners' commands to break open the presidential lodgings. James insisted that the Fellows should acknowledge the legality of the Commission, and sue for pardon for having resisted the royal will; they refused, and were ejected in a body, being declared at the same time incapable of holding Church preferment. The Demies refused to obey the intruded Fellows, and were themselves expelled. Parker died, we may hope, of shame; a Roman Catholic Bishop was appointed to succeed him; the vacant Fellowships were filled by Roman Catholics, and Magdalen became a Popish seminary.

It was this act, which filled to overflowing the cup of endurance of the Anglican clergy. What was done in Oxford was keenly felt in every corner of the land, and the Church of England made up its mind that, though James was the son of Charles, they must transfer their allegiance elsewhere, if they would preserve that which was dearer to them than dynasties

or forms of government—the Church for which Charles himself had been content to die. No wonder that the following year, as Macaulay relates,—

‘Lovelace marched unopposed through counties once devoted to the House of Stuart, and at length entered Oxford in triumph. The magistrates came in state to welcome the insurgents. The University itself, exasperated by recent injuries, was little disposed to pass censures on rebellion. Already some of the Heads of Houses had despatched one of their number to assure the Prince of Orange that they were cordially with him, and that they would gladly coin their plate for his service. The Whig chief, therefore, rode through the capital of Toryism amidst general acclamation. Before him the drums beat Lillibullero. Behind him came a long stream of horse and foot. The whole High Street was gay with orange ribands’—*History of England*, c. ix.

Calmer days were now in store for Oxford—too calm. England, and therefore the Universities—the Universities, and therefore England—stagnated through the eighteenth century. Though, even during this century, even All Souls (now settled down into being a club of well-born literary men) produced, as Mr. Burrows reminds us, no less a man than Blackstone.¹ With the new century new life sprang up in both Universities. At Cambridge it assumed a directly religious form, and once more revived the dry bones of respectable morality, and clothed them with the warm flesh and blood of simple evangelical piety. In Oxford, during the first quarter of the century the life that began to stir was rather philosophical in its aim—an attempt to place Christianity once more in the van of thought. This was the hardly realized purpose of the men who formed the disunited and unsympathetic band of thinkers who found their centre in Oriel common-room. It was at first uncertain in what direction a school of thought—if school it could be called, which contained within it such various elements as Keble and Newman, Hampden and Arnold, Blanco

¹ That Blackstone was not a Professor at Oxford was the fault of the Prime Minister, in whom was vested the nomination to the Vinerian Professorship. The Report of the Commissioners of 1852 states that ‘the Vinerian Professorship was founded in 1755 by Mr. Viner, to create a sphere for the energies of Blackstone, who had, at Lord Mansfield’s suggestion, opened a course of lectures on the Laws of England, when on political grounds another competitor was preferred to him for the chair of civil law.’ On this Dr. Pusey comments as follows:—‘The Commissioners then themselves acknowledge a flagrant instance of political partiality on the part of the Prime Minister. It may readily be imagined what would have been said, had it been Convocation which preferred Dr. Robert Jenner to Blackstone’—*Evidence*, p. 115.

White, and Whately—might develop. The superior force of character, intellectual power and learning of Keble, Newman, and their great associate, Dr. Pusey, determined the direction. Under their guidance, the religious movement, nicknamed Tractarianism, which aimed at recovering the doctrines and reawakening the spirit of the Church of England, filled the University full and to overflowing, not only with intellectual, but also with spiritual life. For nearly a quarter of a century, Tractarianism ruled and reigned in Oxford. It was frowned upon, indeed, by the older generation, and passionately resisted by a few thinkers who had chosen the side of Arnold, Hampden, and Whately, in preference to that of Keble, Newman, and Pusey; but these were a minority, and served only to fan enthusiasm. With heart and head Oxford welcomed and embraced the new movement. Tractarianism was a theology, a philosophy, a religion, and a system of ethics. As a theology, it aimed at maintaining and illustrating truth once delivered and still preserved in Christ's Church; as a philosophy, it appealed to the principle of authority, which it summoned to its aid in its warfare with religious liberalism; as a religion and a system of ethics, it fostered in its disciples a contemptuous disregard of comfort, ease, or self-seeking, an almost overstrained sense of the demands of duty, and an unflinching resolution to satisfy those demands, and even to go beyond them.

At the close of the first half of the present century, therefore, there were to be found in the University a certain number of men who resisted all changes (for the most part, of the elder generation), and two bodies of reformers: one, the Church party, bent on sweeping away every practical abuse, at whatever sacrifice to themselves, holding before themselves an ideal of Oxford as a place of religious learning and education, and devoting themselves with an unexampled spirit of self-sacrifice to realizing that ideal; the other, a body of more radical reformers, for the most part recruited from Rugby, representatives of English theological liberalism, feeling themselves out of sympathy with the spirit of the institutions to which they belonged. In rooting out some practical abuses, these two bodies of reformers acted together, but nothing could be more different than their principles. The Churchman's ideal was to carry out his Founder's intentions, so far as circumstances would permit, to restrain non-residence, to give to each Fellow his definite work to do, either in the education of the undergraduates, or personal study, or the management of College affairs. The College Chapel and

the University Church symbolized to him that part of the University system, which he regarded as the most valuable. The devotion, which he displayed in teaching, was rather inspired by the desire to form the minds of young men than by a wish to promote knowledge for its own sake, and advance the bounds of abstract learning. His aim was to sweep away every practical abuse, to preserve all old traditions, and to make the University as perfect a place as was possible for religious education and religious study, working strictly upon the old lines. The liberal reformers, on the other hand, showed no great keenness in the task of abolishing practical abuses, though they did not decline to take part in it when brought before them. Their object was, not to make perfect what already existed, but to substitute for what *was*, something which they conceived would be better. The daily routine of teaching young men of moderate abilities was to them a weariness, and the atmosphere of Oxford was too much charged with religion for them to breathe comfortably in it. They noted down the *Collegiate system* and *Clerical Fellowships* as the two great obstacles to Oxford becoming what they wished it to be made.

Things were in this state when a slight event led to the issue of a Royal Commission. A leading member of the party of liberal reformers, a good scholar and a man of high ability, offered himself for a Fellowship at one of the Colleges. He passed the best examination, but it happened that he was in possession of a private income greater than that which the Statutes of the College allowed its Fellows to hold, and on this ground he was rejected. It is believed that, being a man of singularly sensitive disposition, and ever ready to discover a personal injury or insult where none was meant, he was stung to the quick, and his slumbering zeal for reform bestirred itself into active life. He could look for no sympathy at the hands of the Church party, as they were zealous in maintaining the rights of poverty ; but the liberal reformers only needed a spur from one of their own body. In a short time he had collected a sufficient number of signatures to an address to Lord Russell, to induce the latter to promise the issue of a 'Royal Commission to inquire into the state, discipline, studies, and revenues of the University and Colleges of Oxford.' The Commission was issued in 1850, and almost every one of the Commissioners was selected from the school of Arnold and Whately ; the zealous secretary and the chief assistant-secretary being of the same party. The *Quarterly Review* in vain remonstrated :

‘Considering the dignity and rank of the University as an institution, the weight of its associations, its ancient honours, its lofty names, its largeness, its solidity, its great religious and historical position in the country, it was hardly an act of common respect to select a Board, which was to sit in a critical and judicial attitude upon it, exclusively from one school of religious speculation, of recent growth, and no considerable numbers. . . . The office of examining, judging, and reforming a University was not one to be put into the hands of a knot of men representing one particular set of views. Even if such a body feels the duty of assuming a recipient and impartial attitude, it cannot do it. A school does not know what its own hobbies are, that is to say, it knows that it has certain favourite ideas, but it is obliged to think them, as such, not hobbies, but important truths. Put a particular school of thought, then, in exclusive possession of a Commission, and we know what we may, in the natural order of things, expect’—(vol. xciii. p. 155).

The result was what might have been expected. The Commission reported, and it at once appeared that the theories of the little knot of Oxford theological (as distinct from political) liberals, of which Mr. A. P. Stanley was interpreter, were to be forced upon the University, if the Commissioners should have their way, by the heavy hand of the State. Oxford was to be de-clericalized and liberalized,—perhaps *germanized* would be a better word—and the means by which this was to be effected, was mainly the substitution of a University and Professorial system of teaching by laymen for Tutorial and Collegiate training under clergy. The article in the *Quarterly Review*, which we have already quoted, pithily summed up its criticisms as follows: ‘From this temper of mind has proceeded a scheme of University reform, of which the University constitution is a blunder, the University instruction a theory, and the University extension a joke.’

What were the reformers who were also churchmen, that is, the main body of Oxford Tutors, to do? It was hoped that the Hebdomadal Board, in which was then vested the government of the University, would have appointed a Delegacy, consisting partly of Heads of Houses, partly of Masters of Arts, to deal with the question. Unhappily the Board, fearing for its supremacy, which was now doomed, declined to take this step. A Committee of the Board was appointed to receive evidence and suggestions; and there was established a Tutors’ Association, at which the various problems mooted by the University Commission were discussed *vivâ voce* night by night. From the Tutors’ Association, during the year 1853, there issued a series of Reports, the ablest of which—on the Professorial system—was drafted by

the late Dean Mansel. The Committee of the Hebdomadal Board also issued a Report, feeble in itself, but supported by very valuable evidence, contributed by Dr. Pusey, Professor Hussey, Mr. Osborne Gordon, Mr. E. A. Freeman and others, which has been but too little regarded.

The time came for an Act of Parliament to be based upon the Report of the Royal Commission. At this time Mr. Gladstone was Member for the University, and was the object of a more enthusiastic affection, an intenser love than he has inspired in any other constituency, though he has since become a man of far wider fame. He was also a member of the Government. It was generally thought that, as some action must follow upon the Report of the Commission, it was the wisest course to welcome it, or to endure it, at once, trusting to the influence of Mr. Gladstone to ward off from the University which he loved, and which loved him, the evils which legislation, conducted on undiluted liberal principles, would bring upon it. An understanding was come to, that no change was to be made in the relation of the University to the Church, and on these terms the majority of the resident Tutors co-operated with the legislation as it proceeded. At the last moment, before the Bill left the House of Commons, a clause was introduced, not by Mr. Gladstone, nor with his approval, going far to sever the connection between the University and the Church. The clause was clamoured for by the Liberationists, and, on the other side, Lord Stanley significantly declared that his father was in favour of the admission of Dissenters. Under these circumstances the Government accepted it in the House of Commons, and hurried the Bill, clause and all, through the House of Lords, Lord Derby making no more than a colourable opposition to it.¹

¹ The sense entertained at the time by the main body of Churchmen, respecting the Act of 1854, is shown in the following extract from the *Christian Remembrancer* of 1855:—

‘And now Oxford men are relieved at the prospect of having nearly done with these extra labours—not because of the weariness of flesh ensuing from them—not because they are indifferent to, or unready to work for, their *alma mater*—but because their toil has been ungrateful in its results, and their efforts have, to a great extent, been crowned with disappointment. For some the Bill has gone too far, for some not far enough; some see principles violated, some question the expediency of many measures adopted; while deep down in the heart of Oxford there is a feeling that she has been wronged. She threw herself heartily into the work before her on one condition—that her Church character should not be assailed. At the eleventh hour, when she was now unable to make use of the instruments which she had in her hands for influencing public opinion, the condition was broken, and that character was assailed. Who it was that wrought the wrong, or who that failed to prevent it, she does

The victory of Liberalism was complete. The school of Arnold and Whately had been unable to cope with the Church party in a fair fight for the mastery within the boundaries of the University. It had dwindled into a knot of discontented if brilliant men, insignificant in numbers, and not very influential in their different Colleges; but there was a greater world than Oxford, which wielded a power that the University was incapable of resisting. Choosing their time well, when the public mind was incensed and alarmed by the falling away of several among the Church party to Rome, and when that party was disorganized and weakened by the abdication of one of its leaders, the liberal minority appealed for aid to Parliament, and obtained substantially all that they had asked for. Virtually or actually the connection between the Church and the University as such, was severed. Endowments were transferred from their legitimate object—the direct promotion of religion and education—to the maintenance of professional men in their struggle upwards in the world. Fellowships founded specially for the support of clergy were secularized, the claims of poverty were despised, the most influential posts of instruction were transferred, potentially and actually, from clergy to laity. The University and Professorial system of teaching was so strengthened and encouraged as almost necessarily to tend towards the degradation and absorption of Colleges and College Tutors. The Church party was beaten all along the line. The University of Laud ceased to be; and a new University was started on its course, destined, unless some strong reaction should ensue, to lose more and more the characteristics of an English University, and to be assimilated more and more to the German model.

Parliamentary interferences, once invoked, are easily repeated. In 1867 a Bill was introduced for doing away with religious subscription at Oxford and Cambridge. Its author declared candidly, that his object was to wrest the Universities from the Church, in order that by the liberalized mind of the Universities, the Church itself might be liberalized; the concessions already made by Oxford in 1854 being urged by him as an argument for more. The Bill, thus advocated, became law in 1871, Mr. Miall expressing his hearty satisfaction at what was being done.

Thus, then, was brought to a successful issue one-half of the

not now wish to inquire. . . . However this may be, there are causes enough to make the University Bill, and all that is connected with it, distasteful, and so Oxford is glad enough that she has nearly done with it'—(No. lxxxix. Art. 5, p. 159.)

programme of the Commissioners of 1852, and the party that they represented. The Universities have been de-clericalized, de-ecclesiasticized, de-religionized ; and the result has been what might have been expected ; for a *genius loci* is not a thing that lives in stones and mortar, but is born of living influences.

To the thoughtful Churchman a comparison of what Oxford was, as the home of religion, thirty years ago,¹ and what it is now, cannot but awaken the gravest apprehension. In every generation there is some special current of thought which communicates itself to others more rapidly in a University than elsewhere, and more naturally runs into excess where a number of young fresh minds are congregated. There were dangers then and there are dangers now, but at least then the tendency of the University and collegiate system was to impress religion on the minds of those subjected to it, and to send them out from the University Christians and Churchmen. Can the same be said of the University system as it exists at present? No doubt the evils of a system may be counteracted by personal influence, but the tendency of a system is permanent, the influence of individuals is passing. That one so well qualified to form an opinion as Bishop Mackarness should have painted the dangers to belief in such dark colours as he has employed, is sufficient to cause serious anxiety to all who have at heart the future interest whether of Church or State.²

Half the programme has been accomplished. What of the other half? This is the question now before Parliament and the nation. Is the Collegiate system of our Universities to be sacrificed as well as their religious character? Unhappily we are not able to approach this question as though there had been no University Reform Act of 1854, and no University Test Act of 1871. When the conditions of clerical tenure, poverty and residence, had been abolished, it was evident from the first that Fellowships, thus converted into sinecure prizes, would have to be abolished also, unless some better scheme could be devised whereby the evils caused by previous hasty legislation could be nullified. No such scheme

¹ See Introduction to *Memorials* of Rev. Wharton B. Marriott, Scholar of Trinity College and afterwards Fellow of Exeter College (London, 1873); the introduction to Haddan's *Remains*, by the late Bishop Forbes, and Principal Shairp's *Essay on John Keble*.

² We are aware that one of the Bishop's chaplains, resident in the University, has blurred the lines and washed out some of the colours of the Bishop's picture, in a paper read at the Stoke Congress, and we are glad that he was able to do so, but the picture stands, and unhappily the general truth of its representation cannot be denied. The Bishop has reaffirmed in his place in the House of Lords that there are Fellows who are not Christians.

has been devised, perhaps no such scheme can be devised in the present temper of the nation ; for it is far easier to concede strongholds than to re-build or to re-garrison them. Lord Salisbury's Bill will revolutionize the University, but what if a revolution has become necessary? Fellowships will be sacrificed by it, which have been the support of a learned clergy, and which are sorely needed by the Church of England at the present time for this very object,¹ but what if after the legislation of 1854, they no longer serve this end? The provisions made by Founders will be over-ridden, but what if their intentions have already been set aside? How, then, can the authority of Founders be invoked for maintaining that which they had not purposed to institute? Under the circumstances, Lord Salisbury's Bill deserves a candid and favourable consideration, but care must be had, lest under cover of it the Colleges and the Collegiate system be sacrificed to a greater degree than the legislation of 1854 has made requisite. It is evident that the Liberationist Society is exerting itself to the utmost with the view of winning another triumph over the Church in the Universities as it did in 1871 and 1854, and it is well that we should remember their previous tactics in this field.

By their supineness Churchmen have failed to preserve the religious character of the University. Unless they are prepared to exert themselves, they will see its Collegiate character lost also. We trust that we shall hear no half-hearted lamentations, that the Collegiate system is 'destined' to be overthrown in England as it has been in Germany, and that English Universities are 'destined' to be constituted, as the most energetic and active political or ecclesiastico-political parties in the nation determine that they shall be constituted.

¹ 'Has theology ceased to be a study? and is it true that there is no longer any need of a body of learned clergy? Is it not rather the case that the Colonial Church has been erected within your memory and mine? That the demand for clergymen, at home and abroad, is greater than ever was known before; that fresh avenues of labour are opening in every quarter; and that the amount of hard work, which devolves on an incumbent, does for the most part so effectually deprive him of the opportunities of study, that one only remaining chance of possessing a learned clergy seems to spring out of the fact that these time-honoured institutions afford a temporary shelter for students in theology before they are called out into the field of active exertion? If a foundation for such students was deemed requisite in the days of Edward II., what is then to warrant the belief that such a foundation needs not to be retained in all its integrity now?'—(Letter of *Endemus to Ecdemus*, p. 11, quoted in the article on Clerical and Lay Fellowships in the *Christian Remembrancer* of July 1855.)

The Colleges and the Collegiate system are the most precious part of the old Universities still remaining to us. It is the Colleges, through which training, as distinct from mere teaching, may still be had. It is the Colleges which contain within them a recuperative power, unspeakably valuable in an institution which is to last from generation to generation: it is the Colleges, which guarantee the independence of the University. It was by the liberality and devotion of the Colleges, that the University was enabled to exhibit its loyalty in the time of the Civil Wars: it was by the stubborn resistance of the Colleges, that the University preserved its liberties in the time of the Commonwealth: it was by the bold opposition of the Colleges, that the University was saved from being turned into a Roman Catholic Seminary in the time of James II. Let it be noted too, that wherever the Collegiate system has been given up in foreign countries, self-government has passed away and they have become departments of the State, wielded by the Minister of Instruction through a Professoriate nominated by the Government.¹ The appointment of a Standing Committee of the Privy Council for receiving appeals in University matters is, we must think, a step fraught with peril to the future independence of the University, though made at the request of the University herself.

That 'the idle fellows' created by the legislation of 1854 must be cut adrift, if either the Universities or the Colleges are to flourish, cannot be doubted. But what of the Fellowships which are occupied by these 'idle' men ('idle,' that is, as Fellows, however hard-working in other fields)? If they have to be cut away—and we are sure that many an attached

¹ 'Leipzig had its Colleges of Tutors and its Private Halls; Leipzig had its Convocation, *Consilium nationale*, and its Hebdomadal Board, *Consilium rectorale*, with a power of making statutes for themselves. After the Thirty Years' war a reform and readjustment of the whole University took place at the hands of a Government Commission; and now the old buildings of the Colleges are made use of as the official residence of the Professors; the revenues of the University are entirely controlled by the Minister of Public Instruction; the Nations have disappeared, so have the Halls; the Faculties exist, but consist only of salaried Professors; Masters have no share in the University at all: the Faculties also are only invested with formal power; they examine and have the right of granting academical degrees; discipline and finances are in the hands of the Government. Colleges and Halls, Tutors and Masters, Nations and Faculties, Rector and Pro-Rectors, Hebdomadal Board and Convocation, have been alike swallowed up by Professors; self-government has passed away, and the University has become a State department. *Absit omen!*' —(*Evidence to the Committee of the Board of Heads of Houses*, 1853, p. 277.)

member of a College would feel the suppression of a Fellowship like the amputation of a limb—we trust that the Archbishop of Canterbury's plea in behalf of poverty will not be disregarded. The transformation of superfluous Fellowships in a College into thrice the number of Scholarships *connected with the same College* would be far less dangerous as a precedent, far less violent as a remedy, and far more useful to education and learning, than the suppression of the same Fellowships and the employment of the funds thus accruing in the erection of more Museums and Laboratories, or in the institution of more Professorships or sub-Professorships, or Scholarships for Unattached Students. However good a thing may be, it is possible to have too much of it. What Oxford needs is not more teaching power, but more encouragement to those that are taught, not more Professors, but more Scholars, not more subjects of study, but more help to young students in their brave struggle for the priceless benefit of education, not more coddling and coaxing of the non-Collegiate elements of the University, but a strengthening and harmonizing of the yet remaining fragments of that Collegiate and religious system, to which the English Church and nation owe some of their noblest characteristics.

SHORT NOTICES.

Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις Πατρὸς ἡμῶν Κλήμεντος ἐπισκόπου Ῥώμης αἱ δυνὶ πρὸς Κορινθίους ἐπιστολαὶ, ἐκ χειρογράφου τῆς ἐν Φανάρῳ Κωνσταντινopolέως Βιβλιοθήκης τοῦ Παναγίου Τάφου νῦν πρῶτον ἐκδιδόμεναι πλήρεις ὑπὸ Φιλόθεου Βρυέννιου Μητροπολίτου Σερρών. (Constantinople: Boutra. London: Nutt.)

THIS book will be welcomed by all students of Patristic theology. Our readers will remember, no doubt, that hitherto the two Epistles of S. Clement of Rome to the Corinthians—two of the most ancient monuments of primitive Christianity—the Epistle of S. Barnabas alone claiming priority of date amongst the Apostolic Fathers, have been known only from an imperfect copy of them at the end of the Alexandrine Codex in the British Museum. Probably very few people were sanguine enough to hope that a more perfect copy would ever come to light. But, however improbable this might

seem, a complete text of both Epistles has been found in the 'Library of the most Holy Sepulchre at Constantinople,' by means of which it is possible both to fill up the very large lacunæ and to corroborate the text of the Alexandrine Codex. It had been conjectured by Junius, the first editor, that a very considerable portion was missing. Apart from smaller lacunæ, which are numerous, the new text gives us fourteen new chapters: six in the first Epistle (preceding the last two), and eight in the second, containing from the nineteenth to the end.

The newly recovered chapters present perhaps less of interest to our notice than might have been expected. It is the first Epistle, of course, which claims especial attention; and the greater part of the newly recovered six chapters is occupied by a prayer, breathing the deepest piety, and filled with allusions and quotations from the Old Testament scriptures, but naturally containing little of theological import. In the 58th chapter, however, a passage occurs, known hitherto only by S. Basil's quotation in his work on the Holy Ghost to Amphilochius (cap. 29, Benedictine edit. tom. 3, 61), containing a direct allusion to the most Holy Trinity: *ζῆ γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς καὶ ζῆ ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον, ἥτε πιστὸς καὶ ἡ ἐλπίς τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν*. Besides this valuable passage, there is another in the 63rd chapter which may help to fix the date of the Epistle. In it S. Clement speaks of having sent to Corinth 'men faithful and prudent, who have lived (*ἀναστραφέντας*) among us from youth to age without blame.' This expression seems rather to favour the later, than the earlier period of the two, which have at various times been suggested for S. Clement's episcopate.

The second Epistle, though longer, is of far less interest, on account of its very doubtful authenticity. The newly discovered chapters contain, however, several most curious passages, which cannot fail to demand the attention of theologians. We select two of these from the fourteenth chapter:

'If we do the will of God our Father we shall be of the first the Spiritual Church (*τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς πρώτης τῆς πνευματικῆς*) which was created before the sun and the moon.'

And a few lines further on—

'You know . . . that the Bible (*τὰ βιβλία*) and the Apostles [teach] that the Church is not now [created], but is from above. For it was spiritual, as our Jesus is, but was revealed in these last days to save us.'

In addition to these remarkable passages, there are others worthy of more especial notice concerning the Day of Judgment, eternal punishment (cap. 17), the use of sorrow (cap. 19), and the duty of not being troubled at the prosperity of the wicked (cap. 21). For further information on these passages we must refer the reader to the book itself, as there would not be space to quote them all here.

The MS., in which these valuable documents were found, is a small 8vo. of one hundred and twenty leaves, which bears in its colophon the date 1056. The same book contains 'S. Chrysostom's Synopsis of the Old and New Testament,' 'The Epistle of S.

Barnabas,' 'The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles,' 'The Epistle of Mary of Cassabolæ to S. Ignatius,' and thirteen 'Epistles of S. Ignatius' ('to Mary, to the Trallians, Magnesians, those in Tarsus, Philippians two, Philadelphians, Smyrneans, to Polycarp, to the people of Antioch, to Heron deacon at Antioch, to the Ephesians, to the Romans'). Probably the date of the MS. will preclude its being of much weight in any of the controversies concerning the Ignatian Epistles, but another text of these cannot fail to be of interest, and we hope it may be published ere long.

We should be doing the editor of the Epistles of S. Clement a great injustice, if we were not to mention the able way in which he has done his work. The book, which is Greek throughout, opens with a long and learned introductory treatise, in which all questions of interest connected with the name of S. Clement are discussed at considerable length. The Metropolitan of Serres is inclined evidently to accept the usual ecclesiastical traditions on these subjects in preference to any modern suggestions, but he has availed himself throughout of the labours of the latest Western theologians and historians, and treated the various matters, as they pass under consideration, so fairly and openly that his reader may judge at once what there is to be said on both sides of the question. He rejects the fabulous story of the martyrdom of S. Clement, with the observation that 'the less the ancients knew about it the more those in latter times added.' On one point we are unable to agree with him. He concludes, from a passage in the 19th chapter of the second Epistle, that this is a genuine sermon of S. Clement, sent at the same time with his Epistle to the Corinthian Church. The use of the word *ἀναγγεῖλαι* in this passage may certainly imply that what is called the second Epistle is really a sermon, in which case it is, with the exception of the records of Apostolic preaching, the oldest Christian sermon in the world; but even thus it does not appear why it should be considered S. Clement's. Nor do we think that the difference of style which might exist between a sermon and an epistle could be so great as the difference between the whole mode of thought of the first and second Epistle. It seems to us far more probable that the second Epistle was sent at the same time as the first indeed, but by some other member of the Roman Church.

The text of the Epistles themselves is one formed from both the Alexandrine and Constantinopolitan MSS. Despite the great antiquity of the Alexandrine MS., the editor has generally preferred the Constantinopolitan reading, and we think, with justice, as this text seems to be the more perspicuous of the two. But all the various readings, and even conjectural words and syllables, proposed by various editors to fill up the lacunæ of the Alexandrine Codex have been chronicled with the strictest fidelity, so that it will be easy for those skilled in the study of comparing MSS. to decide for themselves in every case. In addition to various readings, the foot-notes contain remarks upon such passages as require comment, and where it seems necessary, reference is made to the prolegomena. The book is supplied also with several indices. The index of quotations seems to us

to take for New Testament quotations many passages which cannot be justly claimed as such, but are at the most parallel passages or allusions. In the newly recovered chapters we do not recognize more than two passages which could in any sense be claimed as quotations. One is in the first Epistle, and is a close parallel with 1 Pet. ii. 9; the other in the second, referring to our Lords words, S. Luke vi. 32. We do not think that it would be just in controversy to claim even these as actual quotations.

SOME hundred and twenty years ago there were published, after their author's death, various works on theology, bearing the name of the greatest astronomer whom England, or perhaps the world, has ever seen—Sir Isaac Newton. We do not imagine that these volumes are often referred to now, excepting as a matter of curiosity. Coleridge avowed that one of them, Newton's *Observations on the Prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse of S. John*, seemed to him mere raving. It is not likely that a judgment so severe will be passed a century hence by any critic of name upon a recent contribution to theology by the present Astronomer Royal; for the slight *Notes on the Earlier Hebrew Scriptures*, by Sir G. B. Airy, K.C.B. (London: Longmans), will have probably been forgotten within a dozen years. Sir G. Airy's volume may be briefly described as a vote of thanks to Dr. Colenso, whose general tone and manner of investigation is therein most highly commended, although particular conclusions are traversed, and the general verdict is in favour of an earlier date being assigned to the first four books of the Pentateuch, than is allowed them in the volumes sent hither from Natal. The Astronomer Royal appears to believe that these books are substantially Mosaic in their origin. Of the legislation embodied in them he speaks as follows: 'The arrangement of the ritual went on, and with it the formation of a code of social laws, to which nothing then existing was comparable for purity and for clear definition of justice in the infinity of social relations. I imagine that everything good in the legislation of modern times has had its origin in the Sinaitic laws of Moses'—(pp. 92-3). This opinion of Sir George Airy we do not pause to dispute. But it seems to place his readers in a position to make a very natural demand—namely, how did it come to pass that a small tribe, in a comparatively barbarous age, became possessed of a code, which not only surpassed anything then known, but which has proved the source of blessings to untold millions since born? For ourselves we have an answer to this query. We believe that the lawgiver, who promulgated this code, was specially inspired by God. This is no doubt a very old-fashioned reply. Nevertheless it is a reply, and the Astronomer Royal suggests none whatever, so far as we can see.

We have not space for going into much detail. A few comments may suffice to exhibit the general temper of the writer, which to us looks that of an ill-informed and one-sided person.

Thus, for instance, all accounts of judgments recorded in the Pentateuch, as those on Nadab and Abihu, and on Korah and his

company, are, in Sir George Airy's eyes, simply executions done by Moses. We wonder if he believes that the magistrates of Deizes put Ruth Pierce to death. He must, we suppose, be inclined to accuse S. Peter of having executed Ananias and Sapphira by ordinary means. In reference to the Witch of Endor, he writes: 'The raising of the spirit of Samuel appears to have been a mere piece of trickery'—(p. 108).

Now we think Sir G. B. Airy ill-informed and one-sided, because he seems to have read so very little, even on his own side, and nothing whatever upon the other. He ignores Dr. Davidson and Kuenen, who are in the main with him, just as much as the *Speaker's Commentary* or that of the Bishop of Lincoln, or the writings of Professor Blunt and Dean Stanley. And while he is able to see the fearful character of David's sin, he appears totally blind to the glory and beauty of his penitence. If Sir G. Airy, from the height of the Greenwich Observatory, could condescend to look at such comments as those of Scott, Stanley, and Neale—three men of differing schools of thought—on this matter, he would find a remarkable concurrence of tone. All three admit as fully as our author the terrible nature of David's guilt. 'It is certain,' writes Scott, 'that thousands through successive generations have, by this fall of "the man after God's own heart," been prejudiced against true religion, hardened in infidelity or emboldened in blasphemy: while others have thence taken occasion to commit *habitual wickedness* under a religious profession and with presumptuous confidence, to the still greater discredit of the Gospel.' 'It has given occasion to the enemies of the Lord,' says Dr. Neale, 'in each successive age to blaspheme, down from the Lucians and Porphyries of primitive times, to the Voltaires and Humes and Paines of our own.' 'And yet,' he adds, 'no doubt the encouragement it has given to those who otherwise would have despaired may be known to the Searcher of all hearts, far to outweigh the mischief and the blasphemy.' In support of this—we doubt not most true—belief, Dr. Neale appeals to S. Augustine, S. Bernard, S. Thomas de Villanova, and others. 'Thus far,' most justly remarks Dean Stanley, at the point, when the noble Uriah has fallen and Bathsheba has been re-wedded—'thus far the story belongs to the usual crimes of an Oriental despot. Detestable as was the double guilt of this dark story, we must still remember that David was not an Alfred or a Saint Louis. He was an Eastern king, exposed to all the temptations of a king of Ammon or Damascus then, of a sultan of Bagdad or Constantinople in modern times. *What follows; however, could have been found nowhere in the ancient world, but in the Jewish monarchy.*' Dr. Neale further remarks (appealing here to Origen, S. Hilary, S. Ambrose, S. Jerome, and Cassiodorus as alike bearing testimony on this point) that never has any Psalm been so often put into the mouths of penitents as the fifty-first Psalm. May we not then believe that David's fall would never have been told so fully in Holy Writ, unless Almighty prescience had foreseen in which way the balance between the advantage and disadvantage of its being placed on record must lie?

That the country owes a deep debt of gratitude to Sir G. B. Airy for long services rendered, from the date of his appointment down to that of his masterly arrangements for British observations on the transit of Venus, we are well aware. But we cannot reckon this treatise among his claims. On the contrary, a man who, on the strength of his just authority in one department of knowledge, is able to gain attention to crude utterances on matters of which he knows so little, incurs a grave responsibility. For any, who have glanced at this volume and needs some refreshment after it, we recommend a thoughtful study of *The Remains of Arthur Hallam*.

To take Divinity degrees in the University of Cambridge will become a serious matter if candidates are expected to read papers in anywise approximating in excellence and importance to the *Two Dissertations* produced by Dr. Hort, and now published (Cambridge and London: Macmillan and Co.). The first is on the reading *μονογενὴς θεὸς* in S. John i. 18. The article on Dr. Davidson in our present number was in the editor's hands some time before the publication of Dr. Hort's masterly and exhaustive paper, and we are consequently a perfectly independent testimony when we record the conclusion advocated in the dissertation before us, namely, that '*μονογενὴς θεὸς* should be accepted in place of the received reading *ὁ μονογενὴς υἱός*, alike on grounds of documentary evidence, of probabilities of transcription, and of intrinsic fitness.' No less able and scarcely less important is the second dissertation, which treats of the Constantinopolitan and other Eastern Creeds. Dr. Hort maintains that *the Creed now in use is based on that of Jerusalem, not of Nicæa*.

It cannot, we think, be denied that the book of *Acts of Apostles* (to give what seems to be the most correct title) is often in danger of receiving less than its due share of attention. It has not, of course, the glory shed upon the Gospels by the central figure, Whose Life is there portrayed, nor has it the peculiar interest attached to the Epistles by those argumentative and personal elements with which those wonderful compositions so richly abound. This is no new complaint. S. Chrysostom commences his course of Homilies on the Acts by declaring that many persons in his day were ignorant of the authorship of the book or even of its very existence.

A Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles, by the Rev. W. Denton, M.A. (London: Bell and Sons), seems to us something almost unique in the way of English *exegesis* of this important part of Holy Scripture, and likely to prove most valuable as well as interesting both to clerical and lay students of the Bible. The mode of commentary slightly reminds us of that on the Psalms by Drs. Neale and Littledale; though, as might be expected from the character of the sacred book here treated, far more prominence is given to the literal sense, and the mystic interpretation is kept in a place of subordination. Among points of interest may be named the argument in favour of identification of 'the sons of Emmor' (Acts vii. 16) with

the Amorites, and the rendering, supported by Lachmann, of the entire clause as 'the sons of Emmor the [ruler or lord] in Shechem.' Mr. Denton's volume shows a wholesome reaction from the tone of those German schools, who, as Lessing implied long ago, would render not only Scripture history, but *all* history, an impossibility. Possibly our author is inclined to a little excess upon the other side. At least we think that Dean Alford may be defended in regarding the age of Abraham at Isaac's birth as not wholly devoid of difficulty when we think of the language employed in Romans iv. 19, and Hebrews xi. 12. But those that are recognized—and Mr. Denton has evidently no intention of passing them *sicco pede*—are thoroughly well handled, and we shall look forward with much interest to the remainder of his commentary, and the discussion of such points as the resolutions of the Council of Jerusalem and the *primâ facie* apparent discrepancy between the closing chapter of the Acts and the first of the Epistle to the Romans.

It cannot, we think, be denied that the Anglican principle of appeal to the testimony of the undivided Church, however sound and important as a matter of argument, may have had a tendency towards neglect of the many beautiful and wholly uncontroversial elements of thought to be found in writings of the middle ages. Consequently we have reason to be thankful to Dean Church, Archbishop Thomson, Archbishop Trench, the late Bishop Forbes, Dr. Neale, and others, who have brought before us the importance of the labours of such men as S. Anselm, S. Bernard of Morlaix, Adam of St. Victor, and the like. Another valuable contribution to such knowledge is now rendered by the Rev. J. M. Ashley, Vicar of Fewton, in his *Promptuary for Preachers* (London: Hayes). This handsome octavo gives us an epitome (each one occupying only a single page) of 338 sermons for that part of the Christian Year included between its commencement on Advent Sunday and the Festival of the Ascension, so we have a choice of suggestions for eight or ten discourses for each Sunday. Many a hard-worked labourer in the vineyard, who has less leisure for thought and study than he could desire, will be truly grateful to Mr. Ashley; and so will his flock, though they may not know to whom they are indebted for so many valuable lessons and so much freshness of exposition. We have great pleasure in recommending the volume, which seems to us to be a much needed aid, admirably executed. As regards particular dates—they range from A.D. 1130 to 1710—tastes will differ. We have found a student of the volume particularly impressed with the discourses of the earlier middle age. We have only one fault to find. Mr. Ashley has furnished, by way of preface, brief biographies of the various authors, but in some instances he has hardly supplied any specimens, and in some actually none of the authors thus commemorated.

It is probable that by the close of the year it will be an easier task than it is at present to estimate rightly the value of *The Principal Ecclesiastical Judgments delivered in the Court of Arches from 1867 to*

1875, by the Right Hon. Sir Robert Phillimore, D.C.L. (London: Rivingtons). Certainly it cannot be said that they have been allowed in all cases to stand as final. Out of sixteen cases here reported, six were submitted to without appeal, and four were confirmed upon appeal, but of the remaining six one only was confirmed in the main, while five were either wholly reversed, or at least reversed on points of very considerable importance, such as the use of vestments and the eastward position of the celebrant in the Holy Communion. Since then, however, we have had the very important and forcible writings of Mr. Beresford Hope, Mr. MacColl, and others; and it remains to be seen how far, when it is no longer a case of undefended suit, the decisions of the Judicial Committee will bear examination, or how far their lordships may report that after all the learned Judge of the Court of Arches was in the right. Meanwhile the volume before us must remain a mine of most valuable information, alike to the student of theology and of ecclesiastical law.

God and Human Independence is the title of a sermon by Dr. Pusey, preached before the University of Oxford on Sexagesima Sunday. The former part is very striking in its way of putting in a true light that strange list of admissions in the direction of belief, into which the late John Stuart Mill struggled out of the atheism in which his father had so carefully brought him up. The remarks of the preacher on this head, and also those on Comtism, seem to deserve the very deepest attention. From the latter part, which dwells upon the Sacraments and *quasi*-Sacramental ordinances, we select the following paragraph: 'I had occasion to say once to a Bishop, who had great love for generations before you in this place: "You know, my lord, that for some sins of the young confession is *the* remedy." He answered at once, "Yes, it is," and told me how he had himself seen it.' The Bishop referred to was Dr. Wilberforce.

Two other letters of great importance, from the pen of the same revered author, have appeared in *The Times* newspaper. One, published in February, is a *manifesto* concerning the blow apparently dealt to all hopes of reunion with Rome, if the resolutions of the Vatican Council are to be confirmed. The other, which appeared a little earlier in the same month, was originally addressed to Dr. Liddon. It has reference to the Bonn Conferences, and should be read, if possible, in connection with its author's previous letter on the same subject in *The Times* of December 28, 1875. This second epistle realizes all that we meant, when we expressed (*C.Q.R.* vol. i. p. 207) our confidence in 'the author's usual generosity,' coupled with a surmise that the former epistle had been based on some misapprehension. The fact, however, that different visitors to Bonn seem to have returned with varying impressions, shows that our phrase of 'an entire misapprehension of the facts' was stronger than we ought to have employed; though it is right to say that our contributor, who had himself been present throughout the Conferences, had come home with the same convictions as those expressed by Dr. Liddon.

THE brevity necessary for our compendious chronicle of ecclesiastical events has illustrated in one point the old Horatian maxim of the danger of obscurity thence arising. We had understood the Bishop of Peterborough, while congratulating his diocese on much that had been done, to imply that very much needed to be done before the condition of things at all approximated to his ideal. We fully believe the Bishop to be a man of energetic temper,

‘Nil actum reputans, dum quid superesset agendum,’

whose standard would be no low or unexacting one. But unfortunately the wording of our statement, though in nowise so intended, is capable of suggesting the idea that ‘a sad state of destitution’ exists in the matter of education. We have much pleasure in stating that this was not our meaning, and that such a statement would be most incorrect. Although the Bishop, most wisely in our opinion, dwelt forcibly upon the very real danger of religious education being made a matter of the head rather than of the heart, he did not intend to represent education as being at a low ebb in Northamptonshire and Leicestershire. The direct reverse is the fact, and we are much indebted to the Diocesan Secretary, the Rev. M. Willes, for having called our attention to the possibility of our language being misinterpreted. We trust that the *Church Quarterly Review* will at all times be glad to correct, not only any positive mis-statement, but also, as in this case, any possible misapprehension arising from slight ambiguity of phraseology.

WE have also been informed, on the highest authority, that we have mistaken the purport of the *Charge* (or rather the three *Addresses*) of the Bishop of Llandaff. His lordship did not, it appears, intend to deny the Ritualists a right to be numbered among the adherents of the High Church School. We sincerely rejoice at having it in our power to make this correction, and greatly regret having in anywise misrepresented the Bishop’s meaning.

More than this we cannot honestly say. To affirm that in our judgment his lordship’s language does not suggest this conclusion would be sheer hypocrisy. Of course it is open to any one to allege that we have read the Bishop’s pages with a prejudiced mind, and have put our own conclusion into them. Be it so. That is a point which we must leave to the decision of impartial judges, if such can be found. But as we accept most unreservedly and with many thanks the correction which has been sent us, we trust that it is in no-wise inconsistent with the sincerest respect for both the office and the character of Dr. Ollivant, to suppose it possible that his lordship may have done, what we have just confessed to having done ourselves in another case, namely, employed language capable of being interpreted in a sense which the writer did not intend. We have much pleasure in adding that these *Addresses* contain a great deal which seems to us both thoroughly valuable and just.

DR. JOHNSON, if we remember rightly, once suggested the publication

of a volume of poems, which should contain short pieces, not culled from any of our famous bards, but selected as the gems of publications, which did not contain an average of productions at all equal to these rescued specimens. We cannot help fearing that a volume before us, entitled *The County Palatine and other Poems*, by the Rev. G. S. Hodges (London : Houlston and Sons), would have been exercised upon in this way by our Aristarchus of the last century. Mr. Hodges has had the boldness to challenge, not only Dr. Kennedy, as he is aware, but also—and of this he seems unaware—that wonderful translator Cary, by the production of a version of the 'Birds' of Aristophanes. We are bound to say, however, that the translation before us is very lively and spirited, though we half suspect that many of those who will most deeply value much of this volume will care but little for it. There are also some highly ingenious translations into rhyming Latin of some of our most popular hymns. But Mr. Hodges' strength, to our thinking, lies in brief original poems and ballads ; and we greatly doubt whether the Greek professor or the translator of Dante and of Pindar could have produced anything at all equal in power and freshness to 'The Strait Gate,' or 'Christian Womanhood,' or (painful as it is) 'The Angel's Tale.'

One feature in this volume strikes us greatly. Mr. Hodges, unlike the generation rebuked by our Lord (S. Matthew xi. 16-19), can sympathize with both forms of piety—the ascetic and the domestic. It is in harmony with this, that he shows an appreciation of the character of the Blessed Virgin, which is often lacking in English sacred poetry. The cause is not far to seek. The terrible excesses on the part of our Roman Catholic fellow-Christians in this matter—witness those pointed out in Dr. Pusey's *Eirenicon*, which affected Dr. Newman like a bad dream, or those so recently rebuked by Dr. Littledale in the *Contemporary Review*—inevitably cause a vehement reaction, and render some afraid even to think upon the Maiden-Mother of the Lord. Still it is a real loss to us that her heroic courage, faith, humility, and purity should so seldom be held before us, as the graces of other Saints are, for our admiration and our imitation. Such language as Pearson, Bull, Andrewes, Lake, and even Latimer have employed has seldom found its way into our poetry. There is not, we think, one word too much in Mr. Hodges' references to S. Mary ; but the *Theotokos* is there, and not, as too often, conspicuous by her absence. Purchasers of this volume will be abundantly repaid by its beauties. We can only find room for a single specimen. Here is the opening of 'The Angel's Tale :—

' Dying she lay, passing away
With the passing of the night :
Angels three, waiting were we,
To carry her soul to the light.

' At the foot, at the head of her little bed,
We listened for the token,
The word of release, "Depart in peace,"
By the Mouth of God to be spoken.

'Dreamily smiled the dying child,
For her eyes were open to see
Three angels of love, bending down from above,
And cheerily back smiled we.

'And we soothed her pain with a sweet refrain
From the children's Paradise;
But her mother knelt there, it was hard to bear
The passionate gleam of her eyes.'

The Children's Treasury of English Song. In Two Parts. Selected and arranged, with Notes, by FRANCIS TURNER PALGRAVE, late Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, Editor of *The Golden Treasury*.

THOSE who know Mr. Palgrave's *Golden Treasury* (and we fancy there are not many of our readers who do not, for it has become, if not a household word, at least a household book) will welcome *The Children's Treasury of English Song*. It is now complete in two parts, and, as the editor informs us, it is planned for children between nine and ten and fifteen and sixteen years of age. Each volume is complete in itself, and they are meant to be of equal difficulty, size, and interest. Mr. Palgrave tells us that they are intended 'for the pleasure and advantage of the older students in elementary schools, and for the younger ones in grammar and public schools.' He has performed well the task which he set before him of collecting 'all songs, narratives, descriptions or reflective pieces of a lyrical quality, fit to give pleasure—high, pure, manly, and, therefore, lasting—to children in the stage between early childhood and early youth ;' and no pieces which are not of that character are admitted. He has made the selection still more valuable by a sufficient number of notes to render the volumes more comprehensible to children of average intelligence when they read the poems, not as a school-book, but for their own pleasure and study.

Mr. Palgrave has done well not to make any gradation in either. It would, indeed, be difficult to do so, for we all know how varied are the intellectual powers of children, and still more the imaginative ones, upon which poetry draws so largely.

In both volumes there is rich food to suit all tastes, which we doubt not will allure many youthful minds to wander amongst those elysian fields of which the editor gives them a glimpse.

The contributions extend from a story of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries down to the present time—a considerable range—and when we add that quite half the pieces are new in a selection for children, if not in any other, our readers will find in this fact a great additional attraction. We must not, however, lead them to suppose that the old favourites of our childhood are omitted, but that these new ones (for such we are sure they will become) have been added to them. Mr. Palgrave has searched through every lyrical poet from Chaucer to the present time, that was accessible to him, and has given to us the results of his labours. We wish we had space for

several specimens, but must content ourselves with one from the first part, by Bishop King, in the seventeenth century :

SUCH IS LIFE.

'Like to the falling of a star,
Or as the flights of eagles are,
Or like the fresh spring's gaudy hue,
Or silver drops of morning dew,
Or like a wind that chafes the flood,
Or bubbles which on water stood;—
E'en such is man, whose borrow'd light
Is straight call'd in, and paid to-night.
The wind blows out, the bubble dies,
The spring entomb'd in autumn lies;
The dew dries up, the star is shot,
The flight is past:—and man forgot.'

In the second volume we would mention 'Adoration,' by Smart (p. 123), as very powerful, and for sweetness and tenderness which will come home to every one, be they young or old, 'Friends Departed,' by H. Vaughan, and 'The Land of Dreams,' by W. Blake (pp. 128 and 129).

Perhaps the most wonderful poem in the book, and, we fancy, one but little known, is the last one, 'The Burning Babe,' by R. Southwell.

We must mention in the same connection a *Selection of Poetry*, compiled by S. W., and an abridgment, by the same lady, called a *First Poetical Reading Book* (London : Philips & Son). These small volumes form a part of Philips' Series of Reading Books, and are edited by Canon Cromwell. The selections seem to us very happy and varied ; and the brief notes and accounts of the authors quoted are exceedingly well done. It may amuse some readers to observe that the name of the gifted and energetic editor is here associated with some singularly loyal poems and ballads.

It is enough, we trust, to mention the appearance of a second edition of Canon Lightfoot's *Epistles of St. Paul to the Colossians and to Philemon* (London : Macmillan & Co.). Dr. Lightfoot's admirable scholarship is combined with large views concerning the general drift and purpose of the Apostle's teaching. We have quoted a small extract in No. 1. of the *Church Quarterly Review*, but our readers will certainly be grateful for another specimen of the weighty words contained in the Introduction and Notes to the former of the above-named Epistles :—

'It is simply an impossibility that faith should exist without works. Though in form he states his doctrine as a relation of contrast between the two, in substance it resolves itself into a question of precedence. Faith and works are related as principle and practice . . . Faith is not an intellectual assent, nor a sympathetic sentiment merely. It is the absolute surrender of self to the will of a Being who has a right to command this

surrender. It is this which places men in personal relation to God, which (in St. Paul's language) justifies them before God. For it touches the springs of their actions; it fastens not on this or that detail of conduct, but extends throughout the whole sphere of moral activity'—(Introduction).

'It is a simple matter of fact that the afflictions of every saint and martyr do supplement the afflictions of Christ. The Church is built up by repeated acts of self-denial in successive individuals and successive generations. . . They bear their part in the sufferings of Christ. . . But St. Paul would have been the last to say that they bear their part in the atoning sacrifice of Christ. . . . "Yes, I Paul the persecutor, I Paul the feeble and sinful, am permitted to supplement—I do not shrink from the word—the afflictions of Christ. Despite all that He underwent, He the Master has left something still for me the servant to undergo. And so my flesh is privileged to suffer for His body,—His spiritual body the Church"'—(Notes on Chap. i. 24, slightly re-arranged as regards order, for convenience of citation.)

CANON TREVOR'S volume on *The Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrifice and Participation of the Holy Eucharist* (London and Oxford: Parker) has also reached a second edition. This volume may be fairly described as an embodiment of the views set forth with so much ingenuity and learning in our own day by Archdeacon Freeman in England, and (with at least equal ingenuity, and perhaps still richer and more varied learning) by the Rev. G. H. Forbes in Scotland. That it is a view capable of much support from certain portions of Holy Writ, from passages of Liturgies, and from works of Fathers and Divines, even down to the ninth century; that it is compatible in the minds of such men with the deepest reverence, and with a most keen appreciation of the importance of the sacramental element in Christianity—all this we consider to be quite undeniable. It is, however, remarkable that its two ablest supporters, the divines just mentioned, were both dissatisfied with the English Liturgy. Moreover, we know of a person who was anxious to trace, as impartially as he could, the effect of the teaching and practice of these able theologians upon others. He had opportunities of doing this, and his conclusions were not favourable.

That Canon Trevor's book is a really valuable one, and, with a few exceptions, temperate in its language, may be safely asserted. We should have thought, however, that, despite the difficulties arising from the Kantian philosophy, a good deal may be said on behalf of the use of the term *objective*. The sense in which it is now commonly employed is certainly quite pre-Kantian, and recognized by Isaac Watts and Dr. Johnson. We have to thank our author for a most kindly reference to this *Review*, but we trust that it will not be a following, in any bad sense, of party journals, if we bear in mind that different schools, lying on either side of Canon Trevor's, appear to have made good their claim, both morally and legally, to a place in the English Church. On the whole question, it might be well for the student, in company with the present volume, and those of Mr. Freeman and Mr. Forbes, to study the *Theological Defence* of the Bishop of Brechin (London: Masters, 1860), the *Essays in Liturgiology* of the late Dr. Neale, and the

Rev. Sir Wm. Palmer's *Treatise on the Church of Christ*. In one respect they are all agreed ; namely, in thorough repudiation of what is commonly known as the Zwinglian doctrine. All these, in company too with Mr. Scudamore, Dean Goulburn, Canon Norris, and many more, agree in recognizing the existence of a sacrificial element in the Holy Eucharist, and in the sentiments, if not the actual language, of the Confession of Faith, commonly called that of John Knox :—

‘And thus we utterlie damne the vanitie of those that affirme sacramentis to be nathing else but bair and nakit signes. Na, we assuritie belief that be baptisme we ar ingraftid in CHRIST JESUS to be made partakeris of His justice, be quilk our sinnis ar coverit and remittit : and also that in the Supper richtlie usit CHRIST JESUS is sa joynit with us that He becums verrey nurischment and fude of our saulis. . . . Sa that we confess and undoutitie belief that the faithful in the richt use of the LORD’S table do sa eit the body and drinke the blude of the LORDE JESUS, that He remains in thame and thay in Him ; yea they are sa maid flesche of His flesche, and bane of His banes, that as the eternall Godheid has given to the flesche of CHRIST JESUS (quhilk of the awin condition and nature was mortal and corruptibill) lyfe and immortalitie, sa does CHRIST JESUS His flesche and blude etin and drunkin be us give unto us the same prerogatives.’

WE always feel grateful to those who make a special subject, which is out of the reach of the many, their own, more particularly when its value is not likely to bring much of fame or of profit to him who studies it. Prebendary Malan is one of these students, and we feel that we ought to have called attention at an earlier date to his *Original Documents of the Coptic Church*. The researches of Mr. Malan lead him to place somewhat less reliance on the antiquity of the Liturgy of S. Mark, and indeed of all Liturgies, than is found to be the case with such writers as some of those to whom we have just been referring, particularly Neale and Forbes. But whichever side we take in such a controversy, the contributions here rendered to its discussion are most curious. The documents include a translation of the Liturgy of S. Mark ; of the Euchologion and Liturgy of S. Gregory (Theologus) ; a Calendar of the Coptic Church ; the Holy Gospels and versicles used in that Church on each Sunday and Festival ; and, lastly, a short History of the Coptic Church, translated from an Arabic author, Tāqui-ed-Din El-Magrizi. This small octavo certainly conveys information not to be found in any other work in our language. But it looks a little strange to us to see Greek words printed, not only without the accents, but without the breathings. And is not the English of the following sentence a little peculiar?—‘While yielding neither to him (Dr. Neale), nor to any one else in love of Apostolic doctrine and institutions, I find it impossible to join issue with him.’ Mr. Malan here uses the phrase *join issue* as being equivalent to *agree*. We ought to mention that one of the tracts in this volume is inscribed to the memory of Archdeacon Freeman, who took the greatest interest in Mr. Malan’s labours, and intended to have shared some of them.

CURIOSLY enough, another tribute to the lamented Archdeacon of Exeter comes from Canon Norris, in his very able, careful, and suggestive little volume, *Rudiments of Theology* (London : Rivingtons). There was great room for such a book in Anglican theology, and Mr. Norris has really done much towards filling up the gap, though we half regret that he has not allowed himself more room, and given us a volume twice as bulky as this very small octavo. Of course, where propositions are very numerous, we cannot be prepared to accept them all ; but it is a great advantage for young students of theology to know where they may look for further information. Without committing ourselves to all the features of the school of theology here represented—it might, perhaps, without offence, be called Archdeacon Freeman's school—we are very conscious of the reverence, learning, and activity at present displayed by it.

DEAN HOWSON intends, we understand, to publish a reply to Mr. Beresford Hope and the Rev. Malcolm MacColl. On the same theme we have to notice a very calm and peace-seeking argument, entitled *Vestments and Law*, by the Rev. W. F. Hobson, Chaplain of the Faversham Almshouse (Parker : Oxford and London). Mr. Hobson suggests the acceptance of the cope, on both sides, in preference to the chasuble. Mr. Hobson displays excellent temper, real independence of thought, and no mean power as a student of history and a judge of evidence. On the other side, we have received *The Eastward Position Unscriptural, and not Primitive and Catholic*, by the Vicar of Fenwick, Dr. Harrison (London : Longmans). It is impossible not to recognize the very considerable powers of this gentleman in the way of argument. He is a great reader, and possesses that knowledge of the work of opponents, without which no man will ever make an effective controversialist. Nevertheless, we do not consider ourselves bound to go into Dr. Harrison's arguments ; for we find it hard to believe that any writer can exercise a lasting influence who, in speaking of men of holy life, can take upon himself to look into their hearts and pronounce upon their motives as this author does. We do not know how far Dr. Harrison has the right to say that 'other members of the same Chapter [that of Christ Church, Oxford] believe that *there is no other presence in the consecrated elements than their own natural substance of bread and wine*'—(p. 154) ; but we certainly think it a sin against all modesty and charity to write 'that Dr. Pusey, *probably from a wholesome fear of the law and a carnal policy*, usually keeps to the north side or end of the table'—(pp. 153-4). The author asks opponents, why they remain in a Church which disallows their ritual ? It would be obviously just as fair to inquire of him, why he remains in a Church which has not made any formal protest against the judgment in the Bennett case ?

WE turn to a much lighter theme. Mr. S. B. James, the Vicar of Northmarston, in Buckinghamshire, has thrown together in a small volume, headed *Tastes and Habits, Personal and Social*, a set of

Essays (London : Hodder and Stoughton). The word *essays* suggests some very distinguished names, as those of Montaigne, Bacon, Addison, and Charles Lamb. But it is possible for a volume of this sort to fall short of the exceedingly high literary standard thus held out, and yet to be thoroughly interesting, and possibly more practical than many books which aim at much grandeur or superlative elegance. Mr. James is decidedly lively, and displays much good sense and good feeling. Many clergy will find that they have obtained some really good hints from the essay on 'The Clergy, Socially and Secularly,' and though opinions will differ greatly on the question of 'Domestic Servants and Servitudes,' and many will think that our author has taken a retaining fee for the side of the kitchen *versus* the drawing-room, the present critic feels bound to declare that he is on the same side with Mr. James, and that he knows of a household where such views have been acted on for many years, and with the most complete success.

WE ought to have noticed sooner—for they are specially fitted for the holy season of Lent—the plain-spoken and forcible addresses entitled *The Destruction of Sin*, by the late Rev. J. C. Chambers, best known, we think, as Warden of the House of Charity, Soho (London : Hayes). These sermons may not produce upon readers the extraordinary effects wrought by the personal influence of the writer upon those with whom he was brought in contact. His pages remind us in some measure of Bishop Jeremy Taylor, and occasionally, too, of Rodriguez. Not that there is anything in them (except, perhaps, one brief note, and this only concerns a somewhat abstract question) which can be called un-Anglican, but only that the author seems fond, like the above-named writers, of illustrations drawn from history; and dwells greatly, as it were *de fide*, on the bodily, at least as much as on the mental sufferings of the lost.

THE Regius Professor of Modern History in Queen's College, Belfast, Mr. C. D. Yonge, has given a contribution of extreme interest and sterling value to our means of knowing and judging that great problem, the French Revolution of 1789. It is a *Life of Marie Antoinette* (London : Hurst and Blackett), and supplies within the compass of two small volumes, in a most attractive and readable shape, all the latest information respecting this unfortunate Queen. Those who have noticed, even cursorily, articles concerning the consort of Louis XVI. in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* during the last few years by M. Lomenie and others, must be aware that the process of recent investigation has tended decidedly in her favour. Mr. Yonge is certainly a champion on her side. Still, it is only just to say that he not only makes out a strong case on her behalf, but supplies his readers with references which they can turn to and examine for themselves. The eminently beautiful portrait of his heroine, at the beginning of the work, will certainly prepossess many very strongly in her favour.

It is impossible to read such a work as *Nravstvennoe Pravoslavnoe Bogoslovie*¹ (2nd ed. St. Petersburg: Stasjulevitch. London: Nutt), by the Arch-priest Soljarski, without feeling that a Church to which a second edition of such a work is acceptable deserves an attention different from that which the Russian Church generally receives at the hands of Englishmen. The difference between the tone of Roman works on moral theology and the tone of this before us is not more striking than the similarity of the latter to the tone of good Anglican theology. The whole system is here based upon passages in Holy Writ, supplemented by quotations from the earlier Councils and the best known amongst the Fathers, an apposite quotation from the ancient philosophers being occasionally introduced. It is free entirely from the three great faults of Jesuit moral theology—the quotations from modern authorities, the confused system of setting one authority against another, and the minute hair-splitting with respect to things questionably right. All questions are dealt with in the broadest and plainest way, perhaps almost to a sacrifice of minuteness, but not without respect to the actual circumstances and necessities of daily life. The vexed question among moral theologians, of the possibility of a lie being under certain circumstances permissible, is met with a most decisive negative, equivocation, or in fact anything including ‘the deceit of one’s neighbour,’ being entirely rejected, and the grounds of this opinion explained at some length. The whole subject is arranged somewhat differently from the usual Western method: The general questions concerning the science of moral theology are treated in an introduction. The natural law of God and the Christian law are then treated each in a separate section, the latter being subdivided into treatises on ‘Duty to God’ (devotion, faith, hope, charity, interior and exterior worship, worship of the Saints), ‘Duty to oneself’ (self-knowledge, self-respect, self-abnegation), ‘Duty towards one’s neighbour’ (general, special, ecclesiastical, civil, social). We quote as a specimen of the treatment the following on the right manner of spending holy days (p. 173):—

‘Considering the importance of Christian festivals, we ought to pass them in a holy manner. (1.) Not only not engaging ourselves in worldly amusements and diversions, but also, that we may apply ourselves without impediment to works holy and pleasing to God, giving up on these days our ordinary occupation and labour for pay. (2.) It is right on these days to go to church, for public worship, reading the Word of God, and participation of the Lord’s Table. Thus the first Christians spent their days. (3.) At home these days should be spent in meditation on God, His work and His creation, in remembrance of the infinite merits of our Saviour, and His great loving-kindness and His promises; in reading and hearing the Word of God, in reflection and conversation about our great destination, and about eternal life; in mutual instruction and encouragement of one another to good works; in remembrance of, and prayer to the Saints, and in imitation of their faith and works. (4.) Above all, these days should be sanctified by deeds of love and liberality, &c.—that is, by visiting the sick, consoling the mourners, giving of our superfluities to the poor, &c.—imitating our Lord, His Apostles, and the ancient Christians.

¹ ‘*Orthodox Moral Theology.*’

Never does such an opportunity occur to a man, of showing his love to his neighbour with hearty edification and internal comfort, as on these days, when everything speaks to him of the unlimited love of God to the human race, and when everything is convenient for the exhibition of charity. (5.) Above all things, a Christian ought so to behave himself on these days, that every action and deed of his should bear witness to his high calling in Christ, and his high aspiration and hopes at the end of time.'

The author gives in one of the opening sections a very brief sketch of the history of moral theology, mentioning the authors on whom he chiefly relies. We agree with him in thinking that many Western moral theologians can only be used with the greatest caution. Amongst the Mystics he especially selects Tauler and A-Kempis for praise, though his estimation of the successors of the schoolmen is not on the whole very high.

*Solovki. Vospominaniya i razskazi iz' poezdok' c' Bogomoljtzami.*¹ By V. N. Nemirovitch Dantchenko. (St. Petersburg: Transhela. London: Nutt.)

THE title of this book is rather misleading. The author did not travel with the pilgrims at all, except on the steamboat from Archangel to the Solovki islands. Nor does he recount the adventures of more than a single visit. His book, however, is extremely interesting in many ways. It is divided into two parts, the former recounting some incidents of his journey as far as Archangel, the latter his visit to the Solovki monastery. A quantity of agricultural and mercantile statistics (interesting, no doubt, to those connected with such matters) tend to make the former part somewhat tedious. The condition of the lower orders in the territory of Archangel is described as horrible in the extreme. Deserted as the country is, it is nevertheless overpopulated by exiles, who would gladly exchange their temporary exile in Archangel, where they are 'devoted to eternal hunger because there is no demand for labour,' for a life-long exile in Siberia, where, if there be no hope of return, there is labour and food. Pure bread is a luxury only known to the well-to-do on festivals, and in times of scarcity becomes so rare as to be almost unattainable. Things are mentioned (p. 11) as having been done in 1867 for a few pounds of bread which one shudders to read. The author seems to think the railroad will do something to ameliorate the appalling poverty. The description of Archangel itself is interesting, but the town, like the province, seems to be a den of hunger. The second part, in which the author describes his trip to the 'Athos of Russia,' is by far the more entertaining. On the steamboat (the *Vera*) he informed the captain, Father John, of his having become renowned through Mr. Hepworth Dixon's book on *Free Russia*, which was news to the good monk. It is strange to learn from what different lands the motley crowd of pilgrims is drawn together. Persons from all over Russia, even the very poor, contrive to find their way to Solovki. The humblest entertain them charitably on their way, and the charity, as it might be supposed, is sometimes imposed upon. One girl had come

¹ *Solovki. Recollections and Tales of Travels with the Pilgrims.*

from Irkutsk, in Siberia, a distance of more than 2,000 miles, the greater part of which (from Tomsk) she had walked barefoot, bringing with her, as an offering, all the money given her by her father for the journey; and having not only lived the whole time on alms, but having been for a great part of the distance guide to a blind old man.

The pilgrimages are undertaken sometimes for the benefit of the pilgrim's own soul, often for the souls of their parents. As the steamboat came up to the landing-stage, under the great round towers, green cupolas, and golden crosses of Solovki, the whole crowd knelt upon the deck, one old man murmuring, 'Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace.' Another aged pilgrim died the same day that he arrived, and was buried by the name of Basil, by which he had passed amongst the pilgrims, nothing more being known of him. There are fewer pilgrims every year, but their alms on the other hand increase.

The monks, as a rule, seem happy, and speak of *ennui* as impossible at the monastery. They labour for God; or, as Father John, the captain, expressed himself, 'for SS. Zosimus and Sabbas.' They are not of this world, and have no desire to return to it. But the Abbot's eye to the economical aspect of affairs, the dissatisfaction of one communicative monk, and the ravings of a poor wretch out of his senses, seem to suggest that there is another aspect of the matter. The author did not see the whole time a single monk with a book in his hand, but they are good workmen and good hosts. Very various motives, doubtless, draw them to the monastery; but we think the author is right in suggesting that one of the most powerful is the combined influence of the monastery school and hunger. In the school the work is thus distributed during the days of the week:—Monday: Law of God, Holy Scripture. Tuesday: Old and New Testament history. Wednesday: Explanation of Divine Service. Thursday: History of the Church and Empire of Russia. Friday: Geography and Arithmetic. Sunday: Writing. This is an almost purely ecclesiastical education. In the monastery there is quiet, and good food too. When the scholar goes home he has received no education suitable to his peasant rank; all is want and hunger, and his life like that of 'a young wolf.' Consequently, in many cases, he naturally goes back to Solovki, and becomes a monk. Many others there are, of course, whom religious fervour, the desire of peace, and other pious motives, have drawn thither. The English attack upon Solovki has not been forgotten, and the monks are ready to talk about it to any one who will listen. The author visited several points of interest in the Solovki archipelago, and describes its scenery as very impressive. The queerest stories are scattered about the book—stories which could only have come from Russia; and whilst we are able to congratulate the writer on the many touches of pathos and humour, and his happy sketches of characters and places, we regret that he could not spare a chapter for the experiences of an old lady who had seen various apparitions, a hundred-headed serpent, a living two-headed eagle, and many other things not usually met with.

Geschichte der quietistischen Mystik in der Katholischen Kirche. Von DR. HEINRICH HEPPE. (Berlin : Wilh. Hertz. London : Nutt.)

IN attempting a history of the Quietistic Mysticism of the [Roman] Catholic Church, Dr. Heppe has ventured upon a hitherto unexplored province of ecclesiastical history. The interest of the subject, which alone might be sufficient to commend the book, is much enhanced by the patience and ability with which the author has approached his work, collecting the rare literature of an almost forgotten religious movement, and studying in the originals the copious writings of its adherents.

Commencing from the Franciscan S. Peter of Alcantara, Dr. Heppe traces the development of the Quietistic Mysticism in the life and writings of S. Teresa, S. John of the Cross, and the other Spanish Mystics. A special section is dedicated to S. Francis de Sales, another to the various French, Spanish, and Italian Mystics, down to the time of Molinos. The next section treats of the life of Madame Guyon until her arrival in Paris with the Père Lacombe; and then, having described the general condition of the Church of France and its relation to Rome in the time of Louis XIV., the author continues the story of Madame de Guyon to her death, relating at great length the miserable quarrels between Bossuet and Fénelon, concluding with the extermination of Quietism in the Roman Church under the ban of the Curia, contemporaneously with the full approval of the writings of the older Mystics. A supplementary chapter relates the history of the borrowed Quietism of the Lutheran Body, which had its origin rather in French than Spanish sources. In addition to the historical sketch, the actual teaching of the various Mystics is carefully epitomized, the statements of their doctrine being substantiated by quotations from their writings in foot-notes. These quotations are always given in the original tongue—a most valuable feature in the book. The work being thus full and accurate, will be of interest not only to the historian and theologian, but to the philosopher and lover of sacred literature too, who will find here a record of a theological system and a cycle of devotional thought well worth perusal and attention. Not the least interesting feature of the book is the way in which it collects together into a single school such well-known names as those of S. Teresa, S. Francis de Sales, Luis of Granada, Rodriguez, Surin, Cardinal Bona, Poirer, and Tersteegen. The volume is further valuable as a guide to Mystical literature, the titles and most important editions of the various Mystical books, whether renowned or almost forgotten, being duly recorded.

Dr. Heppe seems to us to regard 'Mystical theology' as a ray of 'evangelical light,' appearing in the Roman Communion, though in reality in fundamental contradiction to the hierarchical and sacramental system. Hence he sees in its condemnation the necessary corollary of the Roman doctrines concerning sacramental grace, and insists upon the canonization of S. John of the Cross alongside of the condemnation of Madame Guyon as an act of gross incon-

sistency. In all this he appears to us to have much exaggerated the rigidity of the Roman system, and to have assumed an impossibility of grace after baptism being conferred, except by sacramental means, which is entirely alien to the mind of the Roman Church. It was not the value as a means of grace of the 'Oracion de Quietud' which Rome condemned, but the extravagancies of Molinos and de Guyon. That Dr. Heppé does not bring out the contrast between these later Mystics and S. John of the Cross or S. Teresa, that he ignores it and denies it, is the one fault we have to find with his book. The teaching, for instance, of S. Teresa, in her *Vida* (c. xxii.), is distinctly contradictory to the opinions of Madame de Guyon concerning the relation of the perfected soul to the Incarnation. Madame de Guyon denied any need of the Incarnation to the perfected soul. This was one of Bossuet's chief points of objection to her system. Similarly, with regard to the *Sentencias Espirituales* of S. John of the Cross, certain phrases in them are certainly patient of a very different interpretation to that in which Madame de Guyon would have understood them. It seems to us a pity that Dr. Heppé has devoted so large a part of his book to Madame de Guyon. We can quite sympathize with him in his commiseration for this pious and unfortunate lady, but must regret that his anxiety to defend her should have made him overlook the extravagancies of her Mysticism; and so detracted from the value of this, in every other respect, excellent book.

WE fear that Dr. Benrath must be content to add one more to the long list of those who have written and spoken in condemnation of Bernardino Ochino. His apology, *Bernardino Ochino von Siena: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Reformation* (Leipzig: Fues. London: Nutt), though extremely interesting and worthy of high commendation for the care bestowed upon it, fails entirely to our thinking to clear the character of the culprit. Bernardino Ochino's history is briefly this. Born in Siena, he joined the Franciscans; declining promotion among whom, he passed over to the stricter Capuchins. Among these, addicted to the most extreme asceticism, he attained to a great fame for sanctity, was twice Vicar-General of his Order, and a preacher renowned throughout Italy. Mixed up with pious persons affected by the influence which in Northern Europe produced the Reformation, he gradually adopted uncertain statements concerning the need of 'good works,' and was selected in 1542 by the Papal power as a man to be made an example of. To avoid death or imprisonment, he fled to Geneva, became the friend of Calvin, and having thrown in his lot with the Reformers and become a reforming preacher, he resided in turn in England, Basle, and Zürich. Finally, discontented with his new friends, and having published an alarming pamphlet in favour of polygamy, he fled, an exile, to Poland, where, forsaken by his children (he had married in Switzerland), he died of the plague, utterly deserted. It is impossible not to feel an interest in his earlier life, or in the development of his sense of the insufficiency of such 'works' as usually passed for meritorious in his day; but it is

sad to see him rapidly passing from one extreme to the other, and only raises disgust to read the ill-natured complaints of the discontented old man, who had tried and quarrelled with everything in turn, from the Papacy to Calvinism. We are quite ready to agree with Dr. Benrath, that it is an injustice on the part of his Roman biographers to consider his early life a gross act of hypocrisy; but we are unable to see that his conduct after breaking with Rome betokened any real greatness of character. We are indebted to Dr. Benrath, however, for a glimpse at that almost hidden page of history which recounts the effect of Reformation ideas in Italy. Not only have few records of this movement survived in Italy, but the few there are have been till lately jealously kept from the eyes of the public. The greater thanks are, therefore, due to men who, like our author, have been at the trouble of making a personal search through the Italian libraries for documents on which to build up something more historical than the anathemas and abuse with which Italian writers of the Roman obedience have enveloped the name of such men as Ochino. Dr. Benrath gives us, in addition to mere biography, examples and analyses both of Ochino's preaching and books, and, not least valuable, reprints from the originals of several letters and other documents of importance. The sermons seem simple and to the point, and very hearty; many of the writings quaint; the later ones in many cases, in our judgment, offensive, not only in matter but in tone, which is cynical and ill-natured. We could have wished that Dr. Benrath had given us some more particulars concerning the 'Oratory of Divine Love' in Rome, and the Reform party in Naples, and we fear that we cannot absolve him from the common errors of writers of the Evangelical Church, of thinking that every expression extolling 'grace' means depreciation of 'works.' The book concludes with a full catalogue of Ochino's works and of the various translations of them.

Die Bergpredigt nach Matthäus und Lucas exegetisch und kritisch untersucht. Von ERNST ACHELIS. (Leipzig: Velhagen and Klasing. London: Nutt.)

It is unpleasant to have to confess this a disappointing book, as it contains all the evidences of patient labour, careful collection, and studious thought. Yet, despite much that is good and noticeable, the book is disappointing. The author starts from Schleiermacher's observation that the primary meanings and references of many of our Lord's most familiar sayings are still often lost sight of, or else obscured by popular interpretations. The attempt, by reference to the religious ideas of Old Testament origin common at our Lord's time, to recover the sense in which much that He said was understood by his hearers is the most satisfactory part of the work. A better field for this attempt than the Sermon on the Mount could not have been found. The scope of the work, however, necessarily excludes, certainly to the great detriment of the book as a whole, any collection of various interpretations, or of the varied suggestions

which spring out of the actual text. This makes the commentary very heavy. Patristic quotations there are scarcely any, but frequent reference to Tholuck, Bleek, Godet, Oosterzee, and other modern commentators. Analyses, minute to a fault, and careful summaries are interspersed throughout the book, which treats the whole consecutively in short portions. The version of the Sermon given by S. Luke is considered in a separate section. With respect to the vexed questions concerning the identity of the 'Sermon on the Mount' and the 'Sermon on the Plain,' Dr. Achelis' thesis is that S. Luke found and adopted the form in his Gospel, which originated in oral tradition, combining with the teaching of the Sermon on the Mount other parts of our Lord's instructions. He thinks that this document was known to the author of the first Gospel, but that he omitted the parts contained in it which did not occur in his correct records. We do not see anything to incline us to accept this theory. In the course of the work parallel passages of our Lord's teaching on other occasions are introduced and explained. The great fault of the book is its involved and very tedious style, the matter of which is often heavy, without being deep.

Materialismus oder Christenthum (Herder: Freiburg) is a small brochure of considerable merit, dealing seriatim with the various points under discussion between Christians and materialists. The chapter devoted to Darwinism, which is somewhat off-hand, is not so satisfactory as the rest of the work; but the book will be found to contain both interesting criticism on materialistic theses and useful hints on the scientific arguments in favour of the truth of revealed religion.

Der Cölibatszwang und dessen Aufhebung. Von Dr. JOH. FRIEDRICH VON SCHULTE, Geh. Justizrath und Professor der Rechte. (Bonn: P. Neusser, 1876.)

It is probably not unknown to English observers of the Old Catholic movement that a considerable difference has sprung up between the German and the Swiss Churches upon the question of the celibacy of the clergy. This difference is in great part to be traced to the known historical characteristics of the two peoples—the Germans being hitherto always slow to political action, and pondering much before they act; the Swiss, on the contrary, being rapid in political action, versed and practised in it beyond all other peoples, and inclined to body forth at once in act every new thought. A comparison of the debates and issues of the Synods of Bonn and of Olten will justify this assertion. The Swiss Synod was, as a matter of fact, Presbyterian and Congregational; the Swiss priests and churches decided to elect a bishop; but they proceeded immediately to action without waiting until he was chosen and consecrated. We find the German theologians, from the very beginning of the movement, scholastic and methodical, held in check by an unwavering reverence for ecclesiastical tradition, anxious to do all churchly acts only in a

churchly manner, unwilling to take a single step forward until it seemed clearly right and prudent, and fully legalized by the regularly elected members of a representative synod under the oversight of a bishop. 'As a consequence of their past historical experience and development,' says a Swiss writer, 'the Germans are accustomed to allow themselves to be led and guided. The German Catholics long had the reputation at Rome of being the most pious and docile of all Catholics.' The Swiss, on the contrary, at all periods of their history, have been revolutionary and independent in their manner of dealing with Church affairs. The Swiss clergy and laity defied and even defeated the Pope when greater States and their monarchs trembled at him. When John XXI. excommunicated the people of Schwyz, now the seat of the most pronounced Ultramontaniam, they defied the Papal curse, and gave the priests the choice between leaving the canton and continuing the full exercise of their functions. Basel and Zürich treated Papal legates as criminals for bringing excommunications into their districts, and punished the priests who preferred the Pope to the State. The Swiss inherit, as indeed every noble nation must do, a mass of mediæval anti-Papal traditions; but it exceeds others in this kind of historical possession. Although the Popes enlisted so many individual Switzers into their armies, the general Swiss conscience was thoroughly on the side of the reputed temporal head of mediæval Christendom against its reputed spiritual head. A Papal Nuntius said truly of them—'This people is harder to handle than the most delicate porcelain.' The Catholic Church exists for the education and development of the nations, to each of which the King of the Gentiles has given for good ends its own individual character. We must, therefore, expect to find traces of national character and effects of the national history reflected in those Swiss clergy and communities who have chosen the title of 'National-Katholische Kirche der Schweiz.' They are men who have been used from adult age to take the initiative in political affairs, who have acquired by heredity a marvellous political dexterity and mobility, whose whole civil existence and activity are grounded upon the principle that the final seat of authority in every society resides in the entirety of the society, and who regard all government, except free self-government, as tyranny more or less modified.

The Swiss and German Old Catholics agree in all points of Catholic reformation except this of clerical celibacy. On the most pressing question of all, at the present day—the right relation of the Church to the State—there is not a shadow of difference. The leaders and members of both Churches have shown in word and deed that a man can be at once a faithful member of the Universal Society and a faithful member of the National Society, a good Catholic and a good citizen. Even upon this vexed question of clerical celibacy the difference, as the intention of Dr. Von Schulte's treatise sufficiently shows, is not in any sense doctrinal. Both Churches are agreed that the obligatory celibacy of the priesthood is no part of the true Catholic tradition; that by it a mere disciplinary custom had been exalted into a dogma; that it had been forced

upon the Church in ages in which the Church, or entire congregation of Jesus Christ, had lost constitutional liberty ; that its main end was the separation of the priesthood from common sympathy and interest with the divine order of the family, the commune, the nation, and humanity ; and that this separation was not needed for the Church's sake, but for the sake of the ecclesiastical-political centralization of authority in the Roman Bishop. Both Churches are agreed that the abolition of compulsory celibacy must be a part of the Catholic reform. Dr. Von Schulte made a sort of promise of this book in his speech at the last Synod of the Old Catholics at Bonn. He speaks here for the Germans ; he himself, indeed, goes further than the more conservative of the Germans are perhaps yet inclined to follow him. But he does not go the length of the Swiss, who not only think that an evil can be abrogated as soon as it is perceived, but who have some justification for this belief in the marvellous adaptability of their political circumstances to swift ameliorations, and who are in the habit of cutting knots while other people are debating how and when to untie them. No such denouncing demonstration against the Tridentine law has ever yet been made by a Catholic jurist and theologian. A fuller collection of historical matter may be found in the American Harry C. Lea's admirable *History of Sacerdotal Celibacy* ; but that book is put together as a literary exercise ; its chapters are studies of phenomena with which the student himself has no vital connection ; whereas the author of *Der Celibatszwang und dessen Aufhebung* is dealing with hideous diseases of the organism which is nearest and dearest to himself, and his zeal for the purity of the House of God gives that kind of unity to his scholarly work which cannot be attained by a merely industrious and dexterous compiler. Dr. Von Schulte, in the historical part of his work, goes over ground which has been travelled often enough by the old anti-Papal controversialists ; but he works as a son of the nineteenth century, keeping in view the political and ethical aspects of the existence of this huge army virtually disconnected from the family and the State, and therefore from humanity. His scholarship is throughout popularized ; his book made thoroughly readable ; for he sees that it is to the Catholic populace or mass of the christened, to the Church in her fullest extension, that the case against the celibacy of the pastorate has to be stated. It is in the Catholic Church-consciousness, used for ages to an unmarried priesthood, dreaming of no other possible state of things, that the real strength of the evil lies. The popular conscience must not be insulted or forced ; it must be enlightened and liberated ; the history of sacerdotal celibacy must be laid open ; the doctrines of the liberty of Christ's priesthood, of the sanctity of marriage for all persons in the Church, of the inviolable union established in Jesus Christ between the Church and the nations, must first of all be preached ; the wholesome practice will follow ; the quickened conscience of the Church will demand it. The Catholic peasant in Prussia and Baden has no conception that the Pope has drawn a certain geographical line, on the eastern side of which the married priest is an honourable man,

but on whose western side the married priest is a man living in ungodly concubinage. We have it from a Swiss theologian, that he was taught in early youth, by the chaplain who educated him, that a permanent difference between a priest and a layman is stamped upon the former by his celibacy. 'Even physically,' he said, 'the priest is an entirely different man from the layman. In hell, priests are known from all other men by this inextinguishable mark.'

The following incisive passage from the last part of Dr. Von Schulte's book contains the very pith of his position :—

'So lange die Kirche, die Vereinigung der an Christus Glaubenden, existirte und thätig war, gab es kein solches Gesetz. Als aber die Rechte der Volkskirche und die des Klerus von den Bischöfen konfisziert waren, da konnte man ein Gesetz erlassen, welches für einen Theil der Menschen seine natürliche Bestimmung, eine eheliche Verbindung einzugehen, vernichtet. Durch das Cölibatsgesetz, hat der Geistliche aufgehört, ein freier Mensch zu sein. Er ist zum Werkzeug hierarchischer Macht geworden. Gegen die Aufhebung des Cölibats gibt's gar keinen vernünftigen Grund als : Das katholische Volk will's nicht. Dieser Grund schliesst eigentlich Folgendes in sich : Das Volk ist durch die hierarchische Leitung so durch und durch Ultramontane geworden, dass es die Geistlichen als höhere Wesen ansieht, dass es den Klerus als den Herrscher in Staat und Kirche, in der Gesellschaft betrachtet, zwei Gesellschaften kennt : eine Geistliche und eine Weltliche, dass ihm sein Christenthum mit Römerthum zusammenfällt. Soll das aufhören, soll wirklich eine Reform der Kirche endgültig, fest und heilsam erfolgen, so ist's die Grundbedingung, dass der Geistliche sich wieder als Mensch, Bürger, Patriot fühle.'

Practical difficulties stand in the way of any immediate Old Catholic abrogation of priestly celibacy in Prussia, Hessen, and Baden. The Tridentine canons and the current Catholic usage are naturally respected by States in which there is a great Catholic public, and in which the Catholic clergy are established officials. The priest who takes a wife is indeed now protected by the modern civil legislation ; his bishop has no power to separate him from his wife. But this is only one side of the question. The priest who marries can still be deprived, at the appeal of his bishop, of his ecclesiastical benefice. Thus the State has as yet only opened the door to the priest on one side ; it keeps the door shut against him on the other side. It is probable, therefore, that the Old Catholic clergy, who are daily gaining an increased share of benefices, or of participation in established Church funds, would run the risk of losing all claim upon these if they took upon themselves to marry before the lawful organ of the Old Catholic congregations has canonically abrogated the existing Cölibatsgesetz. Some of the more conservative Germans are so frightened at the danger threatened to the whole movement by the more precipitate action of the Swiss, that they have held out a half threat that Bishop Reinkens will not consecrate the Bishop designated by the Swiss Synod. But it must be recollected that in German Switzerland it was the vote of the laity and not of the clergy which demands the immediate abolition of the Cölibatsgesetz. The clergy of Pfarrer Herzog's school are men of a different temper to the French Father Hyacinthe ; they will do

nothing on their own bare conviction ; with one consent they all refrained from voting. The laity expressed that old historical prejudice of the Swiss against clerical celibacy which took such a startling form in the middle ages, when some of the cantons, as Sleidan reports, actually required the new parish priest to elect a concubine, regarding this as the then only possible precaution for the purity of the community. Rome had again and again implicitly ruled that fornication in a priest was less criminal than matrimony, and the resolute burghers simply acted upon the rule.

The Supernatural in the New Testament. By the Rev. C. A. Row, M.A.,
Prebendary of St. Paul's.

THIS book was written at the request of the Christian Evidence Society ; and its object is to reply to the author of *Supernatural Religion*. Mr. Row is already favourably known by previous writings on apologetic subjects, and the present work, we think, is no unworthy sequel to them. While avoiding the deeper issues raised by the question of the supernatural, Mr. Row addresses himself to those aspects of the question which are likely to strike and weigh most with the ordinary reader, and we think he has produced a work which, for practical purposes, will be highly useful. We may notice as points, in which he has been successful, the questions as to whether miracles are contrary to reason ; the alleged credulity and superstition of the first followers of our Lord ; and the difficult question of demoniacal miracles and demoniacal possession. In regard to the latter points the only doubt we have is, as to whether the position he takes up, that demoniacal agency is confined to the spiritual world, can be sustained. But the most successful portion of the work is, beyond doubt, the treatment of the proof of the Resurrection. The use which Mr. Row has made of the Epistles of S. Paul towards the establishment of the Resurrection is very striking ; and we only wish he had added a section or chapter with the view of dispelling the mist which sceptics raise on this subject, in regard to the spirituality of Christ's body.

The salient feature of the book is, that it is, to a certain extent, a recoil from the old apologetic standpoint, which formed the distinguishing feature of Calvinism. This change of ground is evidenced by the dismissal of the question of inspiration from the field of apology, and the treatment of the books of the New Testament as purely historical documents, and further in the assumption that the Christian revelation consists essentially of *facts*, such as the incarnation, the establishment of the Church, &c., rather than a *book*. This change of position gives the work an increased degree of cogency. But Mr. Row has not gone far enough in this direction, or rather has not adhered consistently to his new ground. The position which he maintains, that the miracle exists only for proof, and that its end is to prove a Divine commission, is inconsistent with the position that the Christian revelation consists essentially of facts. It is his adherence to this old view of the miracle that leads Mr. Row to call in question

the reality of demoniacal miracles ; for their reality obviously acts as a disturbing element to the evidential function of the miracle. But what if the position cannot be sustained? What if the sceptic is able to present a probable case to the effect that Scripture allows them? Is not the defence of revelation thereby weakened? But his continued adherence to the old view leads him into what we think a more serious mistake—the denial of ecclesiastical miracles. Ecclesiastical miracles ought not to be a difficulty, as they certainly are to the Calvinistic theory. They ought to be an immense support, as evidencing the continued presence of the Divine in the Church, and as thereby connecting on the miracles of revelation to God's ordinary providence. And, besides this, is there not great danger in the summary rejection of them? Is not this to justify the very course which the sceptic takes with regard to the miracles of revelation? We regret these drawbacks, but, notwithstanding them, we think Mr. Row's work a solid and a useful one.

Moral Causation; or, Notes on Mr. Mill's Notes. By P. P. ALEXANDER, M.A.

THIS book is a reply to certain strictures which Mr. Mill made in his third edition of his examination of Sir W. Hamilton's *Philosophy*, on a previous work of the author's, entitled *Mill and Carlyle*, which was in effect a criticism on Mr. Mill's chapter xxy, 'The Freedom of the Will.' It is a re-issue, with additions, of a previous smaller work. The author tells us that Mr. Mill did not, in his fourth edition, notice the defence which he had made in his smaller work ; and as it did not suit him to be dragged through successive editions at the wheels of Mr. Mill's conquering chariot, his defence being ignored, he determined to re-issue it in a somewhat extended form, when Mr. Mill's death intervened. In the feeling that it would be inopportune to send it forth at that time, it was postponed, and is now published.

Mr. Alexander grapples, and we think very successfully, with the strictures of Mr. Mill ; indeed, so successfully, that we are inclined to regret that his disquisitions should have appeared in this extreme controversial form. There are certain considerations, such for instance as the brevity of this life and the many things to be done, which will act as a deterrent from the attempt to master the details of a dispute, when otherwise the reader would have been extremely glad to know what one so well worth listening to had to say on this important subject. Mr. Alexander shows us in the latter part of his work, where he quits the controversial form and writes continuously, that he can write interestingly and with great effect, and we are only sorry that the whole of the book was not formed on the same model. The book is marked throughout with perfect knowledge of the subject and with keen perception, and our sympathies are entirely with the views which the author takes. We would especially notice, as instances of successful treatment, his remarks on the consciousness of freedom, and on the moral as opposed to the utilitarian character of punishment ; and in the latter part of

the work, the criticism on Mr. Mill's psychological theory of matter, and on the theory as applied to mind. On the question of the personality of the Ego, the reader will find some observations which are very striking and in the highest degree suggestive.

It appears to us that the whole discussion on freedom, as carried on in this country, fails from ignoring certain crucial distinctions. For instance, enough is not made of the fact that man can only act with *intelligence*; a man cannot act without knowing what he does. Now this knowledge or intelligence, which always accompanies human action, at once lifts the whole sphere of human action out of the necessary sequences of cause and effect which rule in material nature into a higher sphere of freedom. The storm which is brewing is *not free* to wait till the ship has rounded the point and got into harbour. Why? Because it acts blindly, necessarily, unintelligently. On the other hand, the artilleryman who acts intelligently is *free* to wait till the ship has passed between him and his target. In the knowledge or intelligence of what we do is given the knowledge of a multiplicity of alternatives, and consequently the possibility of free choice. Then again, another element of confusion is the not distinguishing between 'desires and aversions' as mere unintelligent impulses to action, and intelligent 'purposes.' The two classes, which are totally distinct in character, are lumped up under the single name of 'motives.' In reality the freedom of the will is manifested in making 'desires and aversions' give way to 'purposes,' and still further in making the inferior purposes give way to the highest purpose, or, what is properly speaking, the end or purpose of a man's life. No doubt the question still recurs—What is it that determines a man's will to follow the path which, as a matter of fact, he does follow? The path which he chooses may be to follow purposes which are morally bad, or to follow no purpose in particular, but only his desires and aversions. This we suspect will ever remain a mystery. Still the recognition of the distinctions we have mentioned would have the effect of amputating a large part of the discussion. It would also make evident the absurdity of the attempt of the necessarian to reduce human action to the same laws of cause and effect as rule in the material world.

Reform: Zeitstimmen aus der Schweizerischen Kirche. Herausgegeben von H. LANG, Pfarrer am St. Peter in Zürich, und H. BRIZIUS, Pfarrer in Twann, Kt. Bern. IV. Jahrgang. (Bern : J. Dalp'sche Buchhandlung. 1875.)

THE volume of *Reform* for 1875 appears with the name of Heinrich Lang upon its title-page as one of its co-editors; but that distinguished rationalist theologian passed away soon after the beginning of the new year. The collected numbers of this well-known serial, which is published fortnightly, contain many interesting papers by writers of the 'Liberal Protestant' school who have set themselves to reconcile 'Christenthum und Wissenschaft.' Perhaps the article most likely to interest English readers is one which does not belong

to the sphere of speculative or critical religion, but rather to that of speculative prophecy. Its bearing upon questions hotly debated amongst ourselves has inclined us to give a summary conspectus of its startling contents. The author, Pfarrer Müller, is a beneficed clergyman in the Canton of Zürich, and he is anxious to open the eyes of his brethren to the probable future situation of the established Protestant clergy, in consequence of the 'Civilstand' legislation of the New Constitution of the Swiss Confederacy. He begins by saying that the Catholic clergy often assert that they have much more work upon their hands than the Protestant clergy. This is granted by Herr Müller to be in a certain sense true. There is a great mass of Catholic pastoral activity which is partly physical, which certainly occupies much time, and which may be severely mental as well as physical to a conscientious and thoughtful priest. Zwingli's conception of the Christian pastorate, which was formulated when he was a comparatively young man, reduced the number of pastoral functions and simplified those which it retained, with the exception of preaching and catechizing. The new parochial pastor was set free by the Zwinglian reformation from the celebration of early masses; he had fewer festival days to observe, no confessions to hear, no vespers to say, no obligation to hurry to the dying with extreme unction, no obligatory masses for the dead. The mechanical pressure of the pastoral function was no doubt considerably lightened to every Catholic priest who became a Reformed pastor, a 'minister of the Word' instead of a 'mass-priest.' It is not unlikely that the decrease of obligations sometimes inclined the parish priest to accept the new doctrine and to keep his church. Zwingli himself, however, had no conception that he was lightening the burden of the pastor's office. He and the other reforming theologians of Zürich and Basel, and it may be of Bonn, preached or expounded every day. There was a daily sermon in Zürich at five o'clock in the morning; this was continued for nearly two centuries. Our Bishop Burnet attended it in 1685, and complained of its length, and noticed the weariness of the congregation. Daily sermons, in place of the daily mass, were instituted throughout Reformed Zwinglian Switzerland, and also in the Calvinistic Republic of Geneva. The early Reformed teachers were as constant in the catechizing of the young; they held it to be their vocation to make every member of each Christian commune thoroughly acquainted with the long-neglected Bible. The 'ministers of the Word,' therefore, for some considerable period of the history of the Reformed Church, probably spent quite as many hours in the church as the 'mass-priests;' they undoubtedly spent many more hours in biblical study, and the Protestant clergy were in many cases harder workers than the Catholic—in most cases had quite as much to do. But all this is now changed; from the end of the eighteenth century to our own time the work of the Protestant clergy has been gradually growing lighter and easier. This has resulted in great part from the rapid development of the modern idea of the State, which has been constantly increasing the range of its duties, especially in the direction of those provinces which at one time belonged almost exclusively

to the Church. Two most important functions of the established clergyman, once supposed to be peculiarly his—the education of the people and the care of the local poor—are now appropriated by the State. We will give Herr Müller's sum of the losses of the Zwinglian parish pastor in his own words :—

‘Die Besorgung des Armenwesens lag der Kirche, also vorab den Geistlichen ob. Die Reformation rief Volksschulen ins Leben, und so primitiv dieselben auch sein mochten, die Geistlichen hatten sie, wenn nicht selbst zu besorgen, so doch zu organisiren, zu überwachen; sie mussten vielfach die Lehrer instruiren. Nehmen wir dazu die Führung der Kirchenregister, die Ausfertigung der Kirchenrechnungen, welche zugleich Armen- und Schubrechnungen waren, die Uebung der Seelsorge, die Besorgung der Pfründengüter, die Realisirung der Naturaleinkünfte, so begreifen wir, dass ein Prädikant des 16., 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts seine Zeit sehr wohl zu verwerthen wusste.’

The Protestant preacher for three centuries knew how to fill out his time and return an equivalent for his pay. But, asks Pfarrer Müller, will the preacher by the end of the nineteenth century know how to occupy his time, and to give any due return for his pay? Half of his activity for these last three centuries has been secular, or what is now claimed by the State as properly civil; step by step during the last ten years of our century the State has been deliberately limiting the official civil functions of the clergy, and shutting up their activity within an ever-narrowing circle. First the State changed the payment of the clergy in kind (so long a custom in Switzerland) into payment in gold; the pastor has no longer to be busy as a valuer. Week-day services have long ago ceased to be held in the churches from pure want of lay attendance. That worship is an act in itself is scarcely a Zwinglian conception; nor does the Zwinglian Church provide that a sermonless worship may be regularly celebrated, so as to be available when wanted by any parishioner in seasons of sorrow, joy, or leisure. The poor-relief system is now administered by secular officials, amongst whom the pastor no longer holds a place *ex officio*. The school, in which the pastor was so long supreme—its organizer, its superior, and the instructor of its teachers—is now completely ‘emancipated from the Church.’ The clergy as clergy, under the new *Bundesverfassung*, have nothing to do with it—‘auch mit der Religionsunterricht nicht, wenn er aus den Schulen, wie vielfach verlangt ist, entfernt wird.’ The keeping of the registers is also by the new institution taken out of the hands of the clergy, a measure which is creating much excitement both in Catholic and Reformed parishes. House-to-house visitation, at least in the larger parishes, has grown out of fashion; the uninvited call of a preacher would be regarded as an intrusion. ‘So much has gone, so much is going; whatever will remain to us?’ pathetically asks Pfarrer Müller. ‘Well,’ he replies, ‘we shall retain these things—the Sunday sermon, catechizing, confirmation, instruction, baptism (where it is wished for), ecclesiastical marriage (when it is asked for), ecclesiastical burial (if it is desired).’ Then we shall become nothing but preachers and catechizers.’ The author sees in the new legislation, of which he is

no opponent, the little rift within the Zwinglian lute, which by and by will almost certainly make its music mute.

It may be said that this is to some extent the condition to which modern legislation has reduced, or is tending to reduce, every established clergy. But in the Catholic parishes of Switzerland, as in our English parishes, there is the co-existent of what we may call a Church-consciousness, which by its own demands from its clergy will protect them from sinking into mere established Sunday lecturers, and will take care that they do not stand still in hopeless vacuity, piteously appealing for work and a vocation amongst modern men. The Zwinglian Church, as represented by its 'Liberal Protestants,' retains nothing of this Church-consciousness. We must recollect that Herr Müller is not the spokesman of the whole clergy, but only of that extreme left which rejects every doctrine which Zwingli believed. It is certainly a strange picture which Herr Müller sees on the side of Time's revengeful whirligig which is at present turned toward him. The minister of a Church which started with the proposition that 'the Church' does not consist exclusively of the clergy—an undoubted truth—is looking forward to the approach of a future in which his Church will possibly contain no members who are not clergymen. The Church or congregation of Zwingli, Bullinger, and Lavater is expected to melt slowly away under the fierce fires of science, criticism, and the State's self-development, while the ministers of that Church still abide—pastors, but with no certain flock; paid workmen, but with scarcely any work. The State, moreover, shows no enmity toward them, and expresses no desire to abolish them. 'It was the old complaint of our clergy,' says Pfarrer Müller, 'that they had too much to do. But when our functions are reduced, in the manner now expected, to purely ecclesiastical affairs—the State deciding what is and what is not ecclesiastical—we shall have to complain that we have too little to do. It must needs be so. Setting up our bristles like porcupines will help us nothing. It is our wisdom openly to acknowledge to ourselves what our situation is. I do not say that the State will starve us out. But I say that we shall have to be degraded for loitering idleness (*Müssiggängerei*), and shall finally be declared to be superfluous and unnecessary officers.' If Liberal Protestantism, as represented by the *Zeitstimmen*, be true, the State will be in the right, in our judgment. 'The Church,' in that case, can only be a club of persons with pious feelings and convictions; it can have no such real relation to humanity and the universe as the State has. Why should the State reserve for this particular association privileges and a position which it grants to no association which delivers lectures or executes music one day in the week?

The contemplation of one's own official extinction is indeed a disagreeable one. No English parish priest ever dreams, in his gloomiest visions of the future, of any such utter disestablishment as that of which the Zwinglian freethinking pastor has a fore-glimpse. Established or disestablished, endowed or disendowed, the ministry of the Church of England will still exist, and will make exactly the

same claim to be the national clergy. We must now add, however, that Herr Müller's prophecy, like other prophecies, is to a great extent conditional. The Swiss seer has been moved to deliver it out of his exceeding anxiety that his clerical brethren shall realize that the Swiss people's acceptance of the new *Bundesverfassung* is the Protestant clergy's day of visitation. They need not be disestablished and disendowed, if only they will find some work to do which the Confederacy, the Cantons, and the communes will consider a fair equivalent for their pay. 'The question is,' says the writer, 'what is this future clerical work to be? What can we do? What ought we to do? We can scarcely think that a multiplication of our sermons will suffice, not only upon Sundays, but also upon weekdays. We should only be too glad if the people would hear us with more regularity upon Sundays. We do not think meanly of the sermon; we know what expenditure of time in study and preparation must precede a good sermon, we know that it implies a youth spent in thorough theological learning. But the demand for sermons being at present so low, what in the world is the good of multiplying the stock?' Herr Müller conceives that two hopeful work-fields are open for Protestant clergymen in danger of becoming workless, and that if they will enter either of these they may still prove themselves useful servants to the commonwealth. That the clergyman as such is the servant of any other Master does not seem to occur to him. The first is public lecturing, the other is secular education.

The writer thinks it would be prudent for the parish clergy to give lectures in the church on winter weekdays upon all sorts of exciting or interesting contemporary questions—'Conferences, in fact. The pulpit dress, the liturgy, and the stiff sermon-style of speech will be laid aside.' Some of his brethren have suggested that the Sunday service may suffer detriment if such attractive services are held upon weekdays. It seems that to go twice to church within seven days—although once for secular light and once for spiritual light—is regarded as too strong a demand upon the Zwinglian Switzer. 'This may be true,' replies our clergyman; 'but the great question is—How are we to provide an audience at all? We must get it when and where we can.' He suggests no specimen lists of the contemporary questions; and it might be replied to him that Zwingli or Gualther would have treated in their daily sermons, as believing preachers of the Word, according to the light of their time, most of the burning questions which he would have their successors treat in the character of amiable lecturers. Certainly in the neighbouring Republic of Geneva, under Calvinist ministry, all distinctions between secular questions and spiritual questions well nigh disappeared, as in Florence, under Savonarola's pulpit, as at Paul's Cross, when Colet or Latimer preached. Those serious men did not know the art of separating Church and State, religion and life, morals and theology, and would not have preached it if they had known it. It may strike the ecclesiastical kinsmen of Zwingli as a little singular that tea-meetings, prayer-meetings, or occasional revivals do not suggest themselves. But the Swiss clergy, both orthodox and rationalist,

look with disfavour on all pietist irregularity as characteristic of sects. It is due in great part to religious rivalry that the sects in America and in Britain are so fruitful in extra-ecclesiastical activities and novelties. The Swiss established clergy stand in no fear of rivals. A sect with no living connection with Swiss history cannot live in Swiss air.

Herr Müller sees his second ground of hope in the union of the parish pastorate with schoolmastership. First, he proposes that there should be a permanent blending of the 'Pfarramt' with the 'Schulamt,' that the Church should rule that no clergyman should be eligible to the pastorate unless he is competent and willing to undertake a schoolmastership. The theological students must be bound more than is now the case to make 'Pädagogik' a leading part of their curriculum. Secondly, as the State will in future possess a great number of efficient teachers for the Bezirkschul, Sekundärschul, and Gemeindeschul, he suggests that teachers shall be qualified and required to undertake the Sunday religious discourses and other ecclesiastical duties in the churches. Such an arrangement, he comfortably concludes, will enable the hole dug by the new legislation to be filled up in a way most useful to the clergy and the parishes. It will scarcely escape the notice of the old-fashioned clergy that the new legislation does not require the teacher to be a Christian. Herr Müller foresees that many of his clerical coadjutors will not receive his propositions with that gay ease of mind with which he states them. 'But where,' they will demand, 'will be the Church, where the Church's autonomy and independence? Will she not, under such conditions, be at last devoured by the school?' 'As for me,' he replies, 'that does not trouble me in the least. I am not afraid of such an issue, even though in my thoughts of the future relations of the Church and the school I find myself obliged to think of the words of John the Baptist, "Er muss wachsen, ich muss abnehmen."' He believes that this intimate union of Church and school will, in some unexplained manner, do that for the Church which the union of Church and State has never done—'will give it a new life which will be a resurrection from the dead.' The fact that the Church and the State are both teachers, or that both now realize that they are obliged to educate, is implied in the modern education conflict. But Herr Müller is surely the first man who has so conceived it possible to confound their spheres as to propose to unite the State's schoolmaster of the young and the Church's pastor of old and young in a single person, and to do this in a nation in which the school is a department of the confessionless State. Such parson-schoolmasters or schoolmaster-parsons would be sure in time to entreat the State to release them from their Sunday duties, to substitute the school completely for the Church, and to disestablish their meaningless pastorate as 'überflüssig.' Such a project of exaggerated Erastianism has perhaps never been put forth since the officers of the army produced their amazing sketch for a new State Church of England during the excited interval between the abdication of Richard Cromwell and the Restoration of Charles II.

THE translation of the second volume of Bishop Hefele's *History of the Councils of the Church*, by Mr. H. N. Oxenham (Edinburgh: Clark), has appeared. This volume strikes us as scarcely, if at all, inferior in importance to the first. It relates to a deeply interesting period of Church History (A.D. 326-429), and involves such important questions as—to name two among many—the œcumenicity or the reverse of the Council of Sardica, and the fall of Liberius. Bishop Hefele, with the majority of authorities, decides against the claims of Sardica to œcumenical rank. Against the author's palliation of the fall of Liberius the reader may set the remarks of Mr. Renouf, which the translator has appended to the volume. No less interesting are the Carthaginian Synods, and their connection with the career of S. Augustine. The translation reads as if it were an original.

THE excellent and devout work of Caspari, *A Chronological and Geographical Introduction to the Life of Christ*, has also been published by Messrs. Clark, of Edinburgh. We can strongly recommend it.

THE mention of Mr. Oxenham's name reminds us of the exceedingly valuable and learned papers contributed by him to the recent numbers of the *Contemporary Review*, on the subject of Universalism. Canon Lightfoot, in the same periodical, has saved us from the trouble of going into the historic portions of the two volumes on *Supernatural Religion*, commonly attributed to one whose name suggests very different and far happier associations. Hence, the limitation of the inquiry in the first article of this number. Mr. Martineau has commented (also in the *Contemporary*), with singular force and acuteness, on the dangerously materialistic language of Professor Tyndall. A paper in the same *Review*, by Dr. (now Bishop) Caldwell, on the singular phenomena, apparently resembling demoniac possession, observed by him in India, may be compared with an article of excellent tone in the March number of *Blackwood's Magazine*, on the phenomena of spiritualism.

SOME interesting works—two by Congregationalist Ministers, on the Paraclete—that by Dr. Parker, of the City Temple (King and Co.), seems specially valuable—and one, by Mr. Wade Robinson, on the *Philosophy of the Atonement* (Hodder and Stoughton), and a reprint of the late Archdeacon Hare's work, can only be mentioned by us in the crowded state of our columns. The same must be said of some *Allegorical Sermons*, by Mr. W. A. Gray and Mr. Kerr Pearse (Oxford: Parker), which have very deservedly reached a fourth edition.

The Life of Dr. Norman Macleod is a well-executed memoir, in two volumes, of a really remarkable minister in the Scottish Presbyterian Establishment (London: Dalby, Isbister, and Co.). We like

Dr. Macleod better than his contemporary of the Free Church, Dr. Guthrie. We wish that we could honestly express admiration of the number of comic sketches inserted into the pages of this book. A few of Dr. Macleod's drawings might have helped to characterize the late editor of *Good Words*; but the majority of them, we own, somewhat repel us.

ONE item in our chronicle will have to be stated in a different form, the Judicial Committee having reversed Sir R. Phillimore's decision in the important case of *Jenkins v. Cook*. Concerning the wisdom shown by Mr. Cook in some of the earlier portions of the transaction, opinions will, no doubt, differ. But there hardly can be any divergence of sentiment among Churchmen, as to the conscientiousness, the self-sacrifice, and the dignity with which Mr. Cook has acted since the decision against him. We heartily wish success to the subscription being raised on his behalf, and abundance of blessing on his ministrations in a new sphere of duty.

The Spectre of the Vatican (London: W. Wells Gardner) is a lively production, not exceeding the bulk of a large pamphlet, from the pen of an anonymous author, who conceives the alarm felt by many at the progress made by the Church of Rome in England and Wales to be quite exaggerated and unreasonable. The writer appears to be well informed, and his anti-Roman feeling does not prevent him from displaying a good deal of impartiality, and even of generous appreciation of the merits of many individual Anglo-Roman clergy in past and in present times. Possibly he may under-estimate the amount of power which is evidenced in the ability to win men to lives of such self-denial as he describes at pp. 51-53 and elsewhere. But it is no doubt desirable for us to know the many obstacles standing in the way of Roman Catholic influence in England, as well as the points of strength in the system. Hence arises the value and usefulness of this little book; which contains information not easily procurable elsewhere, though it may, perhaps, set forward somewhat too confidently only one side of the subject embraced by it.

A Vicar's View of Church Patronage (London: Rivingtons), by Mr. GODSON, of Ashby Folville, contains, in a small compass, much that is sensible, temperate, and well deserving of consideration. The author does not perhaps face all the difficulties of the case, but he does explain many points which are but ill-understood by the public at large. Several of his quotations are very judiciously chosen; as, for example, the passage from *The Times* (p. 40) which points out how completely openings in trade, the Civil Service, &c. are leaving the Church behind in the matter of remuneration, and the following from a speech by the Bishop of Peterborough (p. 48): 'The real danger of the Church of England is not from her extreme men, although there is a danger there; the real danger is from the drones—men who set their parishes, day by day, a prominent and abiding

example of all that the Church ought not to be ; men who showed the very worst side of an endowed system, in that it allowed men to neglect the duties they are bound in conscience to perform.'

The Missionary Candidate's Manual (Canterbury : S. Augustine's College Press) has reached a fourth edition. The subject of Missions must one day be treated by us *in extenso*, and we shall then have an opportunity of recognizing the unspeakable value of S. Augustine's College and the debt of gratitude due to all connected, directly and indirectly, with the Foundation, as also to its present Warden. The noble and self-denying labours of the Missionaries trained within its walls occupy a prominent place in all our Mission serials.

WE have studied Dr. Irons' *Church of all Ages* (London : Hayes) and another book by him, now in its third edition, *The Bible and its Interpreters* (same publishers), enough to see with how much frankness and courage he faces great problems of our time. They are small, but highly suggestive volumes ; and we feel that we are bound to make further examination before we can give an adequate summary of their contents and the line of argument adopted in them.

MUSIC.

The General Principles of Music. By the Rev. J. PHILLIPPS.
(Macclesfield : J. Daniel.)

THE object which Mr. Phillipps apparently had in view, in delivering this lecture, was to give, in a concise and popular form, an account of the great scientific art of music. The object is a laudable one ; whether the method of its carrying out be as worthy of praise is, perhaps, open to question.

After a few introductory sentences, the lecturer goes on to treat of his subject under the following heads :—

Chap. I. The definition of Music.

Chap. II. Sound.

Chap. III. The musical scales, modes, melody, harmony, accompaniments.

Chap. IV. Styles of music.

Now, it is obviously impossible to do justice to all these four points in the scope of one lecture, and we fear that the audience must have left the Town Hall, Macclesfield, puzzled, rather than edified with the quantity of proffered information.

Mr. Phillipps was, no doubt, well aware that he could not teach people 'all about' music in a couple of hours, and so he has published his lecture in the form of a pamphlet, easily procurable by all, on account of its moderate price.

Passing over Mr. Phillipps's somewhat severe statement, deduced, prosaically enough, from the utterance of a great poet, that people who are not susceptible to music cannot be relied upon, we come to consider his assertion, in chap. i., that 'the art of music is the most perfect method of punctuation.' If this be so, then the rules for punctuation, given by Lindley Murray, must form the most imperfect method; for no one who has had any experience in singing will deny how often he has had to sacrifice grammatical punctuation to the exigencies of musical cadence.

Mr. Phillipps adduces many amusing anecdotes to prove the power of music over animals, but it is curious that he should have omitted to refer to the most obvious proof of all—viz. the effect of a cavalry band on the troop horses, or that of the orchestra on the performing beasts in a circus. Chapter ii.—the one on Sound—appears to us by far the best of the four. It deals with plain facts and states them plainly. In chapter iii. the lecturer has given more play to his own peculiar views. Thus we have the tonic-sol-fa system extolled to the skies in contradistinction to the system of Hullah, whose teaching, according to Mr. Phillipps, would throw back all students of music as far as the first half of the eleventh century.

With Mr. Phillipps's definition of 'harmony' we cannot rest satisfied. According to his account, harmony consists of concords, and those alone. If this be so, how is it that we find in harmony most minute rules for the preparation, percussion, and resolution of discords.

Then, again, his assertion that 'accompaniment is to a song what colour is to a picture,' is surely calculated to mislead. The melody and poem of a song may be represented in painting by the sketch; the sentiments delineated by the power of the artiste might more reasonably be called the 'colour,' and thus the accompaniment would fulfil the duty of the background of canvas.

Similarly, in chapter iv., the reverend gentleman's explanation of the Ballad is somewhat novel. He asserts that it was a vocal accompaniment to dancing; whereas the universally-received idea of a ballad is a lyric story, complete in itself, and having its various verses, sung to the same melody, repeated.

Then, as regards duets, we should be inclined to say that the 'best combination of voices' was that of soprano and baritone, or contralto and tenor.

Throughout the pamphlet we find evident marks of haste, or, what is worse, of carelessness, and we cannot permit the author's statement, that 'no Englishman has ever written a standard opera,' to remain unchallenged, with the memory of Balfe still fresh in our minds.

The good intention of this attempt to popularize the study of music has been sadly marred by the immature manner in which it has been carried out, and an overwhelming proof of carelessness is afforded by the typographical errors with which the work abounds.

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ART. I.—SCEPTICISM OF THE DAY.—MATTHEW
ARNOLD.

God and the Bible. A Review of Objections to Literature and Dogma. By MATTHEW ARNOLD, formerly Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford and Fellow of Oriel College. (London : Smith, Elder, and Co.)

AMONG the many perplexing problems around us, which seem to justify the *dictum* of the Schoolmen that all things issue in mystery, the existence of that dense cloud of ignorance which broods over so large a portion of mankind concerning truths of the most vital and momentous character must certainly be reckoned—an ignorance which, in an immensely large proportion of cases, seems, humanly speaking, to be, for the present, simply impenetrable. Millions of our fellow-creatures, even if they recognize the fact that they have a soul at all, can do little more than address to it, in their latest hours, the plaintive inquiry of the heathen emperor of old.

Of this ignorance there appear to be three main forms. The first is that prevalent among tribes and nations which, whatever they may once have been, are at present in a savage state. But the ignorance of such persons, however gloomy to contemplate, is not of the most hopelessly sad and lamentable kind. We know indeed that many Christian teachers hold that no man can be in a state of invincible ignorance respecting the being of God ; and the stern language of the Apostle of the Gentiles may certainly seem to lend countenance to such a view. Nevertheless, the history of men's lives is not to

the Prophet of prophets what it is to the earthly narrator. Human history, as has well been said, can only aim, after all, at being the record of what has been, not of what might have been. But a higher judgment knows more than this. It knows not only the actual, but also the possible ; knows how Tyre and Sidon would have repented in sackcloth and ashes if they had seen the mighty works which were displayed in vain before the dwellers in Chorazin and Bethsaida ; knows how even Sodom itself might have been saved from its fiery doom, had it enjoyed the lofty privileges which were fruitlessly vouchsafed to Capernaum. And at this day the mind of Christendom, as exhibited among pious believers trained in the most different atmospheres of thought, is deeply cherishing the pious hope, that the instruction withheld from such multitudes in this life may be granted to them in the intermediate state ; that He, who once went and preached to the spirits in prison may impart to those who have acted up to such light as they possessed, and who without law have done by nature the things of the law and shown that its work was written in their hearts, that fuller revelation of Himself, which in this life had never reached them.

A second species of this ignorance offers graver difficulties, if we attempt to form a judgment concerning it. We refer to the ignorance of denizens in Christian lands who, from poverty and surrounding circumstances, seem in great measure debarred from anything like education in things divine. The position of a man thus situated seems different from that of the barbarous Patagonian or Hottentot, who may have been physically removed from the very sound of the Gospel ; and yet it is possible that his darkness may often be even more intense. The local prejudices may create a sort of positive repulsion to religion, which is more antagonistic than entire lack of knowledge. Misery itself, though so often a cause of conversion to God, has in many cases proved chilling, and has, as the poet tells us, frozen the genial current of the soul. M. Droz, in his interesting little pamphlet, entitled *Aveux d'un Philosophe Chrétien*, declares his conviction that extreme poverty is a fruitful source of impiety ; that a call on people, who are in want of the absolute necessities of life, to think on God, has often been met by the terrible reply, that His existence is incompatible with so much distress ; or that, if He exists, those who neglect Him are only requiting Him for His neglect of them. Oftentimes, adds M. Droz, alms and kind counsel bestowed on such persons have succeeded in drawing them out of their crushing position,—have become instruments in leading

their thoughts heavenward. Certainly acts of love towards man have well been called stepping-stones towards the love of God, and may thus become doubly blest, both to the recipient and also to the giver. On the whole, though there seems here more ground for fear, we may trust that the condition of many of these ignorant ones is practically somewhat similar to that of the citizens of heathendom, and that it may be regarded and dealt with in the same way by the Judge of all.

But the third form of this ignorance is by far the saddest and most terrible. The mystic fruit offered to Eve is represented as involving not only a temptation to the appetite and a charm for the outward power of vision, but likewise the promise of a gift of fresh and perilous knowledge; and the record of the temptations set before the second Adam in the wilderness tells not merely of one addressed to the hunger of the mortal frame, and another to the natural desire for earthly sovereignty, but it includes also that more refined and seductive snare, so specially suited to the noblest natures, of spiritual pride; the invitation to call needlessly for supernatural support, and to work a miracle—not for the glory of the Father nor the benefit of any single one of His creatures, but simply for self-display. And throughout the world's history we seem to meet with those, who have triumphed over the seductions of Belial and of Mammon, but who have not been proof against the whisperings of a subtler spirit. The craving for novelty, the wish for singularity and seeming originality, the love of influence, the fascination wrought by the sense of power over other minds—all these may become as real a peril and temptation to certain spirits as the pleasures of sense or of the more vulgar forms of ambition to others. True it is, that, in speaking thus, we by no means wish to ignore what seems to us the very just distinction between *heresis* and *heretica pravitas*. Many may have fallen into heresy, that is to say, the denial of saving truth, through sheer misfortune in training or lack of apprehension of the true meaning and correlation of sacred doctrines. 'I had barked,' writes S. Augustine, 'not against Thy truth, but against fictions of carnal men, which I mistook for Thy truth.' And thus it may be on the one hand that a man like Apollinaris,—utterly ruinous to all sound theology as would have been his notion that the divine Logos performed for our Lord the office of a rational soul,—may possibly have meant well, and have intended to show special reverence to his Saviour, though in fact there can be no real reverence which does not repose upon a basis of truth. But no one can put in this plea for Arius going

about with his partisans and asking women whether they had a son before he was born, or composing drinking songs wherein to embody and spread his miserable distortion of truth. In proportion to the power displayed, to the knowledge, the acuteness, is, in such cases, the poignancy of our regret, and our sense of the grievousness of the fall.

‘For I say, this is the death and the sole death,
When a man’s loss comes to him from his gain,
Darkness from light, from knowledge ignorance,
And lack of love from love made manifest.’¹

Yet, even in this case, who knows how much may have been due to influences, which were not under the control of the sceptic? What a picture, for instance, of external guidance and pressure towards unbelief is revealed in Mill’s *Autobiography*!

And here, then, at the risk of seeming to dwell needlessly on the mere elements and alphabet of religion, we will venture to say a few words on the three principal lines of proof for the being of God—(1) the argument from design, (2) the *a priori* argument, and (3) that derived from the existence of conscience and the moral law.

1. The argument from design is certainly of all arguments the most obvious and natural, and the one most easily comprehended by the ordinary understanding. It is that which Socrates allegèd, as Xenophon informs us, in his conversation with Aristodemus the Little;² to which, in modern times, Paley and so many more (as, for instance, the authors of the *Bridgewater Treatises*) have made appeal. We do not wish to forget or to conceal that it has been exposed to a sharp fire of technical objections. To say nothing of Spinoza and the Pantheistic school, so dominant in many climes for long periods of man’s history, or of the Manichæans from Faustus to James Mill, or the arguments of Kant and others, we must frankly admit that men of undoubted piety, such as the Methodist, Richard Watson, and John Wesley (at least in occasional fits of youthful gloom), and, we suppose we must add, John Henry Newman, and among ourselves Mr. Baring-Gould and others, appear to have thought this argument not thoroughly conclusive, when urged against the atheistic hypothesis of eternal successions.

Yet surely it is a grave and serious responsibility for men to take upon themselves to pronounce an argument insuffi-

¹ Robert Browning: *A Death in the Desert*.

² *Memorabilia*, lib. i. cap. iv.

cient, which an inspired Apostle has declared to possess moral force enough to leave the heathen without excuse. 'We define God,' says Tertullian, 'as an object of knowledge primarily from nature, and subsequently as one to be known again through teaching: *by nature from His works*, by teaching through preachments.'¹ Such is the usual language of the early Fathers. For our own part, feeling, with a devout and most learned Anglican layman,² that no regret at the conduct and issues of the Vatican Council ought to blind us to its merits, we were glad to see it proclaiming, at the very outset, its conviction that God, the beginning and end of all things, may certainly be known by the natural lights of human reason through created things, and citing, in this connection, the language of S. Paul.³ With all respect for the great and good men who seem disinclined to rest upon the argument from design, we cannot help asking whether the objections to it are of a healthy character, or whether they may not occasionally betoken the presence of a somewhat morbid and restless idiosyncrasy.

2. The *a priori* argument was first, as is well known, elaborated by S. Anselm, and subsequently employed by Descartes and Dr. Clarke. This line of reasoning has likewise been rejected by Kant. Mr. Gould, too, is dissatisfied with it, and Dr. Newman, without absolutely rejecting it, seems to think it hard to put forward in a tangible shape. We also observe a tendency in our serial literature to speak of it slightly, as if it were something gone by and ill adapted to our age.

But here, again, the language of many of our contemporaries seems to us somewhat hasty and inconsiderate. Granting, as we willingly do, that this line of reasoning is not one suited for an utterly uneducated audience, we yet think that it has considerably more force than it seems the fashion to admit just now, and that it is capable of being presented in forms which prove thoroughly interesting to hearers and readers who have enjoyed a fair modicum of culture, and who are accustomed to give at least some little occasional exercise to their reasoning powers. We have here, we believe, on our side both Archbishop Thomson and the late Bishop Thirlwall,

¹ 'Nos definimus Deum primò naturâ cognoscendum, dehinc doctrinâ recognoscendum: *naturâ ex operibus*, doctrinâ ex prædicationibus.'—*Adv. Marc.* i. 18 (cited by Klee, *Dogmatik*, part ii. chap. i.)

² Lord Crawford, in his *Ecumenicity*.

³ 'Eadem sancta Mater Ecclesia tenet et docet, Deum rerum omnium principium et finem, naturali humanæ rationis lumine è rebus creatis certò cognosci posse' (Rom. i. 20 is then quoted).—Cap. ii., *De Revelatione*.

certainly, in such a matter, authorities of no mean weight. With the last-named prelate we consider that there is real power and cogency in a comparatively recent application of the *a priori* method by a Scottish layman, Mr. W. H. Gillespie.¹ And, lest we should seem to be making mere assertions without giving our readers any opportunity of judging for themselves, we propose to set down (a) a few words adopted from the popularization of the Anselmian argument by M. Nicolas, and (b) a very brief *résumé* of the admirable restatement of Dr. Clarke's argument by Canon Mozley.

(a.) We have all some idea of what is meant by the word *infinite*. We are able to conceive it in all the conditions of existence—the infinite in duration, the infinite in space, and, in short, infinity in every sort of perfection. Whenever we employ such very common words as *im-perfect*, *dis-ordered*, *un-just*, *im-potent*, *im-pure*, we imply the existence of a prior idea of something *absolute* in perfection, in order, in justice, in power, in holiness, the existence of something self-subsisting and *infinite*. Indeed, the mere words *relative* and *finite*, of which we so constantly avail ourselves, necessarily presuppose that which is *absolute* and *infinite*. The term *indefinite* is clearly insufficient to express the idea within our minds: it merely pushes backward the notion of a boundary, whereas the word *infinite* suppresses it entirely.

And is this idea a mere subjective creation, a pure phantom of the mind? Surely not. It is absurd to suppose that we can measure all the realities around us by a phantom, all relative qualities by a mere non-existent abstraction. And, further, an idea impressed upon our minds must arise either from the actual object, which is true, or else from some imitation, which is borrowed and false. But in the instance now under consideration such imitation cannot exist. We gain, then, our idea of the infinite, the perfect, the absolute, from a reality; and that reality must be His own archetype and origin, the One self-existent substance, the One *I am that I am*.

(b.) Among the primary ideas of the mind is the idea of Cause. This is admitted perhaps by almost every school of philosophy, though the Sense school of Hume may indeed try to explain it away. And if, with Kant, we adopt as a specimen of a necessary truth the proposition that 'every change in phenomena must have a cause,' it is undeniable that we are impelled, when we have discovered a cause, to inquire

¹ *The Necessary Existence of God*. (London: Houlston and Wright.) Fourth Edition. 1863.

further if there were a cause of the cause ; and, if one be found, we regard the latter as the true cause until a further cause of that one can be found.

For example, a person looking out of the window sees a dog suddenly fall into convulsions and die. But just the moment before he had observed the dog pick up something and swallow it. He infers that this food may have been poisoned, and was in all probability the cause of the creature's death ; and subsequent examination by experts confirms the correctness of this view. But another person saw a boy throw out of a house the substance, which the dog picked up. This boy is for the moment regarded as the author of the creature's death. But on being taxed with it, he is able to prove that he was guiltless of any mischievous intent, inasmuch as an elder boy gave him the piece of meat and begged him to throw it in the dog's way. This senior lad is now regarded as the cause of the death, and everything between is considered as a mere link in the chain. And thus we go on in innumerable instances, always assuming the correctness of two leading principles, namely, that the cause of the cause is the cause of the thing caused, and that the ultimate cause is the only real cause ; or, as they stand in scholastic Latin, *causa causæ causa causati ; causa ultima sola vera causa*.

But either, then, the idea of cause must be wholly abandoned, or else we must rest in some one ultimate cause, which is the only true cause, and this ultimate cause of all things is God.

We commend these arguments, more especially this last one, to the attentive consideration of our readers. If it be said that it only leads to a somewhat cold representation of the great Being, who is above us, that it impresses on the mind a sense of power and eternity, but not necessarily of goodness, with this objection (*pace S. Anselmi*) we will not pause to concern ourselves. All that we are asking is—has it really been answered ? Is it true that it makes no impression upon men of a fairly average degree of culture ? Speaking for himself, the present writer believes that it has not been answered, and that (though considerably less obvious than the argument from design) it can be and is appreciated by large numbers of people.

Further, it must be borne in mind that the *à priori* argument for the being of God does in nowise clash with the argument derived from design. Many writers, from Aquinas to M. Cousin, have made this observation. The last-named, in speaking of the objection felt by Reid, Hutcheson, and the

Scottish school in general for the *a priori* method, adds that 'they forget that an idea, if it is natural and necessary, if it makes part of the moral and intellectual constitution, is also a phenomenon which we are called upon to explain, and which may as legitimately lead us to God as the phenomena of our physical constitution and those of the external world.'¹

3. There remains the argument from conscience and the existence of the moral law. This is the line of thought, which at the present moment seems to commend itself the most to believers in real Theism, who stand, in other respects, at wide distances from each other, as, for example, Dr. Newman and Mr. Martineau. Possibly they may, at least thus far, be right, that it is the argument which implicitly, though not of course explicitly, comes home with most force to the earliest dawns of thought and feeling in the brain and heart of a child, and which grows with its growth with a strength proportioned to the way in which it is acted upon. The merest child, who is conscious of having done wrong, of having committed a theft or told a lie, believes that he has broken a law which is binding not on himself alone, but on all around. Hence the strong feeling entertained by children in regard to justice. They will bear, without murmuring, considerable severity at the hands of a parent or a governess, provided that they see the recognition of the moral law in the case of brothers and sisters, and chastisement for breaches of it duly inflicted upon all with strict impartiality. And although it may be an over-statement to assert with Dr. Ward that '*no human being* has ever yet been found who thoroughly holds the Objective Reality of moral distinctions, without going on further, to recognize a Personal God, the Moral Governor of mankind,' we thoroughly agree with Dr. Ward, Dr. Newman, and Mr. Martineau in believing that acceptance of a real Theism is the natural and legitimate inference deducible from belief in the existence of the moral law. And as there is some satisfaction in days of controversy in citing concordant evidence from those whose position lies on either side of us, we purposely quote a few words from each of the two last-named authors.

'Whether a man be born in Pagan darkness or in some corrup-

¹ 'L'école entière, comme son fondateur, s'élève à Dieu en parlant de l'homme et du monde, et non d'une idée quelle qu'elle soit, oubliant peut-être qu'une idée, si elle est naturelle et nécessaire, si elle fait partie de la constitution intellectuelle et morale de l'homme, est aussi un phénomène qu'il s'agit d'expliquer et qui peut nous conduire à Dieu tout aussi légitimement que les phénomènes de notre constitution physique et ceux du monde extérieure.'—*Philosophie Ecossaise*, p. 27. (Paris, 1857.)

tion of revealed religion—whether he has heard the name of the Saviour of the world or not—whether he be the slave of some superstition . . . in any case he has within his breast a certain commanding dictate; not a mere sentiment, not a mere opinion, or impression, or view of things, but a law and authoritative voice bidding him do certain things and avoid others. I do not say that its particular injunctions are always clear, or that they are always consistent with each other; but what I am insisting on here is this, that it commands, that it praises, it blames, it promises, it threatens, it implies a future, and it witnesses of the unseen. . . . This is conscience; and, 'from the nature of the case, its very existence carries on our minds to a Being *exterior* to ourselves, else whence its strange troublesome peremptoriness? . . . To those who use what they have, more is given; for, beginning with obedience, *they go on to the intimate perception and belief of One God. His Voice within them witnesses to Him, and they believe His own witness about Himself.* They believe in His existence, not because others say it, not on the word of man merely, but with a personal apprehension of its truth.'¹

Thus far Dr. Newman. The language of Mr. Martineau is similar:

'No ethical conceptions are possible at all, except as floating shreds of unattached thought, without a religious background; and the sense of responsibility, the agony of shame, the inner reverence for justice first find their meaning and vindication in a supreme holiness that rules the world. Nor can any one be penetrated with the distinction between right and wrong, without recognizing it as valid for all free beings, and incapable of local or arbitrary change. His feeling insists on its permanent recognition and omnipresent sway; and this unity in the moral law carries him to the unity of the Divine Legislator. Theism is thus the indispensable postulate of conscience, its objective counterpart and justification, without which its inspirations would be illusions, and its veracities themselves a lie.'²

It seems to have been on the ground of conscience, as well as on the witness of external nature and the testimony of tradition, that the early Christian apologists relied when, in arguing against the heathen, they assumed that the being and unity of God scarcely required any formal proof. Undoubtedly they could appeal to many passages in heathen poets and orators, which look like a more or less conscious rejection of polytheism. Not only the Stoic Cleanthes, in his noble hymn, but even the careless and Epicurean Horace, can at moments

¹ *Occasional Sermons*, pp. 72-75.

² *Studies of Christianity*, p. 9. Dr. Ward, who quotes these passages, has also well stated the case himself, at p. 75 of his *Nature and Grace*.

recognize a supreme and solitary Father, to whom nothing can be ranked as similar or even as occupying a second place. S. Justin, S. Clement, S. Basil, S. Athanasius, S. Jerome, and S. Cyril all speak in this strain. It must be sufficient for the present to remind our readers of the well-known and striking language of Tertullian in that beautiful passage of his *Apology*, wherein he remarks how, in moments of thoughtfulness or of sorrow, the exclamation that naturally arose to Pagan lips was no appeal to Mars or to Apollo, but simply 'May God save me! may God direct me!' and the like. 'O testimony of the soul naturally Christian!' is the famous comment of that vigorous writer (*O testimonium anime naturaliter Christianæ*!).

But if the existence of God once be granted, the next question that naturally arises is—'what is the condition of the soul which recognizes Him.' And here the witness to its state of alienation from its Maker is also strong and cogent even on grounds of mere reason and observation, and seems to be naturally suggested by that strange capacity for good and evil which dwells within the human heart. Euripides and Plato, Cicero and Ovid all furnish evidence on this as on many other principles of religion:

'The old Greek and Roman polytheists had, as they show in their literature, clear and strong notions, nay, vivid mental images, of a particular providence, of the power of prayer, of the rule of Divine governance, of the law of conscience, of sin and guilt, of expiation by means of sacrifices, and of future retribution; I will even add, of the unity and personality of the Supreme Being. This it is that throws such a magnificent light over the Homeric poems, the tragic choruses, and the Odes of Pindar; and it has its counterpart in the philosophy of Socrates and the Stoics, and in such historians as Herodotus.'¹

And so far as regards the special dogma of which we are now speaking, Dean Stanley has well observed:

'It is a statement of a universal fact in human experience. It is the dark side of the world, known by philosophers as well as by theologians, dear to Rochefoucault and Machiavelli no less than to Calvin. The error, if there was an error, in Rochefoucault, the error, if there was an error, in Calvin, was not that they asserted the fact of human corruption, but that they exhibited it out of its due proportions, and dwelt on a dark, and melancholy, and depressing subject, as if it were a matter of glory and pride and delight.'²

¹ Dr. Newman, *Grammar of Assent*, p. 242. Compare Dr. Pusey's latest volume of *University Sermons on the Testimony of Homer*, p. 38.

² *Human Corruption*. A Sermon preached before the University of Oxford by A. P. Stanley, D.D., in 1863.

A poet of our day, whom we have already quoted, has made a reference to this problem in our nature. He tells us of a maiden in Brittany, whose outward form seemed to be the type of all inward excellence, whose life was pure and outwardly irreproachable, and who died young, being apparently only too good for this lower world. A pardonable weakness for her abundant locks of yellow hair led her to request, that that ornament might rest with her untouched. And yet it proved, that some mad passion of avarice had induced the girl to twine within her hair some thirty double *louis-d'or*, which were discovered several years afterwards when the pavement of the church needed repair. The poem proceeds, as many will recollect, as follows :—

- ' Enough ! The priest took the grave's grim yield ;
The parents, they eyed that price of sin
As if thirty pieces lay revealed
On the place to bury strangers in,
The hideous Potter's Field.
- ' But the priest bethought him : " Milk that's spilt—
You know the adage ! Watch and pray !
Saints tumble to earth with so slight a tilt !
It would build a new altar : that we may !"
And the altar therewith was built.
- ' Why I deliver this horrible verse ?
As the text of a sermon, which now I preach :
Evil or good may be better or worse
In the human heart, but the mixture of each
Is a marvel and a curse.
- ' The candid incline to surmise of late
That the Christian faith may be false, I find ;
For our Essays and Reviews' debate
Begin to tell on the public mind,
And Colenso's words have weight.
- ' I still, to suppose it true, for my part,
See reasons and reasons, this to begin :
'Tis the faith that launched point-blank her dart
At the head of a lie—taught original sin,
The corruption of man's heart.'¹

Dr. Newman (whose concurrence with Mr. Browning in another respect has been justly commented on by Mr. Swinburne) has expressed the same idea in a passage of his *Apologia*, of which the first paragraph was justly called in a *critique* of the time one of the finest sentences in the English language.

¹ Robert Browning, *Dramatis Personæ* : 'Gold Hair, a Legend of Pornic.'

'To consider the world in its length and breadth, its various history, the many races of man, their starts, their fortunes, their mutual alienation, their conflicts; and then their ways, habits, governments, forms of worship; their enterprises, their aimless courses, their random achievements and acquirements, the impotent conclusion of long-standing facts, the tokens, so faint and broken, of a superintending design, the blind evolution of what turn out to be great powers or truths, the progress of things, as if from unreasoning elements, not towards final causes, the greatness and littleness of man, his far-reaching aims, his short duration, the curtain hung over his futurity, the disappointments of life, the defeat of good, the success of evil, physical pain, mental anguish, the prevalence and intensity of sin, the pervading idolatries, the corruptions, the dreary hopeless irreligion, that condition of the whole race, so fearfully yet exactly described in the Apostle's words, "having no hope and without God in the world"—all this is a vision to dizzy and appall, and inflicts upon the mind the sense of a profound mystery which is absolutely beyond human solution.

'What shall be said to this heart-piercing, reason-bewildering fact? I can only answer that either there is no Creator, or this living society of man is in a true sense discarded from His presence. Did I see a boy of good make and mind, with the tokens on him of a refined nature, cast upon the world without provision, unable to say whence he came, his birthplace, or his family connections, I should conclude that there was some mystery connected with his history, and that he was one of whom, from one cause or other, his parents were ashamed. And so I argue about the world:—*if* there be a God, *since* there is a God, the human race is implicated in some terrible aboriginal calamity. It is out of joint with the purposes of its Creator. This is a fact, a fact as true as the fact of its existence; and thus the doctrine of what is theologically called original sin becomes to me almost as certain as that the world exists, and as the existence of God.'¹

And now, supposing that human reason and conscience rightfully lead men, in the first place, to believe in God as a personal Creator, Governor, and Father, and, secondly, to recognize that the human race is in a state of alienation from Him, observation may impress upon their minds one or two other very important facts connected with these two first principles. Such, for example, are these following:—

There exist in the world a certain number of races occupying the very foremost place in civilization, in power, in literature, in art and science, in wealth, and in all the general conditions of progress. These nations, amidst whatever amount of inconsistency and short-coming, do profess and call themselves Christian, and the Christian religion is interwoven with their past history. Many millions among them

¹ pp. 240–243. Abridged edition.

do, as their forefathers have done for centuries, worship Christ as their manifested God, and name His name as their one ground of hope for salvation.¹ Now, assuming a real Theism to be already acknowledged, does there not follow logically, from what has just been stated, the proposition attributed to the first Napoleon?—

‘There is no God in heaven, if a mere man has been able to conceive and execute with full success the gigantic design of securing for himself supreme worship by usurping the name of God. Jesus Christ is the only one who has dared this.’²

Thus far we have not, except in the way of allusion, trenched upon the evidence for the Being of God, or Original Sin, or the Incarnation provided by Revelation. But of course we fully admit the tendency of the human mind, if left to itself, to fall from its own spiritual attainments. It ought, then, gladly to welcome that authoritative republication of natural religion provided for it in Revelation: and though a poet, who speaks of this fresh source of knowledge as that to which reason can do no more than lead us, has somewhat, to our thinking, overstated his case, we must admit that in practice his view has often proved correct:

‘Dim, as the borrow’d beams of moon and stars
To lonely, weary, wandering travellers,
Is reason to the soul: and as on high
Those rolling fires discover but the sky,
Not light us here, so reason’s glimmering ray
Was lent, not to assure our doubtful way,
But guide us upwards to a better day.’³

Professor Max Müller, Miss Cobbe, and others point to evidence in favour of Monotheism having been the real creed in ancient Hindostan and elsewhere in the East. We fully believe it, but unhappily it did not abide there any more than in Greece or Rome. How ill calculated natural religion is to stand alone and unaided, may be shown, we think, by an examination of the *Emile* of Rousseau, or the *Religion Naturelle* of M. Jules Simon. But starting from a certain point in the world’s history, we find the truths of natural religion, the Being of God, and man’s need to love Him, no longer cherished in a

¹ While these pages are passing through the press, we observe a striking and emphatic restatement of the positions asserted in this paragraph by M. Othenin d’Haussonville in the *Revue des Deux-Mondes* for 1^{er} Juin 1876; in an article on M. Michelet (p. 483).

² The entire paper is given by M. Nicolas, *Etudes Philosophiques*, tome iv.

³ Dryden, *Religio Laici*.

small corner of the world, but spreading everywhere and made known to tens of thousands of our very children with a clearness and emphasis for which Plato had vainly sighed.

For this fact also—for it surely is a fact—Christians have an explanation. They believe that He, who alone among the sons of men has won for Himself supreme and enduring worship as God, came from His throne above, and took upon Himself human nature, not only to atone for mankind by His holy life and, specifically, by His holy death, not only to set a spotless example and show how the creature should behave towards the Creator, not only to confront Satan in the wilderness and in Hades, not only to offer prayer and sacrifice as Priest of priests and to rule His people as King of kings, but likewise as the Prophet of prophets, to reveal, with a distinctness and power never known before, the Father as He is in Himself, and as He stands in His relations to His creatures in all His glorious attributes of perfect wisdom and goodness, of justice, and mercy, and love.¹

Consequently, it is difficult and well-nigh impossible for individual Christians to analyse with precision, how much of their knowledge of their Creator is due to natural reason and conscience, how much to that vivid sense of individual personality which of itself suggests a Divine personality on high, how much to the ancient traditions of the great human family, how much to the revelation contained in the older Scriptures, how much to the fuller disclosures made by Christ and His

¹ It may be urged against us, that Mr. Martineau, whom we cited with respect on the Being of God, rejects this conclusion, and throws his lot entirely with Socinians as his teachers. But is this really the case? We can only once more quote Mr. Martineau's own words: 'I am constrained to say, that neither my intellectual preference nor my moral admiration goes heartily with the Unitarian heroes, sects, or productions of any age. Ebionites, Arians, Socinians, all seem to me to contrast unfavourably with their opponents, and to exhibit a type of thought far less worthy, on the whole, of the true genius of Christianity. I am conscious that my deepest obligations are in almost every department to writers not of my own creed. In philosophy I have had to unlearn most that I had imbibed from my early text-books, and the authors most in favour with them. In Biblical interpretation I derive from Calvin and Whitby the help that fails me in Crell and Belsham. In devotion, literature, and religious thought, I find nothing of ours that does not pale before Augustine, Tauler, Pascal. And in the poetry of the Church it is the Latin or German hymns, or the lines of Charles Wesley or Keble, that fasten on my memory and heart, and make all else seem poor and cold. . . . I cannot help this. I can only say, I am sure it is no perversity; and I believe the preference is founded on reason and nature, and is already widely spread among us.'—*Letter to Mr. Macdonald on the Unitarian Position*. London: Whitfield, 1859.

Apostles, how much to the influence of the Holy Spirit on the heart, how much to the teaching of the Church, how much to intercommunion with God through prayer in private and in public, and how much to the sacraments and other appointed channels of grace. But this he knows, that these varied rays all converge into one ever brightening focus of light. And when he looks around him and thinks in what way he and his fellow-men pursue the business of their earthly careers, how greatly in all departments of thought and action they are again and again compelled to take matters on trust, how the world boasts of modern systems of creating private and national wealth being based on *credit*, that is to say, on faith—it seems to him a grave and solemn thing to reflect on the possibility of any created soul having hereafter to stand before its Maker, and to be compelled to confess: ‘Day by day I acted on convictions of which the evidence, though often but comparatively feeble and confused, was still felt to be enough to warrant my course of conduct; but the proofs of Thy Being around me and within me, the evidence of Thy care and of Thy desire for my love, I thrust upon one side, as insufficient and as needless for my life.’

But for ourselves, accepting all these sources of instruction and of guidance, we proceed to speak as those, who believe in the Being of God, in man’s state of alienation from Him, and in the Incarnation of His Son. And acknowledging the records concerning Christ, we shall now proceed to speak as those who suppose it to be possible that many of His acts on earth are impressed with a typical as well as a prophetic character. It has been observed by the most learned of the living Anglican divines, that attempts to apply to holy men, who have suffered for the truth, words of prophecy, which only find their complete fulfilment in Christ, can never be destitute of a certain measure of plausibility, inasmuch as all holiness, and most especially such as through suffering bears witness to truth, must needs resemble, even if in ever so faint and dim an outline, the supreme holiness of the King of martyrs.

In like manner, what He did and suffered on earth appears to be often in a figure repeated. Still are there days in which, at least to the outward eye, Christ, though he comes in meek and lowly guise, seems to ride in triumph. Almost all for the moment acknowledge Him, and even enemies dare only murmur.

‘With glittering robes and garlands sweet
They strew the ground beneath His feet :
Constrain’d to own Him, but in heart
Prepared to take Barabbas’ part.’

And again too, ever and anon, mankind sits in judgment on Him. Still are to be found those among his servants who have not realized their own weakness, but deny Him in the hour of trial, though they may live to return and to repent; still those who set him at nought and mock Him, and who base the renewal of friendships with men, with whom they have been at enmity, on the one common ground of hostility to Him; still the unjust judge, who in his heart believes Him innocent, and even makes an outward demonstration of his conviction by the vain and impotent ceremony of washing of hands, but who lacks the moral courage to withstand the lawless cry of the multitude and the insinuation that he is not Cæsar's friend; and still too some, who, while professing to honour Him with lip-homage, would fain insinuate charges of untruthfulness against His character and betray the Son of Man with a kiss!

There are also times, when He comes again into His Father's house and is found sitting in the midst of the doctors, both hearing them and asking them questions; and seasons too alas! when that house of prayer has become an house of merchandise, and must be cleansed by the scourge of His avenging zeal. And lastly, although never to the Church universal, against which the gates of hell shall not prevail, yet to the local Church of this or that land, there may come and there does come a day of awe, when faith having waxed cold, and love having been lost, Jesus goes out and departs from the Temple; and wherever that shall happen, be it in Asia or in Egypt, in Byzantium or in London, a judgment is impending, and the tramp of hostile horsemen is already heard in the distance, marching with permission to overthrow.

It is to these last-named aspects of the *Vita vitæ nostra* that we desire at present to direct attention.

Among the absolutely new conceptions gained from the pages of the New Testament must be placed, in a very prominent and leading position, that of the world, regarded as the enemy of Christ. It comes before the mind's eye portrayed as a distinct kingdom, with a code and standard of its own, by no means uniform, changing greatly in different climes and from age to age, but still marked in its spirit of alienation, and deeply (though not always outwardly) cherishing an evil heart of unbelief. Nevertheless, it is profoundly impressed by all the agencies of that other kingdom to which it stands opposed. Its conclusions, if reached by other roads, and claiming for themselves an independent basis and authority, are by no

means always absolutely divergent from those of the Gospel. Further, in erecting from time to time the standard of open unbelief, it has exhibited a consciousness that its chosen champions, whom it desires to honour with the rewards of name and fame, must not, if they are to effect anything, be mere victims of the pleasures of sense or simply aspirants after the vulgar prizes of ambition, but must be men who are not only endowed with some high intellectual gifts, but who are also conspicuous for some really noble qualities, and who may fairly lay claim to many of those elements of character which constitute greatness. S. Augustine calls on his hearers to recognize the fact that heresies cannot have been produced by any petty souls, but only by great men: '*Non enim putetis, fratres, quia potuerunt fieri hæreses per aliquas parvas animas. Non fecerunt hæreses nisi magni homines.*'¹ And what he here asserts of the leaders in the path of *misbelief*, is at least equally true of the most renowned among the propagators and partisans of *unbelief*.

It accords with what has just been said, that there has scarcely ever arisen a really important movement in the domain of art, of science, of letters, of politics, which has not produced a great impression, even on the spirits of those who opposed it. Much more, as has already been implied, does this principle hold good concerning religious movements, in proportion as their subject matter sinks more deeply than any other into the human heart. Of the Christianity of the first century a living historian has truly said that, 'when it counted its converts by thousands, its unconscious disciples were already millions ;'² and a journal of the day, not usually considered favourable to Christianity, has generously recognized the great moral effect often produced in India among a non-Christian population, by the establishment of a Christian mission in its centre. Consequently also individual combatants have borne the traces of these dints upon their shields. Who are the three whose names naturally rise to the lips, when champions of unbelief, in the earlier ages of Christendom, are called to mind? There can only be one reply—Celsus, Porphyry, and Julian. They are the three mentioned by S. Jerome when he begins his *Liber de Viris Illustribus*, to show that Christianity too has had men of mark among her writers ; they are the three, who at once occur to the eloquent Dominican of our own time, as men who have won for them-

¹ *Enarratio in Psalmum CXXIV*: Of Donatus, Maximian, Arius, and others, he says, 'Omnes istos Montes nominavi, sed naufragosos.'

² Dean Merivale, *History of Rome under the Empire*, chap. i. *sub. fin.*

selves undying fame by their opposition to the religion of the Cross.

Why is not Lucian classed with them? Why is his name generally kept apart from such association alike by friend or foe? No one can doubt but that he has left behind him writings which are at least as hostile to Christianity as those of any of the famous three. We believe that he has failed to find a place in the list, on the one hand because Christians did not care to defend themselves against an assailant who was simply a scoffer all round and as contemptuous of Paganism as of the religion of the Cross; while, on the other hand, the graver and more serious among the heathen became somewhat ashamed of partisanship of such a stamp.

Hence, in passing, we may be permitted to express a doubt whether the poets who have pleaded the cause of Paganism against Christianity have not in many cases committed sins, not only against faith and morals, but also against historical truth and artistic propriety. Not that we doubt for a moment that the opposition to Christianity in all ages—and in our own age at least as much as any other—arises frequently from a simple hatred of the strictness of its morality; but that it has seldom been the case, that its assailants have *avowedly* chosen this, as their field of battle. In Schiller's *Gods of Greece*, in Goethe's *Bride of Corinth*, in the more terrible and repulsively blasphemous *Hymn to Proserpine*, placed in the mouth of an imaginary heathen by a living English poet, it is assumed throughout, that the religion of ancient Greece was all joy, the religion of Christ all sorrow. Now,—waiving for the moment the unfairness of such a representation of that creed in which joy is again and again enumerated among the special gifts of the Spirit,—we must enter our emphatic protest against this teaching as a gross and grievous libel upon all the noblest elements and grandest minds of ancient Hellas. Let any honest student of antiquity turn to Herodotus, with his keynote of retribution (*τίσις*) constantly recurring through the whole of his symphony; let him read again the *Odes* of Pindar, the grand trilogy of the *Oresteia* of Æschylus, the *Gorgias* and the *Republic* of Plato, and then ask himself whether Schiller can for a moment be justified in saying to the Gods of Greece:

‘Your gentle service gay

Nor self-denial, nor sharp penance knew.’¹

One wonders whether the poet had ever heard of heathen

¹ The late Lord Lytton's free, but not inaccurate rendering of the lines in *Die Götter Griechenlands* :—

sacrifices of expiation or of the Cave of Trophonius and the ideas associated with it. Perhaps, however, the writer who furnishes the most distinct evidence on this score is the very one who, as a disciple of Epicurus, did his best to banish from men's thoughts the more solemn and awesome features of Pagan theology. The unhappy Lucretius, far from holding that Paganism excluded severity from its teaching, could think of no other way of getting rid of such elements of thought than by overthrowing the entire system. His recognition of fear and sadness in the popular theology is most keen and piercing. But it is time to return from the poets to the actual writers against Christianity.

Celsus appears to have been, in his own way, an extremely credulous man. But mere credulity not only is not faith, it often proves an enemy to faith. Coarsely irreverent, and utterly untouched by the Gospel narrative of the sufferings of Christ, he is most strong upon the duty of paying homage to the *daimonia*, to whom, according to his creed, the charge of the universe has been committed, and whose presence he seems to

‘Finster Ernst und trauriges Entsagen
War aus eurem heitern Dienst verbannt.’

Schiller has, more or less, rebuked his own sophistry in this matter in many of his poems and ballads; more especially in the story borrowed from Herodotus—*The Ring of Polycrates*. Many will remember Elizabeth Browning's poem in reply, *The Dead Pan*, and her words: ‘It is in all veneration to the memory of the deathless Schiller, that I oppose a doctrine still more dishonouring to poetry than to Christianity.’ We did not intend to make any further reference to Mr. Swinburne's *Hymn to Proserpine*. But, to our very deep regret, we have seen, since the above words were written, an allusion to the poem made by a Professor of honoured name, in a respected and widely circulated Magazine, which expresses the most fervid admiration for it; without one syllable of censure or of warning. Now Mr. Swinburne's verses may, no doubt, be read simply as the dramatic expression of the sentiments of a Pagan, an Epicurean of the worst and most degraded type, on the overthrow of Paganism and the triumph of Christianity. We wish that we could honestly add—but we cannot—that it is nothing more than this; and that we feel sure that the *animus* of the poet is not, to a most painful extent, identified with that of the imaginary speaker. But we have applied to it the epithets in the text most deliberately, and are unable to withdraw them. There may indeed, in the lines most often quoted from this poem, be an unintentional homage to Christ.

‘Thou hast conquered, O pale Galilean, the world has grown grey 'neath thy breath,’

is an acknowledgment of the power of the Crucified; and His disciples know that the greyness is only for time, as the needful prelude to the red glory of eternity in store. But this is not what is intended, and the sensuousness (to use the gentlest term) of the *Hymn to Proserpine* is most marked. The recent companion poem of Mr. Swinburne, *The Last Oracle*, is in this respect somewhat less repellent.

recognize in every created thing. And yet, as is the case with almost all the abler opponents of Christianity, his admissions are very remarkable. We can only, at present, refer to two. Celsus, ignoring the immense change wrought in the minds of the Apostles by the events specially commemorated by the feasts of Easter and of Pentecost, ridicules the Christians of his day *for their willingness to die for their faith*, whereas Christ's own immediate followers did not die with Him, but even denied Him :¹ and though he treats with scorn the very notion of a resurrection of the body, he yet employs the most solemn and striking language concerning God and the immortal destiny of man's soul for weal or woe. With men who, while believing in the resurrection of their mortal frame, are yet ready to expose that (in their view) most precious possession to all kinds of tortures, as if it were worthless—with men, who to him seem thus self-convicted of inconsistency, he will not so much as argue. But with those who think that their soul or intellect will enjoy an eternal life with God, with those he will reason.

'In this at least they do think rightly, that those who have lived well will be happy, but that the unrighteous (*οἱ ἀδίκου*) will be utterly involved in everlasting ills. *And from this dogma let them nor any of mankind ever depart.*'²

Far more serious, more grave, was Porphyry, whose character has been somewhat raised through the publication, in 1816, by Mai, of the Letter to his wife Marcella. Trained for a brief space by Origen himself, and subsequently by Plotinus, fluctuating (as S. Augustine tells us)³ between inclination for the culture of magical arts and of philosophy, with some notion of what is meant by personal sinfulness—a point in which Celsus seems to have been utterly deficient—he might have been expected to prove a possible convert to Christianity. But in that fluctuation would probably have been found his weakness. Few can be content with mere negations. And Christians, as well as other religionists, have a right to ask the

¹ *Origenes cont. Celsum*, lib. ii. cap. 45.

² *Ibid.* lib. viii. cap. 49. Although the present writer claims to have made an independent study of this and most of the writings to which he refers, he desires to make a full acknowledgment of the benefit and assistance derived by him from the *Bampton Lectures* of Professor Farrar (London : Murray, 1862), to which he may possibly owe more than he is aware. He is the more anxious to do this, because this truly learned, able, and original book does not seem to him to have received its due share of honour and attention. Archdeacon Hessey has openly avowed his obligations to it : but he seems almost to stand alone.

³ *De Civitate Dei*, lib. x. cap. 9, 11, 26–28.

question, 'If we yield to your objections, and resign our belief, what do you propose to give us in its stead?' Now if Porphyry had answered 'Philosophy,' the obvious reply would be, that Philosophy had already tried to regenerate the world and had failed: that even Platonism had never found wide acceptance; and that Stoicism, with all its nobleness, had died with its imperial patron, Marcus Aurelius. But if he answered, 'An intercourse with the world unseen,' *Magia*, then this *Magia* or *Goetia* (or, as he preferred to call it, *Theurgia*) bears so perilous a resemblance to all that Christians, and even many pious heathens, had learnt to shun as possibly placing them under the power of evil spirits, that numbers would shrink from even the semblance of coming into contact with it. Porphyry himself seems to have had doubts about it in his better moments.

We have lost not only his own chief work against the Christian religion, which was destroyed by order of the Emperor Theodosius, but likewise the treatise by Methodius, Bishop of Tyre, and the thirty books by Apollinarius,—*fortissimos libros*, according to S. Jerome,¹—in reply. But in proportion to his greater learning and ingenuity and larger sense of the real difficulty of certain problems, he must have been a foe to the faith more to be dreaded than his predecessor Celsus.

And Julian—what Christian has ever denied his many lofty gifts and wonderful powers? From the days of the Christian poet Prudentius, his contemporary, to those of the latest Christian historian who has narrated his career at length, how fully have they been acknowledged. Among the bravest as a general, most justly renowned as a legislator, and, though an apostate from the faith, yet not faithless to the lower interests of the empire—such is the portrait drawn by the poet: a portrait of which even Gibbon admits the generosity. And as for the Duc de Broglie, we almost doubt whether, in his earnest desire to be fair, he has not drawn too engaging a picture of the emperor, who for a brief and passing season made Paganism once more triumphant; whether he has not to a greater degree than Gibbon himself unintentionally slurred over the faults of the Apostate and the meanness of his conduct towards S. Athanasius.

Yet the great fact remains, that these three did all contend to the utmost against the establishment of the Kingdom of Christ, and that whatever high endowments they in their different degrees possessed only rendered them the more

¹ *Epistola LXV. Pammachio et Oceano. Apologia adversus Ruffinum.*

formidable enemies of the faith: 'the things that should have been for their wealth became unto them an occasion of falling.' It would certainly be most unjust to the memory of Julian to accuse him of desiring to set up a paganism of the sort implied in Mr. Swinburne's *Hymn to Proserpine*; indeed any attempt to restore the abominations, which had been exposed in the overthrow of heathen temples, would have enlisted against him all the more honourable and virtuous spirits still attached to the traditions of heathendom. But it is not easy to find in the course of history a more direct throwing down of the gauntlet to Christ our Lord, than was done by the emperor, who resolved upon rebuilding the Temple at Jerusalem in order to prove Him a false prophet. The utter discomfiture and overthrow of that attempt is attested, as is well known, by the heathen historian Ammianus Marcellinus, as completely as by Christian witnesses. Whether the explosions which occurred in the course of the excavations resulted from natural causes, such as fire-damp directed to a particular end by the special Providence of God, or whether they were, as seems to us more probable, of a supernatural character, is a comparatively unimportant question.¹ Enough for us to know that the failure on the part of Julian was complete. Well might S. Chrysostom, in the next generation, urge it upon the consideration of the Jews.

One other feature in the career of Julian seems worthy of remark. De Maistre has said—and though he is a very unsafe guide, his *obiter dicta* are often most acute and valuable—that 'nothing is more infallible than the instinct of impiety.' Now against what one Christian teacher did Julian specially direct his energies? The answer to this question shall be supplied for us by Gibbon:—

'Julian, who despised the Christians, *honoured Athanasius with his sincere and peculiar hatred*. For his sake alone, he introduced an arbitrary distinction, repugnant at least to the spirit of his former declarations. . . . The language of his resentment discovers the opinion, which he entertained of the courage and abilities of Athanasius. . . . The death of Athanasius was not *expressly* commanded; but the Prefect of Egypt understood that it was safer for him to exceed, than to neglect the orders of an irritated master.'²

Well, we see in our own day many who are consciously, and many more who are unconsciously, treading in the footsteps

¹ Döllinger seems to suppose them *natural*; the late Professor Hussey, M. de Broglie, with a majority of Christian authorities, both ancient and modern, *supernatural*.

² *Decline and Fall*, chap. xxiii.

of Julian ; and in this, at least, they constantly reproduce one marked feature in the character of their prototype : they do most cordially detest the very name and memory of S. Athanasius.

The literary assaults of Julian—less extended and elaborate than those of Porphyry—were subsequently made the subject of a reply by S. Cyril of Alexandria ; and a Christian writer has lately translated the passages of the imperial critic given us by Cyril. But in fact the most forcible reply to Julian was to be found in the logic of events. Just as all his authority, wealth, and influence had failed to overcome the terrors of the workmen provided by him at Jerusalem ; so, too, at his death, all the fabric of Paganism which he had reared collapsed, and the banner of the Cross was again displayed at the head of the Roman legions.

Now, as has already been implied, if the labours of an Origen or a Methodius suggest to our minds the presence of Christ in the midst of the doctors, so, too, do those practical replies, which are made by the course of events, recall the advent of Titus with his army as the termination of the contest with Sadducee and Pharisee. Oftentimes, as history shows, the event has been the sole but all-sufficient comment. But meanwhile, though we may regret that such powers as those of a Porphyry or a Julian should not have been enlisted on the opposite side, we must always remember that every important movement of opposition has uniformly resulted in some real and abiding service to the cause of Christianity. Look at the wild speculations of the Gnostics. They were a source of great trouble and of peril both to individual souls and to the Church at large, yet M. de Broglie is justified in observing that ‘they transformed bishops into doctors and believers into *savans*.’¹ An historian of our own² amplifies the idea, and, in a passage of much force and beauty, dwells on the services rendered by Gnosticism, essentially un-Christian as it was, by the way in which it brought out champions of orthodoxy—witness S. Irenæus—and compelled the Church to consider what ideas and influences of earlier religions and philosophies were compatible, and what incompatible, with Christian principle ; what could be hallowed and might with safety be rescued from the wreck of a world which was passing away. A German Christian³ even goes so far as to declare that ‘it was through the Gnostics that studies, literature, and art

¹ *L'Eglise et l'Empire Romain au quatrième siècle*, tom. i. p. 116.

² Canon Robertson, *History of the Christian Church*, book i. chap. iv.

³ *Baumgarten-Crusius*, cited by Robertson and Dörner.

were introduced into the Church.' But Gnosticism, when its work was thus accomplished, became weak and lingering, and though now and then we catch some faint echoes of its tone, it has completely vanished as an organized system of thought and practice.

Now, although we have neither the time nor the space to consider the various systems of unbelief manifested in subsequent history, yet at this point we would fain pause and ask whether such phenomena as those to which we have referred have not recurred again and again. The Divine Head of the Church has either raised up servants specially suited to the age in which their lot is cast—whether its fault be misbelief or unbelief—or else He has permitted the mere course of events to give a death-blow to the schools and systems of heresy and unbelief. As regards heresy, we find an array of saints and doctors, Athanasius confronting Arius, Leo against Eutyches, Augustine against Pelagius, Anselm against Roscelin, Bernard against Abelard; and although the treasure is in earthen vessels, and the defenders may not always have been free from over-statements and mistakes, yet, on the whole, their instincts seem to have been sound and right, and divinely guided towards a good end. So numerous were the writings against unbelief towards the close of the second and commencement of the third century after Christ, that it has been called the Apologetic age; and though modern research has shown that there is some exaggeration here, and in reality great activity prevailed in other departments of thought, yet it does happen that these volumes have lived, and are found, in most cases, worthy of a very special study. The Apologies of Origen, Tertullian, S. Justin Martyr, Minucius Felix, Arnobius, Lactantius, we still possess. But Celsus would probably be unknown but for the great service which he unintentionally wrought in causing the production of the treatise of Origen. And Porphyry and Julian, who derided the simplicity of the sons of Zebedee for leaving all and following Christ—what are they? They are, as has well been said, 'the powerless shadows of a name';¹ while He with whom Apostles and Evangelists threw their lot, still speaks to the intellect of the world, as well as to its poor and humble, through the fisherman, the publican, and the tentmaker.

Even men who were partially, nay, sometimes deeply, in error, and systems alien from the truth, have been permitted to restrain worse error. The Paulicians, who towards the latter part of the seventh century dared 'to violate the unity

¹ Dr. Pusey, *University Sermons*, 1859-1872, p. 20. (Oxford: Parker.)

of God, the first article of natural and revealed religion,'¹ do not appear to have called forth any great work in confutation of their revived species of Manichæism. But Mahometanism, amidst its strangely mixed elements of truth and error, of service and of injury to humanity, may fairly claim, in its utter extinction of Paulicianism, to have stamped out a system infinitely more pernicious than itself.

What shall be said of the English Deists of the reign of Queen Anne? Almost a century has passed away since Edmund Burke asked, 'Who reads the now forgotten works of Toland, Chubb, and Tindal?' We may ask again, who, except Mr. Hunt, reads them now? How different is the fate of More and Cudworth and of Leland: how different the lot of Pascal and of Butler.

And then, again, the French Encyclopædists. Lord Macaulay is probably right in the expression of his belief, that not all the wit of Voltaire could have produced the effect it did, but for the one really noble characteristic of the man and of his school, namely, their hatred of oppression. He is also right in observing, that the Gallican Church—which had learned to lean far too much upon that Court, which had expelled the Huguenots—sent forth no Pascal and no Bossuet to combat Voltaire. But the scepticism of the day, whatever else it is, is not that of the would-be sage of Ferney, any more than it is that of Rousseau or of Hume. The greatest English admirer of the self-styled philosophers of the France of that day has recently been giving a highly eulogistic account of their labours in the pages of the *Fortnightly Review*. But as he concludes and replaces on their shelves the ponderous and somewhat dusty tomes of the once famous *Encyclopédie*, what is the thought that comes over him? He is obliged to own to something like a conviction that these volumes will not be disturbed again, that he is replacing them, if we may use a homely phrase, for good and all. Yes, Mr. Morley, it is even so. For there is a vast amount of truth, even if it be slightly exaggerated, in the well-known words of Goethe—

'All those epochs in which belief is supreme, under whatsoever form it may be, are brilliant, elevating, and fruitful for contemporaneous times and for posterity. All those, on the contrary, in which unbelief, be it under whatsoever form it will, maintains a direful supremacy,—even if it should shine for a moment with a tinsel brilliancy,—vanish before posterity, *because no one willingly torments himself with a knowledge of the unfruitful.*'²

¹ Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, chap. liv.

² *West-Oestlicher Divan. Israel in der Wüste.*

Among the forms of scepticism peculiarly prominent at the present moment must be named Pantheism, revived Paganism, and Nescience or (as many prefer to call it) Agnosticism. Concerning Pantheism, and concerning that ultra-classical taste in art and letters, which carries one back in thought to the era of the Medici in Italy, we may have something to say another time. As regards Nescience, one form of it, the Kantian, was discussed in the very first number of this *Review*. At present we are about to call attention (mainly, though not quite exclusively) to one of its professors, Mr. Matthew Arnold. But we would first venture briefly to assign a few of the reasons which induce us to consider it improbable that Agnosticism should ever become a very formidable power, by winning to its standard any large masses of people for any great length of time. Those which specially impress us are (1) the utter incoherence of its philosophic basis; (2) its purely negative character; (3) its decided opposition to the general sense of mankind. Let us say a word or two on each of these points.

I. The first principle of the Agnostic is as follows: 'I will not accept anything as true, which cannot be *verified* by my own experience.' But directly we ask for a definition of this word *verified* we find the Agnostics hopelessly at variance.

Teachers of religion do not, for the most part, maintain that its dogmas can be verified in precisely the same way as the truths apprehended by the senses, by consciousness, by the memory of states of consciousness, by intuition, or by mathematical demonstration. Nay, they commonly teach, that if the case stood thus, there would be no room for faith, no possibility, in this respect, of probation. But they do maintain that, as there is an unbelief even of holy truths which may be innocent, as not arising out of the sceptic's own fault, so there must be also an unbelief which is wrong and guilty; that if there are times

'When Faith forbids thee to believe,
And Meekness calls to disobey,'¹

yet that there is an unbelief, which is opposed to right and reasonable faith, and a disobedience which certainly does not spring from meekness.

'Neither does this astonish at the end,
That, whereas I can so receive and trust,
Men made with hearts and souls the same as mine,
Reject and disbelieve—subordinate

¹ O. Wendell Holmes.

The future to the present,—sin nor fear.
 This I refer still to the foremost fact,
 Life is probation and this earth no goal
 But starting point of man : compel him strive,
 Which means, in man, as good as reach the goal—
 Why institute that race, his life, at all? ¹

Now, if by verification is meant that subjection to the senses which takes place whenever we examine a shell, a flower, a pound of cheese, and the like objects, we should like to know what science can possibly abide this coarse, materializing test? The mathematician comes before us and lectures upon *asymptotes*. He maintains that in many cases—to take a common one, say the curve of the equiangular hyperbola in relation to its axis—a given curve and a given straight line will never meet, though both externally approximate. Can we verify by the senses the demonstration of this statement? Most certainly not. The lecturer probably, if called upon for such verification, would assign as the reason for his failure the fact that he cannot display to the eye a mathematical line at all. It ought to be length without breadth, and not even Apelles, in the well-known story, can be supposed to have traced such a line.

Again, in mechanical philosophy, an atomic theory of some sort is, even in opposing camps, the prevailing one. Part of the President's opening address to the British Association, at Belfast, in 1874, has been wittily, but by no means unjustly, paraphrased in a poem which has already been quoted in this *Review*—

'First, then, let us honour the atom, so lively, so wise, and so small.'

But whether, with Professor Tyndall, we use language which sounds (though, it would seem, not so intended) like the ascription of self-creation to atoms, or whether we believe that Sir John Herschel and Professor Clark Maxwell are right in declaring that the atoms 'bear upon them the stamp of manufactured articles;' again it must be asked of either school, in what sense is the existence of the atoms capable of being verified? Assuredly it is not by sight, nor by the touch.

Again, many of our Agnostics—we imagine that we may include in the list Mr. Matthew Arnold and even Mr. Fitzjames Stephen—write as if they thoroughly believed in the existence of the soul. Now we cannot here pause to dwell upon the arguments of Plato and Aristotle, of Tertullian and

¹ Robert Browning, *The Ring and the Book*, vol. iv.

S. Augustine, of Reid and M. Nicolas, on this subject. But it is of course notorious, that another large section of Agnostics denies that the existence of the soul is capable of being verified. It is, if we have not been misinformed, an old and hackneyed jest on the part of young medical students of a materializing tendency to ask a youth, who has been engaged in his first dissection of the human frame, whether he found the soul. An ally of Mr. Bradlaugh, Mr. Watt, goes about the country giving lectures of this tendency, and declaring that the soul is simply the brain. Well, these and a hundred other such matters the Agnostics must settle among themselves.

Again, if they really insist in all cases on such verification as is afforded by experience, concurrence of opposing testimony ought simply to go for nothing. And yet Mr. Fitzjames Stephen (in a recent paper, which seems to us, we are sorry to say, one of extraordinary bitterness) twits believers with the differences among themselves, and seems to insinuate that he will listen to them when they are agreed. Such agreement ought, we should have supposed, to be simply placed on one side, if verification by experience be, as he seems to imply, the real and only test. But if testimony is once allowed to step in, it will be found to involve far more than the extreme wing of the Agnostic school is prepared to grant.

And yet surely those who make the lack of agreement among Christians a plea for their own scepticism, should look carefully to the question whether they are dealing quite honestly with their own hearts. In the case of every other science men allow its existence to accord with differences among its votaries. There is admitted to exist, we presume, such a thing as a science of medicine, though the divergencies between allopathy and homœopathy are by no means light. There is, again, a science of geology, though the schools represented by Hutton and by Lyell are antagonistic. Is theology to be made a solitary exception? Far be it from us to ignore the depths and difficulty of the problems which at present divide Christendom. To do so, especially in the pages of a *Review* of this character, would be as foolish as it is idle. But is there no *substratum* of agreement? When one writer of our day, in an article upon John Wesley, says, 'The Christian religion, that is to say, the redemption of men by a God made man;' when another speaks of 'the five fundamental doctrines of Christianity: the Being of God, the creation, the fall, the reparation and the judgment;' when a third describes the Gospel as the announcement, that 'man—

every man without exception—had lost the power of fulfilling and even of fully knowing his duty upon this earth, and of assuring the salvation of his soul after death, and that he thus would have perished without resource, if God had not come under human form to reopen to him the sources of virtue, of pardon, and of life. That is the whole of Christianity; there are no Christians but those who sign this symbol,'—will any reasonable critic, whether he be standing within or without the pale thus drawn, deny that all such *dicta* imply the existence of what may still fairly be called the 'Creed of Christendom;' and that it would scarcely be possible for any one, on the strength of internal evidence merely, even so much as to guess to what country or to what denomination of Christians the writers belonged?¹

And to touch on one more point only in this connection. Mr. Bradlaugh has been heard to describe, with great power of language, a scene which he himself had witnessed, namely, the *débris* of a railway train after an accident, the maimed passengers, and most specially a suffering infant whose arm had been torn from its socket; and then to ask his audience how they could reconcile such a fact with the Being and Providence of God? The answer of the Christian is obvious enough. Either the injured child would shortly die—as seemed most probable from the account given—and exchange a few short hours of poignant suffering for the eternal bliss won for it by a Redeemer, who lived a life and died a death of far deeper and more mysterious woe; or, if it recovered, to live a life hampered by the result of the accident, it might yet by that very misfortune be saved from many a temptation incident to vigorous health and strength, and be brought nearer to its Maker and be made partaker of a happier eternity; just as we read of one of old, who was led to the knowledge of the one true God, not by the earthly prizes, of which he had enjoyed so large a share,—not by his rank, his wealth, his favour with his sovereign, or his military successes, but by that which to himself and to those around him seemed the one cross and drawback to his happiness—the leprosy. When, however, Mr. Bradlaugh and his allies declare, that they cannot verify from nature and conscience the Christian idea of God, what will they say when they are asked to believe in 'a stream of

¹ As a matter of fact, all three are Frenchmen—men of a nation who have an aptitude for terse and clear summaries and definitions—M. de Rémusat, Lacordaire, and the Duc de Broglie. But the great mass of Christians, ranging from Messrs. Moody and Sankey to Cardinal Manning, would be found to acquiesce in these statements.

tendency,' or in 'the not-ourselves, which makes for righteousness?' There is not, we believe, one particle or shred of evidence whereby such notions can be really verified more than that of the Christian's God, and those who are blind to the proofs adduced on behalf of the one will, as a rule, remain equally insensible to the other.

2. Next, as regards the negative character of Agnosticism. It may, of course, be said that it shares this with Atheism. Yet we conceive that it will be felt, both by friend and foe, that though in practice the Agnostic and the Atheist will be found to exhibit great sympathy and concurrence, the kind of negation uttered respectively by each does involve a very real kind of difference in mental attitude and character. And, as usually happens, the believer in Christianity may feel that the more recent form of opposition gains something in one way, but loses in another at least as much, most probably even more.

It gains something, in that it does not at the first do so much to startle and repel, when it falls on unaccustomed ears. There is a comparative modesty about the phrase, 'I do not know.' Moreover, the real field of human ignorance is so vast and profound; the admissions of its largeness of extent by pious and thoughtful minds, as, for instance, Pascal and Butler, are so well known, and indeed so obviously necessary, that the difference between one who accepts the definitions we have just quoted and the Agnostic may at first sight seem one of degree only. And, moreover, he escapes the difficulty of being called upon to *disprove* the propositions of the Theist or the Christian. Further, he does not come before the public weighted with that distrust which even in heathen States, especially in Athens, fell, with whatever inconsistency, on Atheism; which is suggested by the pictures drawn of the age in which Christ came, even by Renan (to say nothing of Döllinger or Canon Farrar); which has been renewed in modern times from the sequence of the Reign of Terror in Paris on the outspoken Atheism of the school of La Mettrie; a sentiment revived by the acts of the Commune in the same city in 1871.

But the Agnostic loses, in that he does not impress either the imagination or the reason with that sense of power and awe, which, terrible as it is, does result from the outspoken dogmatic force of Atheism. True, Atheism does not thus far seem to have answered; it cannot point to any signs of real progress, to any creations of art, or works of philanthropy, evidently wrought out by its creed. But it attracts by its

boldness. There will arise epochs, in which the popular mind would sooner listen to an universal negative, than to a dreary profession of ignorance concerning themes on which it imperatively demands an answer of some sort. Farther, a suspicion will arise—sometimes, perhaps (but by no means always) a very unjust one—that the Agnostic is simply shrinking, through lack of energy to look problems in the face, or through want of moral courage, from avowing what he really believes, or what his sentiments would logically imply. It was on this ground, probably, that Protagoras, whose book upon the Gods began with a profession of Agnosticism, was indicted at Athens, as being virtually an Atheist.

3. It will be found that society at large is slow to credit, in the long run, the doctrine that the silence between heaven and earth has never been broken, and that no answer can be given to the questions—‘Is there a God? Does He care for His creatures? Will He listen to prayer? Is there a life to come? Will God pardon sin? Has He placed within our reach any means for obtaining that pardon?’

That there have been seasons when those, whose special office it is to treat these solemn themes, have proved utterly unworthy of their high calling, when (as we have already observed) the temple has had again to be cleansed, is indeed most true. But the cleansing *has* come, and it will come again, whensoever and wheresoever it is most needed, for the benefit of the human race at large.

Even where a partial answer to these queries has been blended with what Christians deem some serious error, it has been listened to by millions, and exhibited a power which Agnosticism has yet to show. We, as Christians, reject the apostleship of Mahomet; we think, with Sir C. Trevelyan and Möhler, that his creed places a fatal bar upon the highest progress and welfare of the nations which accept it. But at the same time we can fully understand that the Moslem Marabout, who in some African village teaches that God is One, that idolatry is sinful, that generosity and alms-giving are well pleasing to the Almighty, that there is a judgment to come, that a revelation (largely borrowed, indeed as it is, from a true one) has been made, and that reading and writing are useful for the object of mastering the Koran as well as for secular ends, does unspeakably raise and improve the fetish worshippers whom he instructs. The same may be said of other systems, *mutatis mutandis*, in so far as they embody any portion of religious truth; and we must not here forget the

dictum of S. Augustine, that 'there is no false doctrine which does not intermingle with itself *some* truth.'¹ But whether it be classic Paganism in its nobler aspects, or the Zendavesta, or the Schu-King and other sacred books in China, or Brahmanism or Buddhism, they all start from the acceptance of the principle that *something* can be known concerning the relations between the world unseen and the world below; and the assertion of the Agnostic, that *nothing* can be known, is felt to be a paradox, and an attack upon the convictions of humanity the wide world over, more particularly of all its most highly endowed and energetic races.

On the whole case, then, it may, we think, be said that Agnostics will either be compelled by sheer force of logic to become the merest Secularists and Materialists, or else to make such concessions as involve the reception of a great deal more than they seem at present inclined to grant. They will never exhibit even such amount of union as has been shown by Atheists, by Deists, or by Christians, and consequently they will not on any great scale or for any length of time prove formidable opponents. He who teaches, that we cannot know whether there is or is not a personal God, does, as has been truly observed, unspeakably limit the cycle of human knowledge, of which so large a portion consists in acquaintance with the relation between Him and the created universe. But he also goes far to rob the heart of humanity of the one precious gift, which even heathen legend claimed as that heritage, of which the race of men had not been deprived, the priceless heritage of hope. There is only one place to which the abandonment of hope has been assigned, and the nations will shrink from making earth into hell, from again becoming 'as those *having no hope, and without God in the world.*'

Among those who, some five-and-thirty years ago, were exercising great influence on England and her colonies, on the side of belief, some place will, we conceive, be assigned by history to the then Master of Rugby, Dr. Arnold. It is true that on both sides of him, both by those who believed less and by those who believed more, grave doubts were expressed respecting the tenableness of the position occupied by Arnold. Socinians maintained that he ought to have become one of them. Among Churchmen distrust was expressed, though on different grounds, in the columns of representative journals,

¹ 'Nulla falsa doctrina quæ non aliquid veri immisceat.'

such as the *Record* and the *English Churchman*. Subsequent events have not proved that the distrust was without foundation. Arnoldians cannot, as a school, be said to exist in our own day. One of the noblest specimens, Mr. T. Hughes, at the conclusion of his touching and elevating school-boy tale, appears to allude sorrowfully to a falling away of many of his old comrades from the cause of belief. Yet such men as Mr. Hughes himself and others, who might be named, must almost necessarily be representatives of many more, less distinguished but not less earnest; and it must be accepted as a tribute to the power of Dr. Arnold for good, that Mr. Swinburne should feel himself called upon to express such an intense dislike and contempt for the memory of the man who, in his judgment, had been so prominent in rearing up hosts of British Philistines—that is, we presume, men who *inter alia* are avowedly and deeply Christian.

It may be true that Dr. Arnold was very deficient in metaphysical power and in depth of insight, that logically he ought to have held less or to have held more. Still we cannot help fancying that the present generation scarcely realizes how sincere and how pervading was his belief in God, in Christ as God manifest in the flesh, and in the supernatural universe both about us and within us; how intense his hatred of evil, more especially in the forms of impurity or of oppression; how vigorous his attempts to sanctify ordinary pursuits and studies, especially his favourite ones, such as political science and history; how strong his conviction of the impossibility of preserving faith on a merely intellectual basis. We must not pause to prove these assertions in detail. But we may call (or recall) attention to the letter which he addressed to the father of a Unitarian pupil, as (to his regret) holding tenets irreconcilable with the essentials of Christianity, and his determination as a master to try to impress on this boy, as on all other pupils committed to his charge, belief in these solemn verities, if the father, after such a warning, allowed the boy to stay. We would gladly quote, if we had room, passages from his letters, on the Divinity of Christ as the central truth of the faith, on the impossibility of impartiality in religion, on his dread of an education independent of Christianity, and on his consequent resignation, on this ground, of his connection with the London University. We should also gladly cite some passages lofty in thoughts and most noble in point of expression, both from his *History of Rome* and his *Lectures on Modern History*. The last-named volume seems but little known at present, though occasionally

reviewers make use of it without such frank acknowledgment of their debt as might be desired. But we would fain call special attention to a page in the second of these lectures, wherein Dr. Arnold avows his agreement with Burke in acceptance of the truth of some of the miracles reported by Bede and other ecclesiastical historians. A more reasonable statement of the case, removed alike from excessive credulity and from hard and withering scepticism, we know not where to lay our hands upon. And, to content ourselves with one quotation, we will cite a few words from the conclusion of one of his letters addressed by him to Dr. Greenhill :

‘I believe that any man can make himself an Atheist speedily, by breaking off his own personal communion with God in Christ ; but, if he keep this unimpaired, I believe that no intellectual study, whether of nature or of man, will force him into Atheism ; but, on the contrary, the new creations of our knowledge, so to speak, gather themselves into a fair and harmonious system, ever revolving in their brightness around their proper centre, the throne of God. *Prayer and kindly intercourse with the poor are the two great safeguards of spiritual life—its more than food and raiment.*’¹

About 1849, some six years after Dr. Arnold's death, if we mistake not, came out a small volume, *The Strayed Reveller and other Poems by A.* The authorship was not a secret, and expectations which had arisen from Oxford triumphs of the poet were not disappointed. On the grace and dignity, on the elevation and purity of tone exhibited in these compositions, even when the theme selected might seem likely to lead to dangerous ground, we need not dwell. One thing, however, was obvious at a glance. The gifts displayed were unquestionably of a different kind from those of the author's father. Dr. Arnold was probably somewhat deficient in sense of beauty, in appreciation of it for its own sake. Possibly he was rather disposed to despise it apart from moral earnestness. Mr. Matthew Arnold, both in his poems and in his subsequent *Essays on Criticism*, displayed a degree of perception of the beautiful rare everywhere, but specially rare in England. But although he showed a great contempt for mere money-worship and material greatness, it could not honestly be avowed even by his greatest admirers, that it was possible to trace in these highly-finished compositions that hatred of evil, that lofty strain of morality, which is never absent from the writings of Dr. Arnold. And now that the works of the son occupy several volumes, we cannot call to mind anything at all resembling

¹ Stanley's *Life of Arnold*, vol. ii. p. 58. Fifth edition.

the language of his father respecting the 'Wars of the Israelites' or the treasures of history.¹ Indeed, the latter could not possibly, we imagine, be supposed to proceed from Mr. Matthew Arnold's pen, because we believe him to be too honest to pretend to that which he does not, however inconsistently, really feel at the time he writes it. One marked feature of difference—and it involves, we suspect, a greater amount of divergence than might be thought by careless observers—is apparent in the feeling entertained respectively by the father and the son towards Goethe. Never, we believe, is that great genius quoted or even mentioned in the prose and poetry of Matthew Arnold without marks of the deepest

¹ Knowing how often Reviews are read under circumstances unfavourable for reference, we think it may be well to define our meaning by subjoining a part of one of the passages to which we refer, and the whole, as it is very short, of the other :—

'It is better that the wicked should be destroyed a hundred times over than that they should tempt those who are as yet innocent to join their company. Let us but think what might have been our fate, and the fate of every other nation under heaven, at this hour, had the sword of the Israelites done its work more sparingly. Even as it was, the small portion of the Canaanites who were left, and the nations around them, so tempted the Israelites by their idolatrous practices that we read continually of the whole people of God turning away from His service. But had the heathen lived in the land in equal numbers, and, still more, had they intermarried largely with the Israelites, how was it possible, humanly speaking, that any sparks of the light of God's truth should have survived to the coming of Christ? . . . The Israelites' sword, in its bloodiest executions, wrought a work of mercy for all the countries of the earth to the very end of the world. . . . The Israelites fought not for themselves only, but for us. It might follow that they should thus be accounted the enemies of all mankind—it might be that they were tempted by their very distinctness to despise other nations; still they did God's work—still they preserved unhurt the seed of eternal life, and were the ministers of blessing to all other nations, even though they themselves failed to enjoy it.'—*Sermons*, vi. 35-37, quoted in Dean Stanley's *Lectures on the Jewish Church*, pp. 253-5.

'Enough has been said, I think, to show that history contains no mean treasures; that, as being the biography of a nation, it partakes of the richness and variety of those elements which make up a nation's life. Whatever there is of greatness in the final cause of all human thought and action, God's glory and man's perfection, that is the measure of the greatness of history. Whatever there is of variety and intense interest in human nature—in its elevation, whether proud as by nature or sanctified as by God's grace; in its suffering, whether blessed or unblest, a martyrdom or a judgment; in its strange reverses, in its varied adventures, in its yet more varied powers, its courage and its patience, its genius and its wisdom, its justice and its love—that is also the measure of the interest and variety of history. The treasures indeed are ample; but we may more reasonably fear whether we may have strength and skill to win them.'—*Lectures on Modern History: Inaugural Lecture*, pp. 21-2.

approbation of the man as a truly wise and trustworthy teacher. But of Dr. Arnold his biographer informs us that 'he had a strong feeling against Goethe.' It was not merely that Goethe's gift of insight, varied and marvellous as it is, looks so almost entirely cold and *ab extrâ* as it were, but that he could not pardon his irreverence.

'I cannot,' he said, 'speaking of *Faust*, get over the introduction. If it had been by one without any relation to God or to his fellow-creatures, it would be different ; but in a human being it is not to be forgiven. To give entirely without reverence a representation of God is in itself blasphemous.'

It must, however, in fairness be said that Mr. Matthew Arnold has a really sincere appreciation of piety. His recognition of the beauties of Bishop Wilson's *Sacra Privata*, of the *Imitatio Christi* commonly ascribed to Thomas à Kempis, is undoubtedly real and unfeigned ; and nothing can be more just than the distinction pointed out by him in a recent contribution to the *Contemporary Review* between the tone of the devout men of the seventeenth and of the eighteenth century respectively, even when the later age is represented by so grand a specimen as Butler. He is thoroughly convinced that the world cannot live upon physical science only, that it needs other knowledge besides that of the inductive sciences, that it must have as a condition of true progress some sort of religion, and that his powers of wit and sarcasm may be rightfully directed against those who preach the opposite tenets.

Nevertheless, with a strangely illogical temper, Mr. Matthew Arnold desires to see the fruits of religion flourish and abound, while he applies the axe of his criticism to the roots of the tree on which they grow. He has announced in terms not to be mistaken (1) that he considers that culture may supply all and something more than all that religion can give ; (2) that he is an Agnostic, and does not know whether the 'not-ourselves which makes for righteousness' is a person or a thing ; (3) that any educated man who teaches the mystery of the Holy Incarnation must be perfectly aware that he is merely talking clap-trap ; (4) that revelation is a non-entity, and that belief in miracles will die out in a generation or two ; (5) that he is justified in insulting the millions, who accept the creed of Christendom, by the use of language which, as he well knows, will sound to them most irreverent and blasphemous. On all these points we desire in conclusion to say something.

1. On the relation of culture to man's highest welfare we shall not dwell, because it has been most admirably discussed

in a little volume which can be easily procured, and which we shall be glad to make more widely known. Principal Shairp, of the University of St. Andrews, has devoted one of the lectures in his *Culture and Religion* to the consideration of the subject ;¹ and though Mr. Arnold, as an old and valued friend of the author, is treated with a gentleness, which he certainly does not exhibit towards the objects of *his* criticism, we are quite content to refer our readers to the graceful but at the same time powerful treatment of the question there contained.

2. The plainest avowal of Mr. Arnold's Agnosticism is contained in the first chapter of his latest volume, entitled *God and the Bible* :

'We assure the *Edinburgh Reviewer* that we do not assert God to be a thing. All we say is that men do not know enough about the Eternal not-ourselves that makes for righteousness, to warrant their pronouncing this either a person or a thing. We say that no one has discovered the nature of God to be personal, or is entitled to assert that God has conscious intelligence. We want to rest religion on what can be verified, not on what cannot.'

On this head we have already said perhaps more than enough. But we may express our entire assent to Dean Goulburn in making his own the language of Dr. Newman on this topic. 'Dogma has been the fundamental principle of my religion : I know no other religion : I cannot enter into the idea of any other sort of religion ; religion, as a mere sentiment, is to me a dream and a mockery. As well can there be filial love without the fact of a father as devotion without the fact of a Supreme Being.' But a God who may possibly, for aught we know, be devoid 'of conscious intelligence' is not a *Supreme Being* ; for in the event of not having it, he is below us and not above us. Such a god is simply the god of Pantheism, and, as Mr. Disraeli has truly said, 'Pantheism is only Atheism in domino. What is a Creator who is unconscious of creating ?' Even doubt on such a vital point must be fatal to all true religion—we do not say in this or that individual, for there seems scarcely any limit to the idiosyncrasies of individuals,—but fatal to all true religion on any large scale and for any continuous term of years.

3. Mr. Arnold evidently lays down, at least by implication, the following canon of credibility :—'Whatsoever has not been proved to the satisfaction of me, Matthew Arnold, cannot have been proved to the satisfaction of any other man

¹ *Culture and Religion in some of their Relations*. Third edition. (Edinburgh : Edmonston and Douglas, 1872.)

of sane and cultivated intellect. Those, therefore, who profess any such tenet, unless they belong to the *profanum vulgus* which is ignorant of culture, must be consciously talking clap-trap.' Such a state of mind has been common in all ages, though it is specially common in our own.

But is it truly philosophic? Will it bear the test of application? Let any Christian historian sit down to write the annals, say of the Mahometan rule in Spain, and preface with the remark: 'I do not believe in the apostleship of Mahomet: it is consequently impossible that the cultivated sovereigns who ruled in Cordova and built the exquisite Alhambra can have believed it. On their lips the cry, "There is no God but God; and Mahomet is his prophet," must have been so much clap-trap;' and let us see how much credit such a narrator will gain on the score of tolerance and charity.

The doctrine of the transmigration of the souls of men into the bodies of the lower creatures is probably rejected everywhere throughout cultivated Europe. Are we therefore to conceive that among the more cultivated Egyptians, or in the system of such a man as Pythagoras, it was a merely hollow and insincere profession of belief? On Mr. Arnold's principles, we should, if we are not mistaken, be bound to think thus. When Xenophanes of Elea, the contemporary of Pythagoras, describes in elegiac verse how that sage implored a man to desist from the maltreatment of a hound, on the ground that he recognized in the cries of the animal a voice proceeding from the soul of a friend, Bishop Thirlwall could only conceive that the poet intended to treat the doctrine 'with deserved ridicule.' We own that here the comment of Mr. Grote strikes us as being, in this instance, far more probable, far more philosophic:

*'Religious opinions are so apt to appear ridiculous to those who do not believe them, that such a suspicion is not unnatural; yet I think, if Xenophanes had been so disposed, he would have found more ridiculous examples among the many which this doctrine might suggest. Indeed it seems hardly possible to present the metempsychosis in a more touching or respectable point of view than that which the lines of his poem set forth. The particular animal selected is that one between whom and man the sympathy is most marked and reciprocal, while the doctrine is made to enforce a practical lesson against cruelty.'*¹

But in Mr. Arnold's case we do not see how we can possibly avoid the conclusion—it is with real regret that we

¹ *History of Greece*, vol. iv. p. 532, note.

mention it, but it seems to us to be a duty—that he must believe his own father to have talked clap-trap throughout all his life. When the late Bishop Wilberforce is found speaking of doing something for the honour of our Lord's Godhead, Mr. Arnold declares, in the introduction to the work before us, that the Bishop

'*must know, if he is sincere with himself, that he is solemnly giving a semblance of conceivability, fixity, and certainty to notions which do not possibly admit of them. He must know this, and yet he gives it, because it suits his purpose or because the public or a large body of the public desire it; and this is clap-trap*'—(p. 23.)

We cannot pause to reflect upon the admirable charity of the words which we have italicized, but we do feel compelled to ask *in what essential particular* the language of Dr. Samuel Wilberforce differs from that of Dr. Thomas Arnold. We select from the writings of the latter one specimen out of many that might be cited, though we may remark in passing that of course *we* see no harm in speaking of Holy Fathers in cases where they were holy men, still less of the Holy Church, when it is regarded as the creation of God, as the spouse of Christ:

'Now for Bourges a little more. In the crypt is a Calvary, and figures as large as life representing the burying of our Lord. The woman who showed us the crypt had her little girl with her; she lifted up the child, about three years old, to kiss the feet of our Lord. Is this idolatry? Nay verily it may be so, but it need not be, and assuredly is in itself right and natural. I confess I rather envied the child. It is idolatry to talk about Holy Church and Holy Fathers—bowing down to fallible and sinful men—not to bend knee, lip, and heart to every thought and every image of Him, our manifested God.'¹

This will explain what we mean when we venture to regard Dr. Arnold, despite many deficiencies, as enlisted on the side of belief; and it may possibly suggest a reason for that silence of his son, which so surprised many, on the occasion of the assault by Mr. Swinburne,—a silence the more remarkable when compared with the verses written by Mr. Arnold as poet over his father's tomb, verses of which we do not doubt the sincerity any more than we question their exceeding beauty. But such inconsistencies are an inevitable result of the position which Mr. Arnold attempts to take up. Mr. Swinburne preaches voluptuousness and immorality, and writes as one who seems to hate Christianity because it makes a crusade against vice. Mr. Arnold really loves Christian purity

¹ *Life*, vol. ii. p. 406.

and virtue; but, as he would fain remove some of the greatest of all allurements to them, we cannot but feel that the author of *Atalanta* occupies a far more consistent position than the author of the *Church of Brou*.

One word more as to the clap-trap. A Christian, who holds that the being of a personal God and Father is proved by the light of reason and conscience, considers that a revelation of the Divine Will proceeding from such a Being is a natural and reasonable supposition. In cherishing such a belief he has the support of a strong body of modern Atheists (especially those living in France and Germany) who maintain that the position of Theists such as Voltaire and Tom Paine is utterly untenable. And if such Christians consider the position, in which a high-minded Socinian, such as Channing, would fain have rested, equally inconsistent, they find thus far a vigorous ally in the person of M. Ernest Renan. Now let us suppose that their belief in the Incarnation, whether traditional or not, is based on the acceptance of a revelation, and the interpretation of that revelation furnished by the Creed of Nicæa and the writings of its defenders from S. Athanasius to Bull and Waterland, to Canon Liddon and Mr. Row. Does it in the slightest degree surprise them that their creed does, in the words of Mr. Grote, 'appear ridiculous to those who do not believe it?' Surely this is only what has happened and will happen again and again. We read of the manifestation of such sentiments in books of travel in the East, and in a conversation held some fifty years ago by a politician of that day with Mr. Wilberforce. And it was no doubt the consciousness that such a feeling would be entertained, that made Tertullian suggest that in this case the very strangeness of the belief might seem to afford one argument in favour of its not being a merely human invention. We do not, of course, urge that such a consideration can stand alone or reach very far. Yet it might make some opponents of Christianity who had a little charity pause before they accused the long line of its defenders from Origen to Dr. Arnold of merely talking what they knew to be clap-trap.

4. There seems to us every reason to rejoice that Mr. Arnold has put forward this volume in defence of his *Literature and Dogma*, inasmuch as we are convinced that it will be found to have decidedly weakened his position and influence. Such a conviction may, in our case, seem to result from the mere effect of prejudice, from our seeing only what we wish to see. Let us turn, then, to the comments of two

or three critics, who have no such abhorrence as we have, of the principles inculcated in these works. Thus, for example, perhaps the most ingenious parts of the present volume refer to the formation of the Canon and to the Fourth Gospel. And as sceptical works are constantly crossing each other's lines, and like Jason's armed hosts destroy each other; as it is possible that some listened to Celsus teaching of judgment to come, who would not listen to Origen; as some in the Paris of our own day have been brought by Renan to read and accept the Holy Gospels—even so it is possible that the weaknesses of the Tübingen school may to some minds become apparent when exposed by Mr. Matthew Arnold. But what of his own theory? Here is the comment of his friendly critic in the *Athenæum* (No. 2511):—

'After all the ingenuity and undoubted critical ability displayed in the present volume, the view of the Fourth Gospel which it advocates is improbable. The sacred book has plan and unity; it bears the impress of a single writer; and if, as Mr. Arnold thinks, the writer has confused places, events, incidents, if he has buried hints of facts under additions, and made or repeated stories of miracles built up on a *logion* or two of Jesus's, it is hard to find the genuine traditional sayings of Jesus. They cannot be easily disentangled from their surroundings; and the specimens of disentanglement here given are, to say the least, improbable.'

On the same subject the *Westminster Reviewers* employ the following language:—

'Vigour and rigour *in excelsis*, did ever German professor the like? Now that Mr. Arnold is fairly at work, he can select, reject, accept, restore, suppress, divide, and join, with the best professor of them all. What with his original themes, his variations, his apostle, his theological lecturer, and all the rest of it, he has succeeded in producing—though he apparently seeks to save his credit by only partially working out—one of the most "vigorous and rigorous," and *decidedly the most improbable of all the current theories of the origin of the Fourth Gospel.*'¹

Another, a Northern critic, in a paper which had highly, we think most extravagantly, eulogized *Literature and Dogma*, observed that the present defence was very much of that sort, which consists in just saying the same thing over again, and he ends his account of the book, considered as a whole, by saying:

'It is impossible not to regret with many of his admirers that Mr. Arnold does not now relinquish his present labours, and devote

¹ *Westminster Review*, January 1876, p. 223.

literary gifts which charmed all in his *Essays on Criticism* and poetical power which produced *Empedocles on Etna* to work which will not stir mere passing controversy, but which will permanently enrich our literature.'

4. And what shall be said as to the tone employed? Mr. Arnold does not, perhaps, intend to outrage reverential sentiment as Mr. Stuart Glennie or the late Lord Amberley. Yet his insensibility to the wounded feelings of Christians is strange enough in all conscience. Lest a description from our pen be thought open to suspicion, we give one of some length from an intense admirer of this volume in its literary aspects. We are responsible for the italics:

'As far as we can understand Mr. Arnold's mental attitude, it is this:—The world is divided into two classes,—those who have read (and appreciated) *Literature and Dogma*, and those who have not. The latter class is at present numerous, but it is intrinsically insignificant, and tends in the nature of things constantly to reduce itself towards a vanishing-point. We will, therefore, ignore it. The former class, having read *Literature and Dogma*, proceeded to read the Bible, and had just begun to enjoy it, when it was disturbed by certain bishops, metaphysicians, and critics, who—each in his sort—endeavoured to show that *Literature and Dogma* was not entirely to be trusted. Upon this the readers of *Literature and Dogma* turn anxiously to Mr. Arnold: "They want to know what they are to think of these things," and of course their prophet is equal to the occasion. Hence, these "Answers"—addressed, like the Hampshire farmer's oration, to "most thinking people," i.e. to admirers of *Literature and Dogma*. *This unparalleled self-assertion is aggravating to a high degree*; but Mr. Arnold's delicious freshness and raciness can carry off anything, and with whatever feelings we take up and read this book, it is impossible long to resist its fascination, or to lay it down again unless we are absolutely compelled to do so. *But as to whether this intense enjoyment in any way "makes for righteousness," we must confess to having grave doubts. We fear it is the carnal, and not the spiritual man that is refreshed.* Considered as *sport*, what can be finer than to watch Mr. Arnold "baiting" a bishop! The unhappy ecclesiastic is chained by his position and his antecedents, and the brilliant *littérateur*, unrestrained and reckless, darts round and round his victim, dodges in and out to dig him in the ribs or pinch him black and blue, skips behind him to twitch his hair, and is all the while bubbling over with half-repressed yet wholly irrepressible laughter! And when the miserable victim, who has to retain his dignity (!) under all this, turns round at last and hits out wildly, his assailant suddenly assumes an aspect of grave expostulation, and standing well out of his reach, tells him he wonders how he can be so frivolous.'¹

¹ *Westminster Review*, January 1876, p. 221.

This is the gentleman, be it remembered, who maintains that the Christians, with such champions as Athanasius, Augustine, Malebranche, Pascal, Butler, are (as Celsus declared) wanting in 'intellectual seriousness.' In our eyes a man of culture and really brilliant powers, who can justly lay himself open to such a description as the above, is an object of deep pity. Capable at moments of serious and even sad reflection, he has chosen to make himself at other times a literary buffoon, and he must take the consequence.

We had intended to devote a page or two to Mr. Arnold's confusion of such a miracle as that of the Resurrection of our Lord, intimately interwoven (as even Bolingbroke could see) with an entire system which has changed the face of the world, and for which (as his friend Celsus admits) many have been content to die, with isolated prodigies narrated by an Herodotus or Livy, prodigies in nowise bound up with the essence of their respective histories. But we have already in our latest number devoted an entire article to this subject.

We had also meant to dwell a little upon what seems to us the perfectly childish nature of Mr. Arnold's slight and superficial digression into philology, and the conclusions he would thence deduce, and further to compare his utterly incorrect account of the teaching of the Old Testament concerning our Maker—not with Fathers and Divines whom he would set at nought—but with all that is implied in the biography of Spinoza, with the language of Arthur Hallam and of Niebuhr, with the really correct account given by Strauss. Here, again, we too have, to a considerable extent, been anticipated by the critics from whom we have already borrowed; and therefore we again avail ourselves of their remarks. We are again partially responsible for the italics:

'Then we leave the bishops for a moment and turn upon the metaphysicians. Here we encounter once more that peculiar species of satirical mock-humility in which Mr. Arnold is altogether inimitable. "This is the best fooling, when all is done!" but if it is even indirectly to serve any further purpose than that of amusement, the author had better continue his researches in "*Walton's noble Polyglott Bible, or gain some elementary knowledge (a very little will do) of Hebrew.*" When he has done so, he will not (on the strength of the derivation of the Hebrew verb "to be" from a root signifying "to breathe") coquet with such a restoration as "*our God breathes a jealous God,*" for "*is a jealous God*;" for he will perceive that in all the passages in which this expression occurs in our Bibles the original has no verb at all, but simply lets the attribute lie in juxtaposition with the subject.

'As to his idea of what God means in the Bible, viz. the Eternal

not-ourselves that makes for righteousness, we believe it to be inadequate. The writer is so intent upon getting something that can be verified, that he disowns the conception of God as a Person, and fixes instead upon "a law or power not ourselves." His description of Israel's belief on this subject is imperfect and incorrect. Idealizing Israel's religious character as he does, he attributes to the Jews a conception of his own; for there is little doubt that the Old Testament exhibits a prevailing belief in a *Personal Being*. The Psalter is full of it. Hence the appropriation of the Absolute Spirit by the pious mind. "O God, thou art *my God*." . . . Mr. Arnold is right in emphasizing *righteousness* as the great requirement of the Eternal in the Old Testament; but he seeks needlessly after what can be verified, because faith is the prominent feature and feeling of religion—faith in an Absolute Spirit ever present and operating, who is the Father of men, to be loved and obeyed because He is good. He may call this God "a magnified and non-natural man;" but the Eternal power not ourselves presents what it is difficult to *love* with all the heart. If the language of the Bible be approximative and full of figure, nothing is gained by discarding the idea of a personal God, and putting "an eternal law not ourselves" instead of it; nor can any valid objection be made to the use of *Being* or *Spirit* as applied to Him. It is superior to the indefinite something of Mr. Arnold's imagining, and can even be better realized than his, inasmuch as the human heart feels the need of a *near* God, whom it can love with earnest affection, and enjoy with intense comfort.¹

Mr. Arnold is fond of trying to point his arrows with barbs taken from the storehouses of deceased sceptics, from Celsus down to Strauss. Thus we find him, at p. 42 of the present Essay, borrowing from Strauss a phrase concerning 'the paper fortifications which theologians choose to set up.' Well, there is a sense in which we fully grant that these words are not without their measure of truth. It is no doubt possible to exaggerate the value of fortifications as part of the edifices which go to make up the City of God. There may be cases in which they may cumber the ground, and in which assailants may be fully justified in describing them as sources of weakness. Their precise value must depend on a variety of considerations. It is not the materials only of the construction that have to be taken into account, but likewise the needs of a given age, the kind of warfare that is afoot. All this, however, has been fully thought out and discussed again and again from the believing side. It was done, for instance, by the leaders in the Tractarian movement of 1833, and again (with great ability and fairness) by Bishop Fitzgerald, in an essay contained in *Aids to Faith*. Sometimes experience proves the bricks to have

¹ *Westminster Review*, January 1876, p. 221.

been daubed with untempered mortar, and the wall gives way and falls by its own weight. Sometimes, though the materials are not bad in themselves, they may be out of due proportion, and may be leant upon with too great a confidence. But in any case it is we who, in the long-run, are the gainers by the discovery, and among the unconscious services rendered by scepticism to faith, none ranks higher than the ever renewed compulsion to look well to our foundations. We will say more. Standing by themselves, apart from that other building of which the *Civitas Dei* is made up—holiness and the love of God,—apart from prayer and meditation, apart from good works, from Christian life, from Christian philanthropy and zeal against abuses, the best fortifications will prove of little worth, and, badly manned, may even incur the sarcasm of the tongue of scorn, which describes them as needing no more assault than if only made of paper. But there is a set of things, in comparison with which the weakest fortifications on the Christian side may well seem enduring and valuable; and these are the would-be battering-rams and scaling-ladders, and tools for mining on the other side. Talk at will, O sons of Celsus and of Strauss, of our paper defences; who shall count up the paper attacks which our defences have outlived, and will continue to outlive?

ART. II.—THE ANCIENT EGYPTIANS.

1. *The Egyptians in the Time of the Pharaohs.* By Sir J. GARDNER WILKINSON, D.C.L., F.R.S. To which is added an *Introduction to the Study of the Egyptian Hieroglyphs*, by SAMUEL BIRCH. (London: Bradbury and Evans, 1857.)
2. *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians.* By J. G. WILKINSON, F.R.S., M.R.S.L., &c. First and Second Series. 5 vols. (London: Murray, 1837—1841.)
3. *Egypt's Place in Universal History: An Historical Investigation in Five Books.* By CHRISTIAN C. J. BUNSEN, D.Ph., D.C.L. With Notes and Additions by SAMUEL BIRCH, LL.D. 5 vols. (London: Longmans, 1867.)
4. *The Monumental History of Egypt, as recorded on the Ruins of her Temples, Palaces, and Tombs.* By WILLIAM OSBURN, R.S.L. 2 vols. (London: Trübner, 1854.)
5. *Mélanges Egyptologiques. Deuxième Série.* Par F. CHABAS. (Châlon-sur-Saône: 1864.)
6. *Etudes sur l'Antiquité Historique d'après les Sources Egyptiennes.* Par F. CHABAS. (Paris: 1872.)
7. *Königsbuch der Alten Ägypter.* Von C. RICHARD LEPSIUS. Erste Abtheilung. Text- und Dynastien-tafeln. (Berlin: 1858.)
8. *Essay on the Bearings of Egyptian History upon the Pentateuch.* By F. C. COOK, M.A., Canon of Exeter, in Vol. I. of *Speaker's Commentary*. (Murray: 1871.)
9. *Records of the Past: Being English Translations of the Assyrian and Egyptian Monuments.* Edited by S. BIRCH, LL.D. 5 vols. (Bagster: 1875.)

'Is it not marvellous,' wrote Dr. Arnold forty years ago, 'that they can now read the old Egyptian readily, and understand its grammar! These Egyptian discoveries are likely to be one of the greatest wonders of our age.' The progress of Egyptology since these words were written, if not as complete as the most ardent student may desire, has nevertheless done much towards the elucidation and illustration of the Mosaic record; and it is not too much to say that when the cemeteries of Memphis, Thebes, and Avaris shall have been thoroughly

explored, every incident in the pastoral life of the Israelites in Egypt, every art employed in the fabrication of the Tabernacle in the wilderness, every allusion in Scripture to the rites, customs, and laws of the land of bondage, from which they had been so miraculously delivered, will find its counterpart in the monumental history of Egypt; and we shall possess a commentary of unrivalled interest and value upon the Pentateuch, as well as on the later historical and prophetic books of the Bible. Even with our present knowledge we can scarcely suppose it possible that any one with the slightest acquaintance with the subject would commit himself to the following extraordinary statement, made by an ex-Bishop of the Church of England within the last ten years: 'All the details of the story of the Exodus, as recorded in the Pentateuch, again and again assent to *propositions as monstrous and absurd as the statement in arithmetic would be that two and two make five*. . . . There is not the slightest reason to suppose that the first writer of the story in the Pentateuch ever professed to be recording infallible truth, or even actual *historical truth*. He wrote certainly a narrative. But what indications are there that he published it at large, even to the people of his own time, as a record of matter of fact, *veracious history*?'¹ This statement is the more extraordinary as Ewald, the great German critic, and a leader in the school to which the writer is said to belong, asserts positively in his *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, that 'the historical existence of Moses is indubitably proved.' And the late Dean Milman has no hesitation in declaring in his *History of the Jews*, that 'the internal evidence in respect to the genuineness of the Mosaic records is to me conclusive. All attempts to assign a later period for the authorship, or even for the compilation, though made by scholars of the highest ability, *are so irreconcilable with facts*, so self-destructive, and so mutually destructive, that I acquiesce without hesitation in their general antiquity'—(vol. i. p. 46).

The key which has opened the literary treasures of Egypt to the inquiring student, and has revealed what may not inappropriately be termed 'sermons in stones,' as well as 'God in everything,' is the famous Rosetta Stone, which now adorns the British Museum. In the year 1799, M. Boussard, an officer of Napoleon's army in Egypt, while superintending some works at the city of Rosetta, discovered, at a depth of four feet below the surface, the fragment of an oblong square slab of black basalt, from the 'far Syene.' It bore a trilingual inscription,

¹ *The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua critically Examined*. By Bishop Colenso. Part ii. pp. 370, 375.

the upper one being in hieroglyphs, the lower one in Greek, while the centre was in a character known as the Enchorial or Demotic, a style which came into use about 600 B.C. The Greek text showed that the inscription was in honour of Ptolemy Epiphanes, B.C. 205.

Recent researches by Mr. Harris have proved that this monument was originally set up in a temple at Memphis, erected by Pharaoh Nechoh, the conqueror of King Josiah, and dedicated to *Tum* or *Tomos*, which appears to represent both 'the rising' as well as 'the setting sun.' The battle of Alexandria, and the subsequent surrender of the city, placed the stone in the hands of Mr. Hamilton, author of the *Egyptiaca*, and Government Commissioner with the British army; when it was despatched at once to England, and thus permanently located in the British Museum, in place of adorning the Louvre at Paris. As copies of the inscription became dispersed through Europe, its decipherment appeared possible. Heyne and Porson, by restoring the Greek text, greatly facilitated this desirable end. Dr. Thomas Young had the honour of being the first to solve the problem of translating a hieroglyphic inscription, and so rapid was his progress, that in less than a year after the commencement of such studies, he was enabled to offer to the literary world 'a conjectured translation of the Egyptian inscription of the Rosetta Stone.'¹ The system which Dr. Young originated has been confirmed and vastly extended by the genius of the two Champollions, De Rougé, Mariette, and Chabas, amongst the French; Lepsius and Brugsch amongst the Germans; and of our own countrymen who have given themselves to such studies we can produce the not less distinguished name of Samuel Birch, who, by his rendering of the *Egyptian Ritual, or Book of the Dead* (parts of which are some centuries older than the Pentateuch), has earned the just eulogium of the late Baron Bunsen, who pronounced it to be 'the blue ribbon of Egyptology.'

So rapid has been the progress of reading the records of ancient Egypt, that not only have a large number of inscriptions, both of the hieroglyphic monuments as well as the hieratic papyri, been translated into the four principal languages of Europe, but in two instances at least the vernacular of England and Germany has been converted into the tongue of the Pharaohs through the skill and perseverance of our present Egyptologists. Probably a very limited number of the visitors to the Crystal Palace at Sydenham are aware that an

¹ Arago, *Eloge Historique du Dr. T. Young*. Paris, 1802.

inscription in the language of ancient Egypt circumscribes one of its most beautiful courts, telling those who are capable of deciphering hieroglyphic mysteries the age and object of all to be seen around. In English it would read as follows :—

‘In the seventeenth year of the reign of Her Majesty, the Ruler of the Waves, the Royal Daughter Victoria, Lady Most Gracious, the architects, sculptors, and painters erected this palace and gardens, with 1,000 columns, 1,000 decorations, 1,000 statues of chief men and women, 1,000 trees, 1,000 flowers, 1,000 birds, 1,000 beasts, 1,000 fountains, and 1,000 vases. The architects, painters, and sculptors built this palace as a book for the instruction of all countries, regions, and districts. May it ever prosper.’

The wanderer in the East may now read an inscription of a far more pretentious character in the same language and of nearly the same date in a locality where, if there be less of the combined beauty of nature and art than exists at Sydenham, we should more naturally expect to light upon an historical record in characters which disclose their origin, but whose decipherment, for nigh 2,000 years, has been lost to the literary world. On a large and carefully prepared stone slab, at some height over the entrance to the Great Pyramid of Ghizeh, is the inscription,¹ which may be thus translated :—

‘Thus speak the servants of the King, whose name is the Sun and Rock of Prussia, Lepsius the scribe, Erbkam the architect, the brothers Weidenback the painters, Frey the painter, Franke

¹ A curious story is connected with this inscription. When the Emperor of China in 1866 sent an Embassy to the European courts, one *Pin-ch'-un*, a literary attaché to the Legation, wrote an account for the benefit of his fellow-countrymen of the marvellous sights he had seen in the regions of the West. Amongst other things he records a visit to the Great Pyramid, and makes special mention of this ‘inscription on a slab stone’ above the entrance, which he describes as follows :—‘The inscription is in ten columns of about 100 characters, resembling those found on our ancient bells and vases. About one-third of the inscription can be read, but the remainder has perished under the corroding power of time, and is wholly undecipherable. Some savant should take a rubbing of the characters and bring it to China for the purpose of instituting a comparison with the inscriptions of our own monuments. They might then be deciphered without difficulty, and the period from which they date be accurately ascertained. Although other inscriptions exist both above and below, the characters here seem to belong to the *European alphabets*; and that the one referred to above actually dates from the period of the Three Dynasties in China (*i.e.* circa B.C. 2200—B.C. 300), and is no forgery, may be positively asserted!’ If this be a typical specimen of Chinese wisdom and criticism, we may say that though Chinamen as well as Anglo-Saxons ‘run to and fro,’ we can hardly think that ‘knowledge is increased’ thereby.

the farmer, Bonomi the sculptor, Wild the architect. Hail to the Eagle, Shelterer of the Cross, the King, the Sun and Rock of Prussia, the Son of the Sun, Freer of the land, Frederick William IV., the Philopater, Father of his country Most Gracious, Favourite of Wisdom and History, Guardian of the Rhine, the Elect of Germany, Giver of Life. May the Most High God grant the King and his Consort, the Queen Elizabeth, the Philometer, Mother of her country Most Gracious, a happy life on earth, and a blessed habitation in heaven for ever. In the year of the Christian era 1842, in the tenth month, and the fifteenth day of the month, on the forty-seventh birthday of His Majesty, on the pyramid of King Chufu, in the third year, the fifth month, the ninth day of the reign of His Majesty, in the year 3164, from the commencement of the Sothic Cycle under Pharaoh Manepthah.'

Without stopping to criticize these contemporary inscriptions, we think they afford satisfactory proof of the progress which the study of hieroglyphics has made amongst European scholars in the present day, and some warrant for our accepting their reading of the Egyptian monuments in confirmation of the history of the Israelites as revealed in Scripture. Unhappily, some Egyptologists have either denied or perverted such evidence, in disregard of the expressed opinion of the most famous of them all. Alluding to these sceptics, the elder Champollion wrote :—

'They will find in this work an absolute reply to their calumnies, since I have demonstrated that no Egyptian monument is really older than the year 2200 B.C. This certainly is very high antiquity, but it presents nothing contradictory to the sacred histories, and I venture to affirm that it establishes them on all points ; for it is, in fact, by adopting the chronology and the succession of kings given by the Egyptian monuments, that the Egyptian history accords with the sacred writings.'¹

Champollion was slightly mistaken in supposing that no Egyptian monument was really older than B.C. 2200, for subsequent discoveries have proved that the tablet now in the Ashmolean Museum, at Oxford, contains the record of a king whose reign may be approximately dated about B.C. 2300, and therefore a century older than any monument known to the learned Frenchman ; and inasmuch as the tablet, whose history appears to be but little known, affords a valuable instance of the progress of Egyptology, we pause for a few moments to consider its details.

The late Baron Bunsen, in the second volume of his *Egypt's Place in Universal History*, published in 1854, about a quarter of a century after the time of Champollion, says :

¹ *Ancient Egypt : its Monuments and History*, p. 56.

'No place is found for an old monarch mentioned in the *Book of the Dead*, King Goose, in Egyptian *Sent*, whose scutcheon we give phonetically and figuratively. *He may as well have been one of the unchronological kings before Menes*' —(p. 112). About ten years later Herr Dümichen, following out the indications first given by Mariette Bey, the director of the Pasha's Museum at Boulaque, discovered amid the ruins of the Temple of Osiris, at Abydos, 'the New Tablet of Abydos,' as it is termed, in order to distinguish it from the older one which Mr. Banks had brought from the same ruins about half a century previously, and given to the British Museum. Both of these tablets contained originally the list of kings from Menes, the proto-monarch of Egypt, down to Pharaoh Seti I. and his son, better known in history by the name of Ramesses the Great. The value of the New Tablet consists in the fact that the list is perfect from beginning to end,¹ whereas in the older one none of the kings of the first six dynasties are to be found; and many lacunæ are visible in other parts. As we find on this New Tablet the name of this very King *Sent*, the thirteenth *in succession from Menes* (which is a sufficient answer to Bunsen's implication of his being one of the 'unchronological kings' *before* the time of Menes, who all agree was the proto-monarch of Egypt), we think it probable that he must be the same as the Mizraim of Scriptures, mentioned in Genesis x. 6 as the son of *Ham*, and as the undoubted first colonizer of the land which was subsequently called after his father's name.²

¹ For an admirable drawing and account of this valuable monument, see the *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Alterthumskunde*, Nov. 1864, edited by Professor Lepsius.

² 'Israel also came into Egypt; and Jacob sojourned in the land of *Ham*.'—*Psalm* cv. 23. As some Egyptologists are vehemently opposed to the identification of Mizraim with Menes, we may mention that Syncellus' Canon of the kings of Egypt, formerly called *Mestrea*, begins in this wise: '*Mestram* who is *Menes*: he reigned thirty-five years.'—Cory's *Ancient Fragments*, p. 139. An American work of great pretensions and singular errors as regards Egyptology, entitled *Types of Mankind*, by Nott and Gliddon, p. 494, seems to be unnecessarily irate, because believers in the genuineness of the books of Moses accept the teaching of Genesis x. 6, and believe that Mizraim was the colonizer of Egypt, the son of Ham, and consequently the grandson of Noah. These Biblical critics think it becoming to term such belief as 'Judaizing Christian imposture!' Remembering the advice of the wise king of Israel 'not to answer a fool according to his folly,' we are content with the testimony of Josephus, when describing 'the *grandchildren* of Noah, in honour of whom names were imposed on the nations by those who first took possession . . . Hence the memory of the Mesraites is preserved in their name; for all we Jews call Egypt *Mestre*, and the Egyptians *Mestreans*.'—*Antiq.* i. v. § 2.

Thus, then, the Oxford tablet, which contains the name of this same King *Sent*, taken from the tomb of a priest named 'Shera,' who is represented with his wife, a relative of that king, making offerings to their deceased ancestors, may be regarded as a record of Manetho's second dynasty, and the oldest sign of man on earth, notwithstanding all which speculators of the antiquity of man have said to the contrary. Moreover, as this chronology so far harmonizes with that deducible from Scripture, it may be well to consider how far this really proves to be true.

Bunsen, in speaking of the received Biblical chronology according to Archbishop Ussher's computation, observes: 'As regards the Jewish computation of time, the study of Scripture has long convinced me that there is in the Old Testament no connected chronology *prior to Solomon*. All that now passes for a system of ancient chronology beyond that fixed point is the melancholy legacy of the 17th and 18th centuries; a compound of intentional deceit and utter misconception of the principles of historical research. It is in Egyptian history, if anywhere, that materials are to be gathered for the foundation of a chronology of the oldest history of nations.'¹

Hence Bunsen, after making certain calculations concerning the rate of sinkage of the alluvial deposits in the mud of the Nile, comes to the conclusion that 'man existed on earth about 20,000 B.C.,' adding 'that there is no *valid reason* for assuming a more remote beginning of our race.'² But it is equally a question with all students of chronology whether there is any 'valid reason' for accepting Baron Bunsen's date as 20,000 B.C. for the origin of man on earth. Estimating the rate of sinkage of those pieces of pottery, which were found in the Nile mud, at three and a half inches in a century, Bunsen pronounced accordingly. The basis of this estimate had no very safe foundation, for the French *savans* who accompanied Bonaparte's army to Egypt estimated that the rate of sinkage was more than five inches in a century, in place of three and a half. This alone would have been sufficient to throw doubt on Bunsen's conclusion, when a far stronger proof of its weakness came to light by the unexpected discovery, in the deepest boring at the foot of the statue of Ramesses II., of the *Grecian honeysuckle* stamped upon some of the supposed pre-Adamite fragments, which gave them a date of about three centuries B.C. at the

¹ *Egypt's Place*, vols. i., viii.

² *Ibid.* vols. iii., xxviii.

earliest, or some time subsequent to the conquest of Egypt by Alexander the Great. Hence Sir Charles Lyell, in his *Geological Evidences of the Antiquity of Man*, admits that 'the experiments instituted by Mr. Horner, in the hope of obtaining an accurate chronometric scale for testing the age of a given thickness of Nile sediment, are not considered by experienced Egyptologists to have been satisfactory.' This is fully seen in the fact that when the late Sir Robert Stephenson was engineering in the neighbourhood of Damietta, he discovered in the alluvial deposits of the Nile, at a greater depth than was ever reached by Mr. Horner's diggings, *a brick bearing upon it the stamp of Mahomed Ali!*¹

Although Bunsen considered there was no valid reason for giving man a higher antiquity than 20,000 B.C., those who ignore Scripture testimony do not agree with him. Thus Mr. Jukes, a distinguished English geologist, places the age of man at 100,000 years. Professor Fükbroth affirms, in his work *Der fossile Mensch aus dem Neanderthal*, that it 'reaches back to a period of 200,000 years;' while M. Chabas, in his *Etudes sur l'Antiquité Historique d'après les Sources Egyptiennes*, states, on the authority of M. Piétrement, in due arithmetical progression, that 300,000 years ago the horse was killed and eaten by man in Europe! The late President of the Anthropological Society, Dr. Hunt, not content with the comparatively modest chronology of the Brahmins, which allows the human race an antiquity of 4,300,000 years according to Sir William Jones, affirmed that man had existed on earth for the prolonged period of 9,000,000 years; while Professor Huxley, in his speech at the Norwich meeting of the British Association, contended that 'the appearance of man upon the globe must be thrown back to *an era immeasurably more remote than has ever yet* been assigned to it by the boldest speculators.'

In contrast to these curious speculations, we may remember, in support of the Biblical chronology which gives our race an antiquity of about 6,000 years, that there are arguments from evidence in favour of such a modest computation, *e.g.*

1. The actual number of the supposed population of the world at the present time would, according to the calculated rate of increase from the three sons of Noah on their exit from the Ark, be reached in a little more than 4,000 years.
2. The comparatively modern date of art, sciences, and inventions.
3. The low date of all *authentic* history, whether

¹ *London Quarterly Review*, No. 51, p. 240.

Egyptian, Babylonian, Assyrian,¹ Indian, or Chinese, none of which can be traced back to an earlier date than B.C. 2400.

4. The moral reasoning which forbids the supposition of the enormous period of gloom and barbarism which the theories of the vast antiquity of the existing race demand.

The question, however, which we have now to consider is, the light which the Egyptian records throw upon the antiquity of man on earth. It is true that Manetho, of whom Bunsen writes in the following strain—²

‘Manetho, give us our name !

Grateful I offer to thee whatever through thee I have learned ;

Truth have I sought at thy hand ; truth have I found by thy aid—’

dates the foundation of the Egyptian monarchy thirty centuries earlier than the Bible allows ; but Manetho's chronology is not confirmed either by the monuments, or the papyri, both of which are many centuries earlier than his age. Thus, while Manetho gives 1,504 years as the duration of the first six dynasties of Egyptian kings, the Turin papyrus, which belongs to the age of Ramesses the Great, and, therefore, more than 1,000 years earlier than Manetho, only allows 355 years for the same period.

Eratosthenes, the librarian of Alexandria under Ptolemy Euergetes, and the founder of historical criticism, says Bunsen, for the primitive ages of Greece, gives us a chronology far more in accordance with Scripture. He dates the reign of Menes, the proto-monarch of Egypt, at B.C. 2306, which may be computed as follows. He gives 986 years from Menes to Pharaoh Nilus, whom Herodotus (lib. ii. § 3) calls the son and successor of Ramesses the Great. Dicaearchus, a Greek of the fourth century B.C., says, ‘From the time of Pharaoh Nilus to the first Olympiad there were 436 years.’³ If Dicaearchus refers to the time when the Olympic games

¹ In the celebrated letter which Alexander the Great wrote to his mother Olympias, with the narrative he had received from the Egyptian high priest Leo, who had extracted the same from the national archives, a term of 5,000 years is assigned to the Assyrian kingdom, while in the more authentic Greek history only 1,300 years are reckoned for the same period. So the Egyptian chronology gives 8,000 years to the duration of the Persian empire until the time of Alexander, while among the Greeks only seven centuries are allowed for the same. S. Augustine suggests as a possible explanation, that ‘the Egyptians are said to have formerly reckoned *only four months* to their year.’—*De Civitate Dei*, lib. xii. c. 10.

² *Egypt's Place*, vol. ii. p. 392.

³ This valuable fragment of Dicaearchus' history is given by Bunsen in his *Egypt's Place*, vol. i. p. 712 ; and it is rather strange that he should have overlooked its force, especially when he speaks of Eratosthenes as ‘the founder of historical criticism.’

were first instituted by Iphitus, B.C. 884, this would give B.C. 1320 for the death of Ramesses, which agrees sufficiently well with Manetho, who dates that event B.C. 1322; and may be confirmed by a variety of other sources. By adding the 986 years of Eratosthenes to 1320, we obtain B.C. 2306 as the date for the commencement of the kingdom of Egypt in the person of Menes, its first monarch. As the dispersion at Babel occurred, according to the Hebrew chronology, about B.C. 2330, and the colonization of Egypt followed soon after, we see in this a happy synchronism between the Egyptian historian and the truth of the Bible.

Astronomical science appears to offer some aid in confirmation of the above. There is both monumental and historical evidence that the Great Pyramid of Ghizeh was built during the reign of Pharaoh *Chu-fu*, or *Cheops*, or *Suphis*, as he is variously named by different authorities, though whether he was the builder of it is an open question. Chufu stands in the records of Egypt as the twenty-first king on the Abydos Tablet, and the second king of Manetho's fourth dynasty. The supposed age of the Great Pyramid was calculated by Sir John Herschel, at the request of Col. Howard Vyse, about fifty years ago; and his estimate, based upon the position of the Polar Star at the time of its erection, was determined by him to fall within the years B.C. 2171–2123. His reasons for coming to this conclusion are thus stated:—

‘Four thousand years ago the present Polar Star could by no possibility have been seen at any time within the twenty-four hours through the gallery in the Great Pyramid, on account of the precession of the equinoxes. At that time *α Draconis* was the Polar Star. The passage in the Pyramid may be said to have been directly pointed at *α Draconis* in the horizon of Ghizeh, and would have been within view of an observer stationed in the descending passage.’¹

Sir John Herschel's estimate for finding the true date of the Great Pyramid has been confirmed by Professor Piazzi

¹ Howard Vyse's *Pyramids of Ghizeh*, vol. ii. App. p. 107. The following table will show the great variety of dates assigned by scholars to the building of the Great Pyramid:—

					B.C.
Lesueur	dates it	.	.	.	4975.
Brugsch	"	.	.	.	3657.
Bunsen	"	.	.	.	3460.
Lepsius	"	.	.	.	3426.
Poole	"	.	.	.	2352.
Piazzi Smyth	"	.	.	.	2170.
Palmer	"	.	.	.	1903.
Sir G. Cornwall Lewis	"	.	.	.	993.

Showing a difference of more than 4,000 years!

Smyth, the Astronomer Royal of Scotland, who sums up the question as follows :—

‘It would seem that the resulting conclusion should be in favour of a high probability, and something that *must* be admitted until more direct and positive evidence can be adduced on the opposite side—that if we could by a miracle overtake the time that is passed, and revisit the Ghizeh Hill at the date B.C. 2170, as indicated by the theory, we should certainly find some part or other of the building of the Great Pyramid then in progress ; or, in other words, the operation itself would be abundantly visible from that computed point of time, even as the consequences of the operation are to be seen now, from the similarly computed point of space.’¹

In another work the same author remarks :—

‘The Egyptologists of the French and German schools still treat Sir John Herschel and a *Draconis* with disdain, while they go on asserting for the date of the Great Pyramid’s building, not 2170 B.C., but so much as 3400 B.C., 4500 B.C., or almost any other large number of years. . . . Thanks to recent researches, we may turn upon the Egyptologists, and ask them,—If the angle of elevation of the entrance passage was an entirely accidental, or, at least, a perfectly unastronomical meridian, and might have been anything else as easily as what it was made to be—how did it come to pass that of all the possible angles, between 1 degree and 60 degrees, such a particular, most unique, and all important angle as 26° 18’ was hit upon, so as to chime in precisely with, and call attention to, several other simultaneous astronomical phenomena and arguments ? For in the year when a *Draconis* on the meridian, but beneath the pole, was last seen at precisely that passage elevation angle of 26° 18’, such polar phenomenon had then, and only then, the important complement for time-observation that the Pleiades were simultaneously crossing the meridian above the pole and near the equator. And, *what is even more important still for chronological purposes*, the Pleiades were then,—*in that year alone, of all years for more than 10,000, past and to come*,—in the meridian of the equinoctial point ; or this said equinoctial point, the beginning of all reckoning by right ascension in the sky, was on the meridian coincidently with the other two then also mutually agreeing stellar facts.’²

Assuming this date for the building of the Great Pyramid, B.C. 2170, to be correct, we may find its confirmation in the following way. We have already seen that the Turin papyrus gives 355 years from the time of Menes, the first colonizer

¹ *Life and Work at the Great Pyramid*, by C. Piazza Smyth, F.R.S. L. and E., div. ii. sec. v. vol. iii. p. 287.

² *On the Antiquity of Intellectual Man, from a Practical and Astronomical Point of View*, by C. Piazza Smyth, F.R.S., L. and E., pp. 323-325.

and proto-monarch of Egypt, to the close of Manetho's sixth dynasty. The new tablet of Abydos, and another discovered by M. Mariette at a tomb at Sakkarah, show that in the order of succession the sixth dynasty is immediately followed by the twelfth, when we appear to arrive at something like contemporary history. In the sepulchral grottoes of *Bennee Hasan*, on the banks of the Nile, there are still to be seen some inscriptions belonging to the early kings of the twelfth dynasty. Special mention is there made of the 'Panegyry or Festival of the first year,' referring to the commencement of the *tropical cycle*, i.e. a perfectly exact cycle of the sun, moon, and vague year. 'Hence,' says Poole, after having had his calculations tested by Sir J. Airey, the Astronomer Royal, 'the Egyptian monuments give *two fixed dates*: the commencement of the first tropical cycle on the first day of the tropical and vague years, January 7, B.C. 2005, in the reign of Amenemes II.; and the commencement of the second tropical cycle, Dec. 28, B.C. 507.'¹

Osburn, in his *Monumental History of Egypt* (vol. i. ch. vii.), adduces some evidence in favour of Abraham's visit to Egypt having occurred about the commencement of the twelfth dynasty; which event, according to the Hebrew computation, would be dated B.C. 2010. Josephus, who lived when the temple records of Egypt still existed, relates that Abraham taught the Egyptians 'arithmetic and the science of astronomy, for before he went to Egypt they were unacquainted with that sort of learning.'² This remarkable testimony respecting Abraham is confirmed by two heathen historians, Berosus and Eupolemus, both of whom lived between three and four centuries prior to Josephus.³ And Osburn adds that 'there does not exist a single record of any Pharaoh or subject *with a date* previous to the time of Pharaoh Amenemes I., head of the twelfth dynasty, whereas tablets belonging to his reign, with dates inscribed upon them, are not uncommon.'⁴

Seeing, then, that the commencement of the twelfth dynasty may be approximately dated *circa* B.C. 2000, according to Egyptian chronology, and that this date agrees with that of Scripture for the period of Abraham's visit to the land of Ham, we have thus a synchronism of the histories of Israel and Egypt from the time of Babel to that of the Patriarch of the Jewish race. Counting backwards from B.C. 2000, we

¹ Poole's *Horæ Egyptiæ*, part i. § 11. ² Josephus, *Antiq.* i. viii. § 6.

³ Eusebius, *Præparat. Evangel.* § 9.

⁴ *Monum. Hist. of Egypt*, vol i. c. vii. p. 378.

have the testimony of the Turin papyrus to show that 355 years before, *i.e.* B.C. 2355, Egypt began to be colonized by the arrival of Menes (the Mizraim of Scripture) and his companions, which agrees sufficiently near with the Biblical date for the dispersion at Babel. And this we have already seen is confirmed by the astronomical date of the building of the Great Pyramid, B.C. 2170, during the reign of Chufu, one of the kings of the fourth dynasty, and in accordance with the average estimate of the duration of the first six dynasties, extending from B.C. 2355–2000.¹

Both the Abydos tablets show incontestably that the twelfth dynasty was succeeded by the eighteenth, whose first monarch (Pharaoh Amosis) is known in Egyptian history as the conqueror of the Shepherds, and in the book of Exodus as the 'new king over Egypt which knew not Joseph.' An existing tomb at Eilethya, in Upper Egypt, which is described at length in the Vicomte de Rouge's *Mémoire sur l'Inscription du Tombeau d'Aahmes, chef des Nautoniers*, belonging to one of the nobles of Pharaoh Amosis, who bore the rank of 'Admiral of the Nile,' contains a genealogical record of much importance. The names from the original founder of the family, who lived in the reign of the Pharaoh who immediately preceded the twelfth dynasty, are recorded, as in our English pedigrees, in regular succession from father to son through eleven descents; a descent, according to Herodotus (ii. 142), may be computed as filling a period of thirty years; and consequently eleven descents calculated from the Pharaoh who preceded the twelfth dynasty, which may be approximately dated B.C. 2036, would represent a period of about 330 years, and bring us down to B.C. 1706, the date of the conquest of the Shepherds by Pharaoh Amosis, according to the testimony of Manetho as interpreted by Brugsch for the commencement of the reign of that new king.²

¹ Manetho's system of chronology and writing history can only be explained upon the principle of the Saxon Heptarchy, which if treated in the same way would extend English history by about sixteen centuries. That more than one instance of Manetho's dynasties being contemporaneous may be easily proved from the monuments. The historical inscription of King *Pianchi-Meriamoun*, translated by De Rouge in the *Revue Archéologique* of 1863, p. 94 *et seq.*, shows that at one time there were certainly five contemporary kings reigning in Egypt.

² *Histoire d'Égypte*, par Henri Brugsch. 'Canon chron. des Rois de Menes jusqu'à Nectabenos II. Commencement of the reign of Pharaoh Amosis B.C. 1706.' Canon Cook says, 'Brugsch, following *Lepsius*, fixes the succession of Aahmes I. (Amosis) at B.C. 1706. This would be in very near accordance with Hebrew history, if the dates drawn from notices in the Book of Judges were accepted in preference to that

As this is one of the very few fixed dates in which there is a general consensus of many systems of chronology, we propose, before entering upon the consideration of the Egyptian monuments in relation to the Scripture record, to show that the only possible way of reconciling the histories of Israel and Egypt is to prove the synchronism between the death of Joseph, as related in the Book of Exodus, and the overthrow of the Shepherds by the head of the eighteenth dynasty, as recorded by the threefold testimony of the monuments, the papyri, and the Egyptian historians—as important an event in the history of that country as the Norman conquest in that of England, and from which period Egyptian chronology may be considered as well settled as Roman history, according to Niebuhr, from the time of the irruption of the Gauls.

Although it is commonly said that sacred and secular chronology do not come into contact until the time of the Babylonish captivity, in the 6th century B.C., when one may be said to end and the other to have its more certain beginning, almost all chronologers are agreed that an event as early as the building of Solomon's Temple is a fair starting-point on which the various computations may be said to rest. Biblical chronology places the date of that event B.C. 1014, which is thus confirmed by secular chronology. Carthage was destroyed by Scipio in the fourth and last year of the third Punic war, B.C. 146. Solinus and Cato alike report that Carthage had then existed 737 years, which would fix the date of its building B.C. 883. Menander the Ephesian (who, according to Josephus, 'wrote the acts done both by the Greeks and the Barbarians under every one of the Tyrian kings,'¹ in whose annals the building of Solomon's Temple is specially mentioned as having occurred during the reign of Hiram, king of Tyre, in accordance with the 5th chapter of the 1st Book of Kings) gives 155 years from the building of Carthage to the commencement of Hiram's reign, which would bring that event to B.C. 1038. Hiram reigned according to Menander thirty-four years; his reign therefore terminated B.C. 1005. Hiram is shown in Kings to have been contemporary with both David and Solomon for several years; and according to this computation it must have been in the

given in Kings vi.—*Speaker's Commentary*, vol. i. p. 454. Lepsius, however, in his *Königsbuch*, gives B.C. 1684, and not 1706, for the commencement of Amosis' reign.—See *Quellentafeln der Manethonischen Dynastien*, p. 17.

¹ Joseph. *Contr. Apion.*, lib. i. §§ 17, 18.

twenty-sixth year of his reign, which synchronized with the fourth of Solomon's, that the Temple of Jerusalem was begun to be built. Bunsen, who has investigated this matter very critically, and based upon a different mode of computing the event, concludes that 'the year B.C. 1014 was the year of the building of the Temple on coherent critical grounds, and differs very little from the ordinary computation.'¹

The authorized version of 1 Kings vi. 1 reads thus: '*In the 480th year after the children of Israel were come out of Egypt*, in the fourth year of Solomon's reign over Israel, he began to build the house of the Lord.' Counting 480 years from B.C. 1014, we arrive at 1494 as the date of the Exode apparently on Scripture authority. But we have strong evidence that the words italicized are an interpolation as late as the 4th century of the Christian era. For it does not agree with the summation of years given in the Old Testament, especially a passage in Judges xi. 26, which shows that in the time of Jephthah the children of Israel had then been occupying the Land of Promise upwards of '300 years,' which would leave only fifty-six years for the interval between Jephthah and Saul, in place of between one and two centuries, as stated in the Book of Judges. Nor does it agree with the New Testament, as S. Paul asserts that the rule of the Judges alone, until Samuel, lasted 'about the space of 450 years' (Acts xiii. 20). None of the Jewish writers, such as Deme-trius or Josephus, nor of the Christian Fathers, such as Theophilus of Antioch or Clement of Alexandria, could have known of this clause, for their chronology of that period is essentially different. Again Origen, probably the best authority for the text of Scripture in his own age, in his *Commentary on S. John*, quotes 1 Kings, vi. 1, without the disputed clause, as follows:—'They prepared timber and stones to build the house; and in the fourth year of Solomon's reign over Israel,' &c., omitting all mention of the clause 'in the 480th year,' &c., which proves that the words were not in Origen's copy of the LXX., or of the Hebrew; for had they been in either, Origen would surely have inserted them, as they are the most important words in the text.

It is evident that this clause was unknown to both Jews and Christians, from the fact that all authorities gave a longer period between the Exode and the building of the Temple than the present Hebrew text allows. Thus Deme-trius, of the 3rd century B.C., and Josephus, of the 1st

¹ *Egypt's Place in Universal History*, book iv. part v. § 1, A. iv.

century A.D., computed the interval at 592 years; Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch, in the 2nd century, at 580 years; and Clement, Bishop of Alexandria, at 573 years; showing sufficient agreement without any servile copying from each other, when there was no regular era for the period in existence to afford the approximate estimate of the opinion of chronologers as to what was the real interval between the Exode and the building of the Temple. Now we have a very remarkable secular testimony on this very point. Theophilus, besides giving his own computation of this interval, which is variously reckoned at 580 and 540 years, says:—‘There is an account among the Tyrian archives about the building of the Temple in Judea, which King Solomon built 566 years after the Jews went out of Egypt.’¹ On this authority, so unexceptionable in itself, we appear to be warranted in fixing the date of the Exode at $566 + 1014 = \text{B.C. } 1580$.

Having thus ascertained an approximate date for the Exode, we count back the 430 years mentioned in Exodus xii. 40, as the duration of the sojourn of Israel from the time of the call of Abraham, which event, according to this computation, may be dated $1580 + 430 = \text{B.C. } 2010$; which accords with the time of Abraham’s visit to Egypt, and the first appearance of dates on any of the Egyptian monuments, which art the Pharaohs learnt, as we have already seen, on that memorable occasion.

A strange objection to the truth of the Pentateuch has been adduced by a famous German neologian, writing about half a century ago, before the value of the Egyptian monuments had been discovered. Von Bohlen, in his *Die Genesis historisch-critisch erläutert*, tells his readers that the fact of the Pentateuch having represented Abraham as receiving ‘sheep and asses’ from Pharaoh, was sufficient to prove its *unhistorical* character, as, he says, ‘*sheep* were unknown to the Egyptians at that period, and *asses* were especially odious to them on account of their colour.’ And a further proof that Moses could never have been in Egypt is seen in the fact that ‘no allusion is made to horses (as being given to Abraham), which were native to Egypt, as the relator (Moses) is aware, from Genesis xli. 43 and xlvii. 17, where chariots and horses are named. To this double objection the monuments afford a very satisfactory reply.

Without laying any stress upon Manetho’s testimony, that ‘the goat was worshipped in Egypt as early as the time of the second dynasty,’ *i.e.* about two-and-a-half centuries prior to the

¹ Theoph. *ad Autolyc.* lib. iii. §§ 22, 24.

time of Abraham's visit ; or on the fact that Herodotus, Diodorus, and Plutarch severally mention the existence of *sheep* in that country, we have conclusive evidence in contradiction of Von Bohlen's venturesome assertion. The tomb of Prince Cephrenes, near the Great Pyramid of Ghizeh, of the reign of Pharaoh *Saphis* or *Chufu*, and therefore nearly two centuries prior to the time of Abraham, has various pictorial representations, according to custom, of the property of the wealthy owner. The head shepherd is represented as giving an account of the flocks committed to his charge. First come oxen, over which is written the number 834 ; cows, 220 ; goats, 2,234, asses, 760 ; and *sheep* 974.¹

So as regards Von Bohlen's other objection respecting the omission of 'horses' in the list of animals presented by Pharaoh to Abraham, and their appearance in the time of Joseph. It is assumed that Moses has here shown his ignorance of the domestic habits of the Egyptians ; but, on the contrary, it is well known that there is no monumental representation of the horse in Egypt before the time of Thothmes I., who was certainly reigning within a few years after the conquest of the Shepherds.² We shall presently adduce some evidence in proof of Joseph having been the Prime Minister of a Shepherd King, so that we may point to the monuments as proving that the horse was unknown to the Egyptians of the time of Abraham, and that it must have been introduced into the country probably by the Shepherds themselves, and before the reign of that Pharaoh who 'made Joseph to ride in the second chariot which he had.'

We have before seen the amount of evidence in favour of fixing the date of the Exode at B.C. 1580, and the overthrow of the Shepherds at B.C. 1706, leaving an interval of 126 years between these two events. In confirmation of this chronology, which affords a remarkable synchronism between the histories of Israel and Egypt, we see that at the time of the death of the last of Joseph's brethren there were 126 years unexpired of the 430 years' sojourn from Abraham to the Exode. In chapter i. of Exodus it is recorded that 'Joseph died and all his brethren and all that generation ;' and it is

¹ Lepsius' *Denkmäler*, No. 75, 'Ghizeh ;' Wilkinson's *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, vol. i. p. 130, Second Series ; Osburn's *Monumental History*, vol. i. p. 453.

² Lenormant goes too far when he writes—'C'est aussi de la guerre de Thoutmes I^{er} en Mésopotamie que les Egyptiens rapportèrent pour la première fois le cheval, qui apparaît seulement alors dans leurs sculptures et qui semble leur avoir été jusqu'alors inconnu.'—*Manuel d'Histoire ancienne de l'Orient*, vol. i. p. 238.

added immediately after—'Now there arose up a new king over Egypt which knew not Joseph.' In chapter vi. 16, mention is made of the death of Levi, the brother of Joseph, and the last surviving member of that generation, as we may fairly presume, at the age of 137, and the year before the rise of the new king. The following table of the events recorded in Scripture as having happened during the 430 years' sojourn, fixes the date of Levi's death at B.C. 1707; and, as we have already pointed out, the chronology of Manetho dates the overthrow of the Shepherds by Pharaoh Amosis, and the rise of the celebrated eighteenth dynasty, in the following year, B.C. 1706:—

	Year of Call.	B.C.	
Abraham's visit to Egypt when 75	1	2010	Genesis xii. 1, 4, 10
Isaac born when Abraham was 100	25	1985	" xvii. 1, 21
Isaac married Rebecca when 40	65	1945	" xxv. 20
Jacob born when Isaac was 60	85	1925	" xxv. 26
Abraham's death at 175	100	1910	" xxv. 27 [9
Joseph born when Jacob was 91	176	1834	" xlv. 6; xlvii.
Joseph sold into Egypt at 17	193	1817	" xxxvii. 2
Isaac's death when Joseph was 29	205	1805	" xxxv. 28
Joseph Viceroy of Egypt when 30	206	1804	" xlv. 46 [54
End of the seven years of plenty	213	1797	" xlv. 20, 47,
Jacob in Egypt in the second year of the famine	215	1795	{ " xlv. 6
Jacob presented to Pharaoh when 130			
Jacob's death when 147	232	1778	" xlvii. 9
Joseph's death when 110	286	1724	" xlvii. 28
Death of Levi, the last of the genera- tion, when 137	303	1707	" l. 26
Rise of the king who knew not Joseph	304	1706	Exodus i. 6; vi. 16
Moses born	350	1660	" i. 8
Moses flies to Midian when 40	390	1620	" ii. 1, 2
The Exodus when Moses was 80	430	1580	Acts vii. 23
			Exodus vii. 7

As much controversy has arisen respecting the meaning of the 430 years' sojourn, it may be well to examine the text which treats on this important point. The authorized version reads Exodus xii. 40 thus:—'Now the sojourning of the children of Israel, *who dwelt in Egypt*, was 430 years.' By which it will be seen that the present reading does not necessarily imply that the Israelites were either in Egypt or in servitude during the whole of that period; for it declares

that though their *sojourning* lasted 430 years, it was only a portion of that time that they dwelt in Egypt. Such appears to be the view expressed in Hebrews xi. 9:—‘By faith Abraham *sojourned* in the Land of Promise as in a strange country, dwelling in tabernacles with Isaac and Jacob, the heirs with him of the same promise.’ This is confirmed by the reading both of the Samaritan Pentateuch and the LXX, all of which MSS., as Kennicott observes,¹ are uniform on this matter, and read the text as follows:—‘Now the *sojourning* of the children of Israel, and of their fathers, when they *sojourned* in the land of Canaan and in the land of Egypt, was 430 years.’ And so S. Paul in Galatians iii. 16, 17, teaches that ‘the promises to Abraham and his seed were confirmed by the law (given at Sinai), which was 430 years *after*’ they had been first made.

That the Jews of all ages so understood the text may be seen by this. Demetrius,² who flourished in the 3rd century B.C., reckons 215 years from the call of Abraham to the going down into Egypt; 135 years from this last event to the birth of Moses, and 80 years from that to the Exode, which adds up $215 + 135 + 80 = 430$. Josephus, in the first century A.D., expressly says that ‘the children of Israel left Egypt in the month Xanthicus, on the 15th day of the month, 430 years after our forefather Abraham came into Canaan, but only 215 years after Jacob removed into Egypt.’ Both the Talmuds speak of the sojourning of the Israelites as including that ‘*in Egypt and in all lands*’ besides.⁴ Aben Ezra interprets the words, as does Joseph Ben Gorion, a Rabbinical writer of the 10th century, in the following way:—‘The sojourning of the children of Israel in Egypt, *and in other lands*, was 430 years. Notwithstanding they abode in Egypt only 210 years, according to what their father Jacob told them, to “descend” or *go down* to Egypt, which in Hebrew signifies 210. Furthermore, the computation of 430 years is from the year that Isaac was born, which was the holy seed unto Abraham.’⁵

The testimony of Christian writers is to the same effect. Eusebius⁶ distinctly says that it is ‘by the unanimous consent of all interpreters’ that the text should be so understood.

¹ Kennicott, *Dissert.* ii. pp. 164, 165.

² Demet. *apud. Euseb. Præp. Evang.* ix. § 21.

³ Joseph. *Antiq.* ii. xv. § 2.

⁴ *T. Hierosol. Megillah*, fol. 71, 4. *T. Babylon Megillah*, fol. 9, 1.

⁵ *Historie of the latter Tymes of the Jewes' Common Weal*, by Joseph Ben Gorion. Translated by Peter Morwing, pp. 2, 3. Oxford, A.D. 1567.

⁶ Euseb. *Chron. Canon.* liber prior, § 19.

Augustine, in his 47th *Question* on Exodus, as well as in his *City of God*,¹ taught that the 430 years included the sojourn in Canaan as well as in Egypt. And Sulpicius Severus says, 'from the entrance of Abraham into Canaan until the Exode there were 430 years.'² These interpreters of the text of the Old Testament doubtless understood an argument, which some in the present day have strangely overlooked, that if the 430 years are to be counted only from the time of Jacob's descent into Egypt until the Exode, *the mother of Moses would have borne him 262 years after her father's death*, according to the Biblical computation, which all admit is a physical impossibility; on which Clinton has justly observed: 'Some writers have very unreasonably doubted this portion of the Hebrew chronology, as if it were uncertain how this period of 430 years was to be understood. Those who cast a doubt upon this point refuse to Moses, an inspired writer—in the account of his mother and father, and grandfather—that authority which would be given to the testimony of a profane author on the same occasion.'³

We have dwelt at some length on this point, because it must be regarded as the crucial test between the defenders and the impugnors of the text of Scripture, as to the time of the Exode and the 'new king over Egypt which knew not Joseph.' Speaking generally, the former find the persecutor of the Israelites in Amosis, the first king of the eighteenth dynasty, who conquered the Shepherds B.C. 1706; and the latter in Ramesses the Great, one of the kings of the nineteenth dynasty, whose reign is fixed according to the latest exegesis of German criticism at B.C. 1134.⁴ As this date would result in bringing the 126 years (wanted, as we have already seen, to complete the whole of the 430 years between the 'new king' and the Exode) within the period of Solomon's reign, and would altogether exclude from the domain of history the forty years' wandering in the wilderness, the period of the Judges of Israel and the reigns of Saul and David, we

¹ August. *De Civitat. Dei*, lib. xvi. § 24.

² Sulpic. Sev. *Hist. Eccles.* I. xxvi. § 4.

³ Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, vol i. p. 299, Appendix.

⁴ *Zeitschrift*, 1869, p. 122. Canon Cook says: 'Egyptian scholars have hitherto been divided between two opinions, some recognizing in Aahmes, or Amosis, the first sovereign of the eighteenth dynasty, the first persecutor of the Israelites, and in one of his descendants the Pharaoh of the Exodus; others regarding the third sovereign of the nineteenth dynasty, *i.e.* Rameses II., the Sesostis of the Greeks, and his son Marnepthah, or his grandson Seti, as the contemporaries of Moses.'—*Speaker's Commentary*, vol. i. p. 452.

may at once dismiss this specimen of German criticism from all further consideration. And in order to show what little confidence we can have in this school of critics, and how great are the differences amongst themselves on the subject of chronology, we find, concerning the duration of the *sojourn* of Israel, these various opinions propounded by three eminent German authorities. Lepsius declares that 'only ninety years intervened from the entrance of Jacob to the Exodus of Moses.' Brugsch contends that the same period embraces the whole of the 430 years. While Bunsen writes in one place that 'the duration of the sojourn in Egypt was 1434 years,' and in another reduces the same period to 862 years!¹ Until German Egyptologists present the world with results somewhat more harmonious, we need not feel much disquieted at Bunsen's remark when he ridicules what he says 'einige weise Männer und Knaben Englands schlau andeuten.'

Another instance of great differences among German Egyptologists, who ignore Scripture authority *in toto*, may be seen in the duration of the Shepherd dynasty, which reigned in Egypt, as far as we can gather from the monuments, for about one century. Yet some have no hesitation in prolonging their reign to a far greater extent. Bunsen computes it at 926 years; Lepsius reduces the period to 500 years,² while De Rougé elongates it to 2017 years; showing a difference of more than fifteen centuries between those who claim to be teachers of the true history of Egypt and Israel! Such speculations can only be compared to the case of a foreigner, like M. Guizot, who has written the history of the English Commonwealth, if he were to speculate on its duration as having been either five, or ten, or twenty centuries! Had the Shepherds reigned in Egypt as long as De Rougé supposes,

¹ Lepsius' *Letters from Egypt*, p. 475. *Histoire d'Égypte*, par Henri Brugsch, p. 80. Bunsen's *Egypt's Place*, iii. 357, and v. 77.

² Lepsius' computation of 500 years for the duration of the Shepherd dynasty is grounded upon Manetho's estimate respecting the sixteenth dynasty, of which he writes:—'There were 32 Hellenic Shepherd kings who reigned 518 years.' As far as the monuments reveal, the Shepherd dynasty did not reign above one century; but the possible solution of Manetho's '518 years' may be this. Herodotus (ii. § 124 *et seq.*) says that at the time of the building of the Great Pyramid, one 'Philiton, a shepherd, pastured his flocks near the place.' Manetho states that the last of the Shepherds were finally expelled from Egypt by Pharaoh Thothmes III., grandson of the conqueror Amosis. The date of the Great Pyramid is astronomically fixed at B.C. 2170, and counting forward 518 years, we are brought to B.C. 1652, when Thothmes III. was ruling in Egypt. Manetho, writing nineteen centuries after the first of these events, has confused them together, which may account for his impossible duration of the sixteenth dynasty as lasting for 518 years.

they would have ceased to have been regarded as foreign conquerors, just as our Plantagenet kings were within two centuries after the Norman Conquest. The impossibility of his theory may be estimated by supposing the descendants of Julius Cæsar to have been ruling in England since the first Roman invasion, and the present generation of Englishmen, headed by a descendant of the ancient British kings, rising in rebellion against them, and expelling them from the country in consequence of their being *foreigners*!

Turn we now to the consideration of those events recorded in Scripture which appear to be confirmed more or less distinctly either by the hieroglyphic monuments or the hieratic papyri. It is frequently said that neither of these witnesses afford any confirmation to the Noachian Flood. We think this is a mistake, for though there is no positive evidence yet discovered showing that the Egyptians knew of the judgment which overtook the antediluvian world, it is more than probable they had some traditions concerning it. In that remarkable work known as the *Egyptian Ritual, or Book of the Dead*, some portions of which are certainly prior to the time of Abraham,¹ which has been so skilfully translated by Dr. Birch, there is frequent mention of the name of Noah, variously written as *Nh*, *Nuh*, and *Noa*, who was worshipped in Egypt as *the god of water*, and who appears to be identified with the deified hero who was entitled 'the father of the gods,' and 'the giver of mystic life to all beneath him.' According

¹ 'The earliest appearance,' says Dr. Birch, 'of Rituals is in the eleventh dynasty (*i.e.* before 2000 B.C.). It is then that extracts of these sacred books are found covering the inner sides of the rectangular chests which held the mummies of the dead.'—*Egypt's Place*, v. 127. This is a remarkable fact, that the book of the dead contains a far sounder faith respecting the Creator of all things, than that of the Grecian philosophers, like Democritus and Epicurus, in ancient times, and the materialists, like Herbert Spencer and Professor Tyndall, in our own days, who have adopted the hypothesis of the world having been created by a fortuitous concourse of atoms without an Omnipotent Ruler; for in chap. xvii., on the Egyptian faith, it is written, 'I AM THE GREAT GOD, CREATING HIMSELF'—golden words which might be profitably considered by some of our present professors, though mixed with ideas which are only fit for the disciples of Mr. Darwin, as it is said in chap. liv., 'I am the egg of the great cackler; I have watched this great egg which Seb has prepared for the earth.' And so Jamblicus, in his account of the creed held by the Egyptians, as found in the ancient hermetic books, quotes as follows:—'Before all existing things, and before all principles, *there is one God*, prior to the first God and King, immovable in the solitude of his unity. He is the self-begotten father of Himself, who is truly good—the fountain of all things, and the root of all primary intelligible existing forms. Out of this one mould the self-ruling God made Himself shine forth; wherefore He is the first principle and God of gods.'—*Jamb.* sect. viii. c. 2, § 3.

to Plutarch, the Egyptian tradition represents Noah under the last-named title, when Typhon, a personification of the ocean, enticed him into the Ark, which, being closed, was forced out to sea through the Tanaitic mouth; which things 'were done,' says Plutarch,¹ '*upon the seventeenth day of the month Atayr, when the sun was in Scorpio, in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Osiris.*' So it is recorded of THE FLOOD, that it commenced '*in the six-hundredth year of Noah's life, in the second month, and in the seventeenth day of the month, the same day.*'—*Genesis vii. 11.* The fact that two such different authorities as Moses and Plutarch mention a great Flood beginning on the seventeenth day of the month, seems to show that they are speaking of the same event.

In the Egyptian Pantheon the names of the various deities are written so differently, though certainly not more so than amongst ourselves,² that it is almost impossible to decide whether we are to understand the same individual or a number of deified men. Thus he who is described in the *Book of the Dead* as *Nh, Nuh, or Noa*, appears on the monuments as *Num, Nu, Khnum*, and is the original immortal god, according to Plutarch, who was known to the inhabitants of the Thebaid under the name of *Kneph*, or Chnubis.³ On a monument discovered in the mystic chamber of the Temple of Philæ, belonging to the Ptolemaic epoch, he is represented as turning a potter's wheel, moulding the mortal part of Osiris out of a lump of clay, with the following inscription written over his head—'Khnum, who forms on his wheel the divine limbs of Osiris, who is enthroned in the great hall of life.' A remarkable passage in Isaiah (lxiv. 8), 'Now, O Lord, Thou art our father; we are the clay, and Thou our potter; and we are all the work of Thy hand,' may possibly have given the Egyptians of Ptolemaic times, upwards of four centuries after Isaiah's age, and when the LXX. version was known to the learned, the idea of the potter and the clay.⁴

¹ Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, § 13. Plato also in the *Timæus*, § 5.

² The writer has discovered his own name in ancient documents spelt in twenty-one different ways; sometimes with six letters, at other times with twelve. In the history of the battle of Agincourt by Sir Harris Nicolas the same name is spelt no less than ten different ways.

³ *De Isid. et Osir.* § 21. The name is variously interpreted by Champollion as 'the breath of those who are in the firmament;' by Birch as 'water,' which is the more probable, as one of the titles of *Nuh*, or *Kneph*, under which he was worshipped in Elephantina, was that of the Lord of the 'libations' or the 'inundations.'

⁴ Gliddon, in his *Ancient Egypt*, p. 29, endeavours to connect the potter's clay mentioned by Isaiah with *Adam*—'We are the clay, in Hebrew אֶדָם, red earth,' &c. But this is a mistake, as the Hebrew word used

Curious enough, the same idea seems to have been entertained by the Buddhists. Thus in the account of the *Swābhāvika* doctrine it is said :—

‘All things are governed or perfected by Swabháva. . . . All things come from Swabháva. At the general dissolution of all things the four elements shall be absorbed thus:—Earth in water, water in fire, fire in air, and air in Buddha Swabháva; and when existence is again evolved, each shall in the inverse order progress from the other. Such is the *Swābhāvika* Sausár (*universe*), which constantly revolves between *pravritti* and *nirvritti* (the poles in the Buddhist system of Cosmogony) *like a potter's wheel*.¹

Another Egyptian monument from the temple of Osiris at Philæ, and of the same age, appears to bear testimony to the Mosaic record of the Temptation and Fall of our first parents.

This tablet, which was published in the collection of plates of the Egyptian Society, and edited by the late Dr. Young, shows a representation of a man and woman standing beside a pomegranate-tree, from which one appears to have plucked some fruit and to have given it to the other, while a basilisk, or crowned serpent, is standing erect beside the woman, as though the sentence ‘upon thy belly shalt thou go’ had not yet been passed; telling its own tale, and evidently showing that in this picture we have the Egyptian idea of the Temptation of Adam and Eve.²

That the Egyptians had some conceptions of the Fall long prior to the Ptolemaic age may be gathered from this. On a tablet found in one of the tombs of the kings at Thebes, and therefore about ten or twelve centuries earlier than the Ptolemies, there is represented a scene which is thus described by a British officer who had seen it *in situ*: ‘Eve stands in parley with the serpent; and next to this a god, with a sharp arrow, pierces the serpent's head. It is evident that primeval tradition has handed down the true worship to the precincts of Isis, of which these last drawings are imperfect imitations; that it was corrupted and lost, when, finding out many by the Prophet is מִן, which Gesenius renders (1) ‘foaming of waves,’ (2) ‘clay of the potter.’

¹ See Preface to his *Sketch of Buddhism*, by B. H. Hodgson, Esq., M.R.A.S. &c., Resident in Nepál.

² The Assyrian tradition of the Fall may be gathered from a Babylonian cylinder, a copy of which is given in Lajard's *Culte de Mithra*, plate vii. fig. 4, representing a man and woman seated on each side of a seven-branched tree, laden with fruit. Each figure has its hand stretched forth, as if about to pluck the fruit. Behind the woman is a serpent standing erect on the tip of its tail. Behind the serpent the outline of half a human figure, with a single horn on its forehead, as if to represent SATAN.

inventions, they first personified and then deified the attributes of the Deity.¹ In Denon's great work on Egypt, the plates seem to show that the ancient Egyptians had some conception of a different condition of the serpent before the fall. *E.g.* in plate LII. we find various representations from different temples of the serpent as follows:—1. A snake with two human heads and a branch growing from its back. 2. A snake with body perpendicular and tail horizontal, having a human head surrounded by stars and supported by two human legs. 3. A figure with a snake's head and a human body, a pair of animal paws and a snake's tail, standing upright. In plate LXII. several snakes are represented in various forms, chiefly walking upright. One walking erect has its tail upheld by three human figures, while others are worshipping the snake itself.

The two most important epochs in the histories of Israel and Egypt, as far as Scripture is concerned, are those belonging to the times of Joseph and Moses; and we now propose to consider what light the monuments and the papyri afford on the subject. The differences among Egyptologists in regard to chronology, which we have already pointed out, exists in the same degree respecting the reigning Pharaohs of the times of Joseph and Moses. If their names had been recorded in Scripture there would have been no difficulty in their identification, but Moses confines himself to the generic name of 'Pharaohs,'² which, like 'Cæsar' of later times, was sufficiently

¹ Capt. Fraser, R.A., MS. Journal, quoted in Forster's *Monuments of Egypt*, p. 181. It is not quite certain that it represents the fall and the bruising of the serpent's head, as Capt. Fraser supposes. Wilkinson, who gives a copy of what is evidently the same tablet in plate p. 42, supposes that it rather points to the Greek legend of 'the wars between the Giants, or Titans, and the Gods;' as the serpent is named 'Αῖψος, which in Egyptian signifies a *giant*.' And 'the destruction of the serpent by (the god) Horus, who, standing in a boat, pierces his head with a spear as he rises above the water, frequently occurs in the sculptures.'—*Manners and Customs*, &c. i. pp. 435–6, Second Series.

² The name 'Pharaoh,' which is found for the first time on the nineteenth king's cartouche of the Abydos tablet, has the undoubted meaning of 'The Sun,' Ra being the well-known designation of the sun from sunrise to sunset. M. Chabas explains the word in his *Le Papyrus Magique d'Harris* (p. 173, n. 2) thus:—'*Pera*, le Soleil, Memph. פֶּרַא, Heb. פֶּרַעָה, désignation ordinaire des rois d'Égypte.' Brugsch and others have adopted another signification, considering it means 'the great double house,' but we do not think the arguments are as weighty for the latter as for the former. Canon Cook considers that the additional title of Son of Pharaoh, or Ra, borne for the first time by Chephren, the twenty-third king on the Abydos tablet, is an argument against the former meaning, as he says, 'the king was not likely to be called both the Son of Ra (Sun) and the Ra.' But in the Christian religion our blessed Master is designated both 'The Son of God' and 'Very God,' or 'The God' as well.

understood for the purpose of history ; and it was not until the times of David and Solomon that we find the individual name of a king or queen of Egypt recorded in the Bible. There is a noteworthy circumstance connected with Joseph's first interview with the great sovereign who subsequently raised him from a prison to the viceroyalty of his kingdom. No sooner had the Jewish captive interpreted the dream of the king of Egypt than 'the thing appeared good in Pharaoh's eyes, and he said unto his servants, Can we find such an one as this is, a man in whom *the spirit of God* is? And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, Forasmuch as God hath showed thee all this, see, I have set thee over all the land of Egypt.'¹

In order to understand the remarkable fact of a heathen king recognizing at once the God of Israel, we must consider first who this Pharaoh really was. The tradition of the Greeks has handed down his name as *Apophis*, the most celebrated of the Shepherd kings who reigned in Egypt. George Syncellus, a Byzantine historian of the eighth century, says:— 'All are agreed that Joseph governed Egypt under Apophis, and commenced in the seventeenth year of his reign.'²

Assuming that this notice of Joseph's patron is historically true, we have ample proof that Apophis worshipped specially the God *Sutech*, who was then unknown to the Egyptians ; and that this Sutech was regarded as the local deity of the Syrians, from whose country the Hycsos, or Shepherds, and Joseph had alike come, as it is written of Jacob : 'A Syrian ready to perish was my father, and he went down to Egypt and sojourned there with a few, and became there a nation, great, mighty, and populous.'³ The Sallier papyrus in the British Museum, written about four centuries after the time of Joseph, throws considerable light on this subject, as it shows the Hycsos king supreme over all the land of Egypt, and acknowledging *Sutech*, the god of the Syrians, as the sole deity whom he worshipped. This important passage reads as follows:—

'It came to pass when the land was held by the Hycsos invaders, Raskenen was ruling in the south, and Pharaoh Apophis was in his palace at Avaris. The whole land paid homage to him with their manufactures and all the precious things of the country. Pharaoh Apophis had set up Sutech for his Lord ; *he worshipped no other god in the whole land.*'

The noticeable fact of this Hycsos king having been devoted to the worship of Sutech has been confirmed by the

¹ Genesis xli. 37—41.² Syncel. p. 104, B.³ Deut. xxvi. 5.

discovery of a colossal statue at Avaris, bearing this inscription—

‘PHARAOH APOPHIS WORSHIPPER OF THE GOD SUTECH.’

Hence Brugsch observes that ‘the mention of this god in combination with the Shepherd king proves most clearly what is stated in the papyrus concerning Apophis having been specially devoted to the worship of this god, to the exclusion of all the other deities of the whole country.’¹

An objection has been made to the view of Joseph’s patron being a Pharaoh of the Shepherd dynasty, on account of its being stated in Genesis that ‘every shepherd (was considered) an abomination unto the Egyptians;’ to which there is this very natural reply, that a native Pharaoh would not have promoted a captive of the Shepherd race to which Joseph belonged. But it is a question whether our English version of Genesis xli. 34 conveys the exact sense of the original; as it is evident from the context that Joseph, before introducing his brethren to Pharaoh, prompted them to avow that they were ‘*shepherds* from our youth even unto now, both we and our father,’ in order that Pharaoh might give them ‘the best of the land to dwell in.’ Now this can only be consistently explained upon the grounds that at the time a king of the Shepherd dynasty was reigning in Egypt. The progress of hieroglyphic discovery has not confirmed the opinion of the ‘Shepherds’ having been so odious to the native Egyptians as our translation supposes. Moreover, if we take the *unpointed* Hebrew as a guide to determine the text, the word *רעה צאן*,² rendered *shepherd*, literally means ‘goats’ or sheep ‘delighted in,’ *i.e.* consecrated. And though the word *תועבת* undoubtedly means ‘abomination,’ it is equally certain that of the ninety times in which it occurs in the Old Testament, it far more frequently refers to the *idols* themselves, which things were an ‘*abomination* to Jehovah,’ as in Prov. iii. 32, though objects of worship to the Zidonians and the children of Ammon, as in 2 Kings xxiii. 13. Hence the passage might be rendered, ‘Every consecrated goat is an idol or object of worship with the Egyptians.’ That such was the case is well known from the testimony of Manetho, who says, that as early as the second dynasty, *i.e.* before Abraham visited Egypt, ‘the bulls Apis in Memphis, and Mnevis in Heliopolis, and the Mendesian goat were appointed

¹ *Histoire d’Égypte*, p. 79.

² Genesis xli. 34: ‘Every shepherd.’ The word translated ‘Shepherds’ in v. 32 is slightly different, *רעי צאן*, and might be rendered literally as ‘feeders of sheep.’

to be gods.¹ And Herodotus, two centuries before Manetho, wrote: 'The Mendesian Egyptians hold all goats in veneration, but the male more than the female, giving the goat-herds of the males especial honour. One is venerated more highly than all the rest, and when he dies there is great mourning throughout all the Mendesian canton. In Egyptian the goat and Pan are both called Mendes'—(ii. 46).

The progress of hieroglyphic discovery has further shown that so far from the Shepherd dynasty being such an 'abomination' in the eyes of the Egyptians of the time of Moses as our translation of Genesis xlv. seems to imply, and as the fragments of Manetho's history, which have come down to us, appear to teach, M. Mariette, a very high authority in such matters, points out, in a series of remarkable papers which have been published in the *Revue Archéologique*, that 'the Shepherds have been too severely judged'—'the temple of Sutech built by Apophis was ornamented and enriched with images of those Pharaohs of whom the Shepherds were accused of destroying all but the remembrance'—'the Shepherds obtained possession of Egypt by violence; but the civilization which they adopted after their conquest was Egyptian rather than Asiatic, and the discoveries at Avaris (the Scripture *Zaan*) prove that they did not banish from their temples the gods of the Egyptian pantheon'—'the great sphinx of Manepthah at the Louvre, the statue of Ra-smenkhka, and the statue of Tell-Mokdam plead strongly on behalf of the Hycsos, proving that they did not commit devastations, but even protected the inscriptions on the statues which they are accused of having destroyed.'²

The connection between Sutech, the sole deity recognized by Pharaoh Apophis, and the God of the Hebrews may be seen in this. The hieroglyph Sutech appears on all the monuments as a nondescript sort of an animal, but chiefly resembling that of an *ass* in its head and tail. An ass was to the Egyptians the type of their Northern enemies in Syria, and so Sutech was represented with the head of an ass, the Egyptian name of which was *Typhon*, or *Tao*, and under the form of IAO the Greeks designated the 'God of the Hebrews.' Hence Diodorus relates that when Antiochus Epiphanes, B.C. 170, entered the Temple on Mount Zion, 'he found the figure of a man carved in stone sitting on an *ass*, whom he took for Moses who built Jerusalem.'³

¹ Euseb. *Chron. Can.* lib. prior, cap. xx.

² Mariette Bey in *Revue Archéologique*, ii. 104; iii. 340.

³ Diodorus, lib. xxxiv. *Frag.*

Regarding this extraordinary statement of the Greek historian in the light of a gibe, it is nevertheless remarkable to find that the early Christians, three centuries later, were mocked in a similar way. Amid the ruins of Hadrian's palace at Rome, who reigned A.D. 117-138, there has recently been discovered a representation of a human figure *crucified with an ass's head*, with the following inscription underneath—

‘*Alexamenos adores his God.*’¹

Tertullian, writing at the close of the 2nd century, says:—

‘A new report of our God hath been lately spread in this city (Rome), since a wretch issued a picture with some such title as this,—

“*The God of the Christians conceived of an Ass.*”²

We have ample proof that very shortly after the overthrow of the Shepherds, *Sutech* came to be regarded by the Egyptians under a very different aspect; Mariette goes so far as to say that he will ‘not be at all surprised if fresh discoveries show that Amosis, the conqueror of the Hycsos, in his turn sacrificed to the God *Sutech*.’ At all events, it is certain that Amosis’ grandson, Thothmes III., the contemporary of Moses, recognized this deity, for in a fine tablet from the great Temple of Karnac, *Sutech* is represented as instructing that Pharaoh in the use of the bow.³ And two centuries later the famous Temple of Abou-Simbel was dedicated by Ramesses the Great to the four principal deities in the Egyptian Pantheon at that period of history, *viz.* Ammon, Phthah, Ra, and *Sutech*.

A discovery by M. Mariette of a tablet in the ruins of the great Temple at Tanis (Zoan) seems to throw further light on this subject. It was placed there by the same celebrated Pharaoh, commonly known to us as Ramesses the Great, and bears the date of ‘the 400th year of the era of Noubti,’ the first known instance of any era in use amongst the ancient

¹ See *Bampton Lectures* of Canon Liddon, p. 594; also Döllinger’s *Gentile and Jew*, vol. i. p. 453.

² Tertullian, *Apol.* c. xvi. Epiphanius also says that ‘the Egyptians celebrate the festivals of Typhon under the form of an ass, which they call Seth’—(*Adv. Hær.* iii. p. 1093). And Bunsen observes that ‘the name *Sutech*, or *Seth*, occurs as an ass in Salvolini’s extract from the MS. of Aix on the strength of the army of Sesostris, where he quotes the Greek transcript of the name ΣΗΘ’—(*Egypt’s Place*, i. 439).

³ Wilkinson’s *Manners and Customs*, &c. plate xxxix.; Burton’s *Excerpta Hieroglyphica*, plate xxxvii.

nations of the world. The tablet was erected in honour of 'Sutech, the god of the Shepherds.' De Rougé, who gives a full account of Mariette's discovery, considers that 'the name *Noubti* belongs to the dynasty of the Shepherd kings, and that Ramesses liked to trace his genealogy from him ;' and he adds that 'Noubti is the Egyptian name for the god *Sutech*.'¹ Hence it is not improbable but that 'the era Noubti,' or Sutech, may have taken its rise from Pharaoh's recognition of Sutech as 'the God of the Hebrews ;' which agrees chronologically with what Egyptologists have assumed for the commencement of the Noubti era upon totally different grounds. M. Vincent, a member of the French Institute, asserts that B.C. 1801 is the exact year for the beginning of the era ;² and Joseph's viceroyalty commenced, according to our computation, B.C. 1803. If we count on 400 years from this beginning we are brought to B.C. 1401-3, at which time all are agreed that Ramesses the Great was reigning in Egypt.

Our interpretation of the deity *Sutech*, as the god both of the Hyksos and the Hebrews, and eventually placed in the Egyptian pantheon, just as Tiberius proposed to the Senate to admit Christ into that of Rome, may serve to explain an inscription on a monument at Thebes, which represents Pharaoh Manepthah, son and successor of Ramesses the Great, as worshipping 'the god Sutech of Avaris.' Ewald, in his *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, p. 450, asserts that *Avaris* means philologically nothing less than 'the city of the Hebrews ;' and De Rougé shows³ from the monuments that Avaris is the same as the *Tanis* of the Greeks and the *Zaan* of Scripture ; which in Hebrew signifies 'motion,' and the equivalent for *Hawar* or *Avar*, 'the place of departure,' from which the Israelites went forth at the time of the Exodus ; and hence we may not be far wrong if we interpret the inscription 'the God Sutech of Avaris,' as bearing in its esoteric meaning 'JEHOVAH THE GOD OF THE CITY OF THE HEBREWS.'

Pharaoh's recognition of the God of the Hebrews, when the captive Joseph had interpreted his dream, is followed by acts thus recorded :—'And Pharaoh took off his ring from his hand and put it upon Joseph's hand, and arrayed him in vestures of fine linen, and put a gold chain about his neck, and he made him to ride in the second chariot which he had, and they cried before him, *Abrech* ; and he made him ruler over all the land of Egypt, and called Joseph's name *Zaphnath-*

¹ *Revue Archéologique*, x. p. 130, and for Mariette's own account of the tablet, see *Rev. Arch.* xi. p. 169.

² *Ib.* x. p. 489.

³ *Ib.* vii. p. 250.

paaneah; and he gave him to wife Asenath, the daughter of Poti-pherah, Prince of On.¹

A monument at Thebes, representing the investiture of an officer of high rank in the presence of Pharaoh Seti, father of Ramesses the Great, recalls to mind the above scene, as the nobleman thus invested is seen clad 'in vestures of fine linen,' and a 'gold chain is placed about his neck,' exactly as had been done to Joseph three centuries before at the command of the reigning king.² It is not certain what is the exact meaning of the Egyptian words '*Abrech*' and '*Zaphnath-paaneah*,' which Moses uses in the narrative of Joseph's exaltation. Our English version renders the former 'Bow the knee.' Rossellini, and after him Gesenius, suggest 'incline, or bow the head.' Osburn³ says the term is frequently met with on the monuments, and renders it 'pure prince.' Others prefer 'tender father.' Canon Cook, in his *Excursus*, seems to render the term by 'Rejoice thou,' as most in accordance with Egyptian custom; and gives an inscription of Ramesses the Great with the expression *Ab-seu-nek*, 'they rejoice before thee; which is the most probable meaning of the term, as the context tells us that the people cried before him, *i.e.* shouted out in his presence '*Abrech!*'

Concerning the name '*Zaphnath-paaneah*,' the differences amongst Egyptologists as to its proper meaning are still more numerous than in the previous instance; but these were chiefly the guesses of critics before the knowledge of hieroglyphics had reached its present stage. Canon Cook shows with complete success that the word is not unfrequently met with on the monuments as well as in the papyri. It is to be found in paragraphs marked Nos. 162, 164, and 167 of the Turin papyrus, and occurs in the rings of three Pharaohs of the thirteenth dynasty,⁴ very near the time of Joseph, and has this signification, '*Food of life*,' and is peculiarly appropriate to the circumstances connected with Joseph's rise.

Although no monumental proof has yet been discovered in Egypt respecting the 'seven years' famine, it is interesting to know that the Hamyaritic⁵ inscriptions and the Chinese

¹ Genesis xli. 42-45.

² Wilkinson's *Manners and Customs*, &c. plate lxxx.

³ Osburn's *Israel in Egypt*, p. 43.

⁴ Lepsius' *Königsbuch der Alten Ägypter*, Taf. xix. 282, 284.

⁵ The following translation of a Hamyaritic inscription found amid the ruins of a fortress at Hisn Ghorâb, in Arabia, is believed to refer to the 'seven years' famine which afflicted Egypt and all lands in the time of Joseph. The late Rev. Charles Forster has given an interesting account of this remarkable inscription, and the way in which it has been preserved

archives alike bear testimony to the truth of the Mosaic record. That of the latter is so interesting that it deserves mention. It is there recorded that 'in the beginning of the reign of *Ching-tang* there happened a drought and *famine all over the empire which lasted seven years*, during which time no rain fell.'¹ According to the Hebrew computation the 'seven years' famine in Egypt may be dated B.C. 1796-1789. According to Chinese chronology, the Emperor Kie, the immediate predecessor of Ching-tang, began to reign B.C. 1823, and Ching-tang died B.C. 1758. Kie is represented as the greatest monster of vice and cruelty ever known in China. His cruelties, which commenced B.C. 1804, caused the nobles to rebel against him. The confusion arising from the long civil war which ensued makes the exact date of Ching-tang's reign less clear than it otherwise would be ; but since the two reigns, which include a period of sixty-five years, contain the time of 'the seven years' famine' in Egypt, we have the strongest grounds for concluding that the famine mentioned in the Chinese annals and the one recorded in Scripture refer to one and the same event.

In the life of the late Baron Bunsen mention is made of the delight with which he received a communication, when at Rome in 1853, from Dr. Birch, with the decipherment of a hieroglyphic inscription, a portion of which reads as follows :—'*When in the time of Sesertesen I. the great famine prevailed in all the other districts of Egypt, there was corn in mine.*'² Bunsen hastily pronounced this to be 'a certain and incontrovertible proof' of the seven years' famine in the time of

by Albert Schultens in his *Monumenta Vetustiora Arabiae*, and originally discovered by Abderrahman about A.D. 660. It reads as follows :—

'We dwelt at ease in this castle a long tract of time ; nor had we a desire but for the land of the vineyard.

Hundreds of camels returned to us each day at evening, pleasant to behold them in their resting places.

We dwelt in this castle *seven years of good life*—how difficult for memory to describe it !

Then came years barren and burnt up :—

When one evil year had passed, there came another to succeed it, And we became as though we had never seen a glimpse of good.

They died, and neither foot *nor hoof remained*.

Thus far is it with him who renders not thanks to God :

His footsteps will be blotted away from his dwelling.'

Compare Genesis xli. 22 *et seq.*; Exodus x. 26 ; Forster's *Arabia*, ii. 92 ; and *Sinai Photographed*, p. 298.

¹ *History of China*, collected out of Martinus, Couplet, and du Halde. Jackson's *Chronological Antiquities*, vol. ii. p. 455.

² *Egypt's Place*, iii. p. 334.

Joseph. Brugsch,¹ with far better reasons, both as an Egyptologist, of which science Bunsen knew nothing, and as a believer in the Mosaic record, pronounced his conclusion 'impossible for reasons chronological.' With this we entirely agree; for, independent of the fact that the reign of Sesertesen I. preceded that of Joseph's Pharaoh by about two centuries, if we note the Scripture record we see how much it differs from the words on the monument. In Genesis xli. 54 it is written, 'The seven years' dearth was *in all lands*; *but in all the land of Egypt there was bread.*' The inscription which is on the tomb of Amenj Amenemha, governor of the *nome* or district of Sah in Upper Egypt, a nobleman of the court of Pharaoh Sesertesen I., tells of a great famine extending *over all Egypt, save one district*; Scripture records that the seven years' famine was *in all lands but Egypt*. Surely these cannot refer to the same event.

One result of the seven years' famine and Joseph's inspired provision to meet the emergency, is seen in the subsequent change which took place respecting the tenure of land in Egypt. The narrative in Genesis records the way in which Joseph apportioned four-fifths of the land to the people, reserving one-fifth for Pharaoh himself, 'except the land of the priests only, which became not Pharaoh's.'² A modern historian observes on this subject:—

'The tombs of the eras which follow that of Apophis bear unequivocal testimony to a great political change having taken place in the condition of the inhabitants of Egypt at this period, when we compare them with those of the preceding epochs. In old Egypt scarcely an act of any Pharaoh is recorded in the tombs of his subjects. Nor does his name appear at all save in the names of their estates, and sometimes in their own names. But in the tombs of the new kingdom, or that of the times which followed Joseph, all this is reversed. Nor is this difference confined to the secular princes of Egypt only. The inspired narrative visibly requires in addition, that a difference, at the least equally perceptible, should appear in the condition of the priesthood at the two epochs now under comparison. Such is certainly the case. The priest has risen greatly in authority and importance in the state. His office becomes more and more exclusive and hereditary, until at length he ascends the throne of the Pharaohs, and rules all Egypt by a dynasty of priest-kings. For all this, the inspired narrative gives us the amply

¹ *Histoire d'Égypte*, p. 56. The little confidence we can have in Bunsen's interpretation of Scripture may be seen in the fact that in one place he estimates the sojourn in Egypt to have lasted over eight centuries, and in another place over fourteen centuries! Compare *Egypt's Place*, iii. 357, with v. 77.

² Genesis xlvii. 26.

sufficient cause in the forbearance of Apophis to exact payment for the corn supplied to the temples during the famine. The remains of the institutions of Joseph are likewise traceable in the account of the laws and customs of Egypt preserved in the Greek tradition. We find from Diodorus that the tripartite division of the soil, so clearly implied in the Scripture account of the reforms of Joseph, was in full force at the time of his visit to Egypt. For the sake of convenience the whole land had been included in one arrangement. The fifth of Pharaoh had been commuted for the cession of a determinate portion of the surface of every province of Egypt; so that there were three classes of landed proprietors only, the priest, the king, and the soldier, or secularity. This is evidently the arrangement made by Joseph, with a very trifling modification, notwithstanding that 1,800 years elapsed between his day and the visit of Diodorus.¹

Another instance of the Scripture narrative of Joseph being in harmony with the Egyptian monuments appears in the record concerning his age at the time of death. The book of Genesis closes with the assertion that Joseph died at the age of 110. Bunsen, adopting the strange theory that it was next to a physical impossibility for a centenarian to exist then as now, declares that 'the 110 years of Joseph could not be historical,' affirming that his real age was probably not greater than 78.² Now it is a singular fact that we have the evidence both of the monuments and the papyri that the Egyptians recognized the term of 110 years as the limit of human longevity; and as this can be traced for several centuries almost to the period of Joseph's death, and during that period became proverbial amongst the Egyptians, it is not improbable that this arose from the esteem which they entertained for Egypt's great benefactor. In the British Museum an inscription belonging to a court officer, named *Raka*, of the time of Ramesses the Great (14th century B.C.), reads, 'Adoration to Onophris, who granted me repose in the tomb *after 110 years on earth.*'

In the Munich Museum, on a statue of *Baken-Konsoro*, high-priest of Ammon, in the time of Pharaoh Seti (15th century B.C.), the inscription contains a prayer that Ammon would grant his servant '*the happy life of 110 years.*' And a second inscription in the British Museum, on a black stone, of a most unusual nature, as it is carved in hieratic characters in place of hieroglyphs, dated the 21st year of Amenophis III. (16th century B.C.), speaks of certain benefactions which are promised to the objects of the charity 'during

¹ Osburn's *Monumental History of Egypt*, ii. c. ii. p. 105.

² *Egypt's Place*, &c. iii. p. 342.

the days when they shall repose in the tomb *after 110 years.*¹

Similar references to the same limit of longevity amongst the ancient Egyptians are frequently found in the papyri which have come to light. Thus, in the select papyri of the British Museum, named *Anastasi 3*, pl. 4, we have a flattering address to a scribe, in which the following expressions occur:—

‘Thou approachest the fair Amenti (place of repose for the dead) without growing old, without being feeble; thou completest 110 years upon earth, thy limbs being still vigorous.’ This reminds us of the death of the great lawgiver of the Jewish people. ‘And Moses was an hundred and twenty years old when he died; his eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated.’¹

There is one more instance of a reference to this number of 110 years, which we must not omit to notice, as it belongs to a much earlier period in Egyptian history, and conveys a different lesson from those already quoted. From a papyrus brought from Thebes by M. Prisse d’Avennes, about thirty years ago, and now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, M. Chabas,² who has given a complete translation of its contents, has gathered the following facts:—It is a philosophical treatise written by a person named Ptah-hotep, in the reign of Pharaohs Asseth and Snufu, kings of the fourth dynasty, and therefore about six centuries prior to the time of Moses. Ptah-hotep is described as the eldest son of Asseth, and while his father was still living appears to speak of himself as having attained ‘the age of 110 in the king’s court among the nobles of the land.’ The father must then have attained the age of one hundred and thirty at least, or perhaps more; and as he must have lived prior to the time of Abraham, we infer from it that the limit of human longevity was higher amongst the Egyptians in those early days, as it was with the Hebrews, than it became in the time of Joseph. Moreover, M. Mariette³ has shown, in his description of the tombs belonging to the first six dynasties, that the formula of benediction was not, as we have already seen it became after the time of Joseph, ‘May you obtain repose in the tomb after a happy life of 110 years on earth;’ but, ‘May you obtain repose, &c., after a happy and prolonged old age,’ without any number of years being specified. From these circumstances we gather that the

¹ Deut. xxxiv. 7. ² *Revue Archéologique* for 1858, p. 1 et seq.

³ *Revue Archéologique* for 1868, p. 388.

monuments of Egypt confirm the Scripture narrative respecting the age at which Joseph died.

If we are correct in our assumption that Pharaoh Apophis was the patron of Joseph, still clearer does it appear that the head of the eighteenth dynasty, Amosis, the conqueror of the Shepherds, was the 'new king which knew not Joseph.' We have already adduced the evidence of a papyrus to show that when the Shepherd king, Apophis, had the whole land of Egypt under his dominion, he was resisted by a native prince named *Ra-skenen*, who appears to have been the father or immediate predecessor of Amosis the Conqueror. Moreover, the very expression used in Scripture to denote the rise of him who became the persecutor of the children of Israel, implies far more than a mere change of dynasty, such as occurs whenever a new family succeeds to the throne by marriage (witness the many instances of this in the history of England), but rather such a change as that which took place when William the Conqueror supplanted the Saxon race, who had then been reigning in England for upwards of six centuries. Canon Cook has justly observed on this subject :—

'It is at once clear that the expressions used in Exodus to describe the Pharaoh by whom the Israelites were first persecuted, apply, in the fullest and most literal sense, to Amosis. . . . The name of Joseph, as a minister of the ejected dynasty, would probably be unknown to him. Nor can there be any doubt as to the feelings with which a king in his position may have regarded the Israelites. There is no question as to his finding them in Goshen; that is admitted by all. They were there as the subjects, apparently the favoured subjects, of the expelled dynasty, under whom they retained undisturbed possession of the richest district of Egypt, commanding the western approach to the very heart of the land.'¹

The first task imposed upon the recently enslaved Israelites by the 'new king,' was to 'build for Pharaoh treasure cities, Pithom and Raamses.'² It has been assumed by those Egyptologists who ignore all Scripture authority, that as the name of one of these treasure cities or fortresses was 'Raamses,' it must be regarded as proof positive that it was so called after Ramesses I. or II., one of the early kings of the nineteenth dynasty. But this argument, if worth anything, goes a great deal farther, as it equally proves that the same name was in use nearly a century earlier, at the

¹ *Speaker's Commentary*, vol. i. p. 453.
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² Exodus i. II.

commencement of Joseph's viceroyalty, since it is recorded, 'Joseph placed his father and his brethren, and gave them a possession in the land of Egypt, in the best of the land, *in the land of Rameses*, as Pharaoh had commanded.'¹ All we can gather from these brief notices is, that at the time when Moses lived and wrote the Pentateuch, a treasure city and the best portion of the Delta, in which the favoured children of Israel had originally been settled, bore a name which is variously rendered as 'Raamses' or 'Rameses.' Now as it happens, recent discoveries have brought to light the fact that one of the sons of Pharaoh Amosis, the 'new king,' bore this very name. In Hebrew it is written R H M S S, and probably was pronounced *Ramess*. In hieroglyphs it is written Ra-M SS; whereas the Pharaohs of that name, who reigned two centuries later, usually have the final *u* at the end of their name; so that the more exact rendering of it in English would rather be *Ramessu* than *Ramesses* or *Raamses*. And thus it appears that the Hebrew name, as it is written in Exodus, is more like that of one of the conqueror's sons, which is thus inscribed on his cartouche,² '*The King's son, Ra-MSS everliving*,' than that of the subsequent line of Pharaohs. And what more likely than that the conqueror should name one of the treasure cities, which he compelled the enslaved Israelites to build, after a member of his own royal family?

The other treasure city, named 'Pithom,' affords similar proof of its having been built long before the dynasty of the Ramesses. For although it is true that the name 'Pithom,' which Brugsch has identified with the *Pâ-chtoum en Zalou*, i.e. 'the treasure city or fortress of Thom, built by foreign captives,' is found in the Temple of Ammon, at Karnac, of the time of Pharaoh Seti I., son of Ramesses I., and father of Ramesses II., it has also been found two centuries earlier, in the annals of Thothmes III., grandson of the conqueror Amosis; and there can be little doubt but that it was the original treasure city *Pithom*, built by the enslaved children of Israel.³

In order to see at a glance the claims which the early kings of the eighteenth dynasty have for identification with the Pharaohs of the time of Moses, it may be well to insert a brief genealogical sketch of the order in which they stand,

¹ Genesis xlvii. 11.

² *Königsbuch der Alten Ägypter*, von C. Lepsius, Tafeln xxiii., xxx.—xxxiii.

³ Compare Brugsch, *Hist. d'Égypte*, p. 129, with Brugsch, *Géograph. Inscript.* iii. 21.

according to the monuments, the papyri, and Manetho's history :—

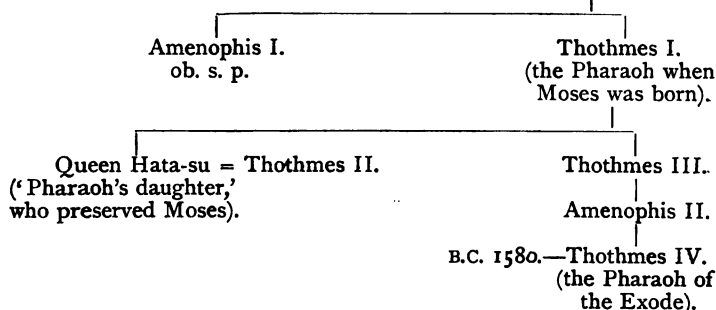
Shepherd Dynasty.

Apophis
(Joseph's patron).

The last of the Shepherd kings.

The XVIII. Dynasty.

B.C. 1706.—Amosis
(Conqueror of the Shepherds).



It has been much disputed as to the Pharaoh said to have been drowned in the Red Sea. Canon Cook considers that it must have been Thothmes II.; Sir Gardner Wilkinson selected Thothmes III. Dr. Nolan and others name Thothmes IV., and with the latter we are inclined to agree, thinking the weight of evidence points to Thothmes IV. rather than to either of his predecessors of the same name. It has been sometimes asserted that the absence of any names resembling the ‘Hebrews’ or ‘Jews,’ or ‘Israelites,’ has not yet been discovered on any of the Egyptian monuments. But this is not quite certain. In the statistical tablet of Karnac, erected by Thothmes III., on which Dr. Birch has commented with his usual skill and ability, we find amongst the names of various captive tribes that of *Hebu* as the seventy-ninth on the list;¹ which is sufficiently near that of ‘*Hebrews*’ to make it possible they refer to one and the same people.

So in an inscription lately deciphered by Dr. Brugsch,² certain captives called the ‘*Fenchu*’ are represented as transporting blocks of limestone from the quarries of Rufu (the Troja of Strabo) to Memphis and other cities. The name *Fenchu* signifies ‘bearers of the shepherd’s staff;’ and the occupation of these captives corresponds with the forced labour of the Israelites in their bondage. Brugsch observes—‘With this name are designated the pastoral and nomad tribes of

¹ *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Literature*, 1861, p. 69.

² See Brugsch in *Zeitschrift* for November, 1867.

Semitic origin, who lived in the neighbourhood of Egypt, and who are to be thought of as standing to Egypt in the same relation as the Jews.'

M. Chabas¹ has endeavoured to identify another tribe of captives with the enslaved Israelites. He discovered a few years ago in a papyrus of the Leyden Museum the name of a tribe which he reads as that of *Aperi-u*, who are employed in drawing stone for the Temple of the Sun, built by Ramesses the Great near Memphis, and contends that the *Aperi-u* must refer to the *Hebrews*, and can mean nothing else. Independent of chronology interfering with this theory, Dr. Birch has discovered this same tribe of the *Aperi-u* employed as slaves in Egypt during the reign of Ramesses IV., *i.e.* about a century before the time of King Saul, which proves the impossibility of identifying the Hebrew with the *Aperi-u*.

In reference to what is stated respecting the preservation of Moses from the water² by 'Pharaoh's daughter,' it would appear from Exodus i. 10, Acts vii. 22, and Hebrews xi. 24,

¹ 'Cette identification,' says M. Chabas, 'qui repose sur une juste application de principes philologiques incontestables, et sur un ensemble de circonstances caractéristiques, n'a été contesté par aucun égyptologue'—*Mélanges Egypt.* Deux. série, p. 144. Nevertheless, we venture to contest these conclusions on philological grounds. The exact mode of rendering 'Hebrews' in Roman characters would be *Haberim*. The hieroglyphic characters read literally *Apu-ri-aa-a*. It will be seen that the third letter is written as *u* in place of *e*; and as it is the same hieroglyph as the final letter which M. Chabas reads as *u*, he is not warranted in making such a change. Nor can the hieroglyphic letters approximate sufficiently near to the Hebrew word *Haberim* to warrant our identification of them as the same people. We gladly do homage to M. Chabas as an eminent Egyptian scholar, but we do not believe there is a single English Egyptologist who has accepted his conclusion on this point. For a full examination of this question see Canon Cook's *Excursus* in the *Speaker's Commentary*, vol. i. p. 466.

² Moses, מֹשֶׁה. If the Hebrew etymology is adopted, it is expressly said in Exodus ii. 10, to refer to his being 'drawn out of the water.' Hence Josephus derives the word from the Coptic ΠΥΛ 'water' and ΟΥΣΣΕ 'to deliver'—(*Antiq.* ii. 9, § 6). The equivalent to the word Moses in the hieroglyphic characters is found in the names of both the grandfather and the father of 'Pharaoh's daughter,' which might be read according to the Greek transcript as *A-moses*, *Thoth-moses*. Brugsch shows, in his *Hieroglyphic Dictionary*, that the sense 'drawing out' is the original one; but Birch seems to limit it to being 'born' or 'brought forth,' and hence the signification of *Mes* or *Mesa* is 'child.' Canon Cook renders the speech of Pharaoh's daughter on having adopted Moses as 'her son'—'I give him the name of Moses'—'brought forth'—because I brought him forth from the water'—(*Excursus*, p. 483). It is worthy of note that Josephus calls Pharaoh's daughter by the name of '*Thermuthis*,' which is most probably meant for '*Thoth-moses*,' the name of her father.

that he was reared as her adopted son, with the possible succession to the throne, only that he 'chose rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, esteeming the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures in Egypt.' 'Pharaoh's daughter' must have been a queen regnant in her own right, as none but such could have compelled a jealous priesthood to train her adopted child 'in all the wisdom of the Egyptians.' It can be satisfactorily shown by the monuments, that in the whole line of Pharaohs from the third dynasty, when the name appears to have come into use, until the Persian conquest, extending over sixteen centuries, there was only one real queen regnant, whose name is known to us as such during that long period of time. Her name appears on the monuments in full as *Hat-asu-Numt-amun*, and just in the place we should expect to find her from the account in Exodus, being, as seen in the above pedigree, the granddaughter of the 'king which knew not Joseph.' She reigned many years in Egypt, first in the name of her father, then conjointly with her husband, and subsequently in the name of her younger half-brother,¹ Thothmes III., who after her death sought to erase from the monuments every sign of his sister's rule over Egypt, either through revenge at her having offered the succession to Moses, or from some other unknown cause.

Queen *Hat-asu* is invariably represented on her monuments with a beard, to denote that she was a sovereign in her own right like our own Queen Victoria. She erected two obelisks at Thebes in memory of her father, one of which is still standing, and the fragments of the other are scattered all around. The standing one, the second largest and certainly the most beautiful obelisk in the world, is formed of a single block of red granite, highly polished, with reliefs and hieroglyphs of matchless beauty.² The inscription on the plinth states that it was commenced in the fifteenth year of Queen *Hat-asu's* reign and completed in the seventeenth. On each side of the obelisk it is stated that she reigned 'in the name of her father;' and amongst other titles which she bears—such as

¹ Any one who has seen the exquisitely beautiful Grecian style of features belonging to Queen *Hat-asu* as represented in Rossellini's great work, and compares it with the bust (original) of Thothmes III. as it stands in the British Museum, with its hideous negro cast of countenance, will be inclined to doubt if they could be as nearly related as even half-brother and sister. The picture of Thothmes III., as given in the *Types of Mankind*, in no way resembles the original, and proves what little reliance can be placed on that pretentious work.

² A copy of this fine obelisk is given in Burton's *Excerpta Hieroglyphica*, plate xlvi.

'royal wife'—'Queen of Upper and Lower Egypt'—is found the significant and well-known name of

'PHARAOH'S DAUGHTER.'

The temple of Dier-el-Bahari, at Thebes, is another monument due to the magnificence of Queen *Hat-asu*, on the walls of which are sculptured with great skill, and in the highest style of Egyptian art, the details of a campaign against the Ethiopians in the Arabian peninsula. They represent the Egyptian commander-in-chief of Queen *Hat-asu's* army receiving the enemy's general, who presents himself as a suppliant before him, accompanied by his wife and daughter.¹ And it is not impossible but that the figure of the commander-in-chief of Queen *Hat-asu's* army may refer to her adopted son *Moses*; for Scripture teaches that he became 'mighty in words and deeds' in Egypt, as well as in 'refusing to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter.' Josephus and Irenæus² alike relate the 'fame which Moses gained as general of the Egyptian army in a war with Ethiopia,' which, though encumbered with a good deal of romance, still helps to explain a statement in the Book of Numbers³ that Moses married a woman of that country.

Perhaps the most satisfactory evidence from the monuments of the existence of the Israelites in Egypt at this period of history is seen in the well-known picture of the brick-makers at the village of Gournow, near Thebes, at which place there still exists the remains of a magnificent tomb belonging to an Egyptian nobleman named *Ros-she-ra*. He appears to have been overseer of all the public buildings in Egypt during the reign of Thothmes III. The paintings on this tomb⁴ afford proof, not only of the Israelites being in Egypt at the time Moses was compelled to flee to Midian, but of their being forcibly engaged in the occupation of brickmaking.

¹ For a full account of this interesting record of 'Pharaoh's daughter,' see *Aperçu de l'Histoire Ancienne d'Égypte*, par Auguste Mariette Bey, p. 32 *et seq.*

² Josephus, *Antiq.* II. x. § 2; Irenæus, *Frag. de Perdid. Iren. Tract.* p. 347.

³ Numbers xii. 1. Three different views have been taken of this text: (1) A real inhabitant of Ethiopia, or a Cushite, *i.e.* an Arabian (see Bryant's *Analysis*, vi. 122. (2) The Ethiopian princess, mentioned by Josephus. (3) Zipporah herself; which last opinion is possible from the juxtaposition of Cush with Midian in Habbakuk iii. 7.

⁴ The paintings are admirably delineated in Lepsius' *Denkmäler*, Abth. iii. Bl. 40.

There are several inscriptions on this remarkable monument, some of which read as follows :—

The centre inscription—

‘Captives brought by his Majesty Thothmes III.
To carry on the works at the Temple of Ammon.’

On the left the inscription reads—

‘Moulding bricks for making a treasure city or fortress in Thebes.’¹

On the right—

‘The chief taskmaster says to the builders : Work
Actively with the hands. Be not idle. Let there be no giving in.’

Some of these captives bear the unmistakeable features of the Hebrew race ; and among them four Egyptian taskmasters are represented as described in the Book of Exodus, so as to leave no reason for doubt but that the picture is a striking commentary on the oppression of the children of Israel. Wilkinson remarks ‘that more bricks bearing the name of Thothmes III. have been discovered than of any other period.’ And Rossellini adds that ‘the bricks which are now found in Egypt, belonging to this reign, *always have straw mingled with them*, although in some of those that are most carefully made it is found in very small quantities.’²

A variety of incidents seem to support the theory that the grandson of Thothmes III., and bearing the same name, was the individual Pharaoh overthrown in the Red Sea. It appears from the monuments that his reign was both short and inglorious, which agrees with what Scripture records of this infatuated king. A tablet between the paws of the Great Sphinx at Ghizeh is one of the few monuments remaining of this monarch, besides the obelisk at Rome.³ Another inscription, discovered on a granite rock

¹ It has been objected by some that it was not likely the captive Israelites should be removed so far from the place of their bondage in Lower Egypt to work at buildings in Thebes in Upper Egypt ; but independent of the fact that the inscription specifies that these captives were ‘brought’ from some place for this special service, the Biblical record states that ‘the people were scattered abroad throughout all the land of Egypt to gather stubble instead of straw.’—*Exodus* v. 12.

² The writer has in his possession, taken by a friend from a tomb in Egypt, a brick die, stamped with the name and titles of this same Pharaoh Thothmes III., but he has not been able to discover any straw in the composition of the brick, though examined by means of a powerful magnifying glass.

³ This obelisk, commonly called the Obelisk of St. John Lateran, which was originally intended for the granite sanctuary at Karnac, and removed subsequently to Rome, bears the inscription of three kings, *viz.* Thothmes

opposite the island of Philæ, on the Nile, has this singular circumstance connected with it. After the usual boasting titles, it stops suddenly short with the disjunctive particle 'then,' evidently pointing to defeat and disaster, which were certainly the characteristics of this Pharaoh's reign.¹ The inference that he was the Pharaoh overthrown in the Red Sea appears to be confirmed by the fact that after all the careful researches of modern explorers, *no trace has been found of this king's tomb* in the royal burial-place near Thebes, where the sovereigns of the eighteenth dynasty lie; though that of his successor, Amenophis III., has been discovered in a valley adjoining the cemetery of the other kings.²

This may be explained by the fact that he was drowned in the Red Sea along with the rest of the army, as David³ teaches, and as Christendom has universally believed until the present day; or, if this be not an historical fact, as Wilkinson contends, it may be explained by supposing the Pharaoh of the Exode to be the same as that king of the eighteenth dynasty whom Eusebius describes under the Greek name of *Danaus*, as having been expelled from Egypt in the fifth year of his reign by his younger brother, when he fled to Greece, and there established another kingdom.⁴ Other authorities give the name of 'Cecrops' to the Pharaoh who is supposed to have been the first to lead a colony from Egypt to Greece.⁵ Accepting this as one of the traditional legends connected with the Exode of the children of Israel, we have a singular confirmation of the Biblical date for that important event, which we reckon at B.C. 1580. The *Parian Chronicle* at Oxford, a monument of the very highest authority, inas-

III. and Thothmes IV. and Ramesses the Great. From the inscription on the left side it appears that thirty-five years intervened between the death of Thothmes III. and Thothmes IV., which accords tolerably well with the duration of the reign of the intervening king Amenophis II., who must have been either the father or elder brother of Thothmes IV. — *Records of the Past*, vol. ix. p. 15.

¹ Osburn's *Monum. History of Egypt*, ii. p. 318.

² Wilkinson's *Thebes*, pp. 122, 123.

³ Psalm cxxvi. 15.

⁴ Euseb. *Chron. Canon.* liber prior, cap. xx. In Jerome's reading of the *Armenian Chronicle*, it is said of this Pharaoh Thothmes IV., that after he had reigned five years in Egypt, he was driven from the throne by his brother 'Egyptus,' and fled to Greece, where he founded the city of Argos, and reigned over the Argives under the name of Danaus. — *Cory's Ancient Fragments*, p. 119.

⁵ S. Augustine says that 'in the reign of *Cecrops*, king of Athens, God brought his people out of Egypt by Moses.' — *De Civitate Dei*, lib. xviii. § 8. *Cecrops* is said to have been a native of Sais, in Egypt, who led a colony to Greece.

much as it was engraved as early as B.C. 264, opens with this announcement:—‘Since Cecrops reigned at Athens, and the country was called Actica, from Actæus, the native, 1318 years have elapsed.’¹ Now $1318 + 264 = \text{B.C. } 1582$, *i.e.* within two years of our computation of the date of the Exode according to the Hebrew chronology.

In confirmation that this date for the time of the Exode more nearly harmonizes with the Biblical chronology than any other system, besides what has already been gathered from Manetho, we might adduce the testimony of the Apis cycle,² which has been made useful for chronological purposes by Mariette’s discovery of sixty-four remains of the mummied Apēs or Sacred Bulls—the genealogy of the chief architects³ of Egypt, going back for a period of eight centuries to the time of Ramesses III., the true date of whose accession has been fixed with astronomical exactness by M. Biot to B.C. 1311⁴—the mission of a Theban idol of the oracle of Khunsu to the city of Nineveh in the thirty-third year of Ramesses XII., B.C. 12th century,⁵ the correctness of which has been confirmed by an inscription of Sennacherib incidentally mentioning Tiglath-pileser I., the predecessor by some centuries of the king of Assyria of that name mentioned in 2 Kings xv. 29;⁶ all these, and many other incidental matters bearing on the same point, appear to show that there is greater evidence in favour of finding the Pharaoh of the Exode in one of the early kings of the eighteenth dynasty, than that other system of Egyptology which places him about two centuries later among the kings of the nineteenth dynasty.

Assuming, then, the identification of Thothmes IV. with the Pharaoh of the Exode, it is not quite certain that his successor Amenophis III., who is known in history as the Pharaoh of the musical statue on the plains of Thebes, either succeeded his reputed father immediately on his death, or was indeed his son, as he pretended to be. The history of that period is

¹ *Marmora Arundelliana*, p. 6. Selden’s edition, London, 1628. This was one of the few uninjured lines in the *Parian Chronicle* when Selden published his work.

² *Le Sérapéum de Memphis découvert et décrit*, par M. Mariette. Paris, 1863.

³ See *Egyptian Chronicles*, by William Palmer, M.A., pp. 592–596.

⁴ ‘Les calculs de l’illustre Biot ont établi que . . . nous pouvons inscrire avec une certitude mathématique et absolue l’avènement de Rhamès III. à l’an 1311.’—*Manuel d’Histoire Ancienne*, par F. Lenormant, vol. i. p. 300.

⁵ Dr. Birch’s article in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, vol. xxiv.

⁶ Bunsen’s *Egypt’s Place*, iv. pp. 681–691.

singularly confused and perplexing at that very point, which may be explained by the disturbed state of the kingdom which naturally followed the destruction of Pharaoh and his host in the Red Sea. Wilkinson says, that though 'Amenophis III. calls himself the son of Thothmes IV., there is reason to believe that he was not of pure Egyptian race. His features differ very much from those of other Pharaohs, and the respect paid to him by some of the "stranger kings" seems to confirm this, and to argue that he was partly of the same race as those kings who afterwards usurped the throne, and made their name and rule so odious to the Egyptians.'¹ If this surmise be correct, it is noteworthy to see how far it agrees with the Biblical statement that the eldest son of the Pharaoh of the Exode did not succeed his father on the throne, as it is written, 'At midnight Jehovah smote all the firstborn in the land of Egypt, *from the firstborn of Pharaoh that sat on his throne*, unto the firstborn of the captive that was in the dungeon'—(Exodus xii. 29).²

Another incident at this period of the history of Egypt seems to confirm our view respecting the Pharaoh of the Exode. Shortly after the death of Thothmes IV. a change took place in the national religion, such as might be expected from the failure of the Egyptian priesthood to ward off the heavy judgments with which their country had been visited by the God of Israel. Dr. Birch observes, that 'in the reign of Amenophis III. the worship of *Aten* or *Atenra*, the sun's disk or orb, first appears. This name, which resembles that of the Hebrew Adonai, or Lord, and the Syrian Adonis, either points to a foreign religion introduced into Egypt, or it may have been connected with the sun-worship, which had then assumed an undue influence or development.'³

¹ Wilkinson, in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, Appendix II. viii. § 21.

² It is a singular fact that the walls of the palace at Luxor still show a sculpture representing the birth of Pharaoh Thothmes IV.'s eldest son. His wife, Queen Mautmes, is represented as receiving a message from the god Thoth, that she is to have a child. Then Kneph, the *spirit*, and Hathor the goddess of order, whose type was the cow, take her by both hands and breathe into her mouth the principle of life for the child about to be born. Then the queen is placed upon a stool after the manner of Egyptian mothers, as mentioned in Exodus i. 16. Sharpe, in his *History of Egypt*, i. 65, gives a representation of this sculpture.

³ *Archæological Journal*, viii. p. 405. Amenophis III. is the Pharaoh of the musical statue on the plains of Thebes, and known to the Greeks by the name of 'Memnon.' De Quincey, in one of his admirable Essays, observes—'The object which some thirty-four years ago in the British Museum struck me as simply the sublimest sight which in this sight-seeing world I had seen, was the Memnon's head, then recently brought

The testimony of Manetho concerning this period of Egypt's history is, to a considerable extent, in harmony with the Biblical story of the Exodus, though he mingles his account of that event with the expulsion of the Shepherds, for he mentions the leader of the Israelites by name, as well as the country to which they went. He says that 'the Shepherds were subdued by Amosis, and driven out of Egypt, and shut up in a place called *Avaris*, with 480,000 men; and that in despair of success, he compounded with them to quit Egypt with their families and goods, on which they departed in number 240,000, and took their journey from Egypt through the wilderness of Syria, where they built a city, and named it *Jerusalem*, in a country now called *Judæa*. It was also reported that the priest who ordained their government and their laws was by birth of Heliopolis; but that when he went over to these people his name was changed, and he was called *Moses*.' ¹ Considering that Moses was reared at the court of a Pharaoh, one of whose capitals was certainly Heliopolis, we see in the Egyptian tradition, which was current when Manetho wrote, about thirteen centuries later, an undesigned testimony to the truth of the sacred story.

In the five centuries following the Exode, little or no intercourse appears to have taken place between Israel and Egypt. During the reign of David, Hadad the Edomite, who rebelled against his sovereign, fled to Egypt for refuge, and was well received by the reigning Pharaoh, who gave him in marriage his own wife's sister, 'the sister of Taphenes, the queen.' ² Shortly afterwards, Solomon married the daughter of a Pharaoh, but whether they were the same or different kings we have no means of judging, as neither Scripture nor the monuments afford the slightest clue to their names.

The succeeding reign, however, witnessed the two nations at war for the first time since the passage of the Red Sea. In 1 Kings xiv. 25, 26, it is written, 'In the fifth year of King Rehoboam, Shishak, King of Egypt, came up against Jerusalem. And he took away the treasures of the house of the

from Egypt. I looked at it not as a human, but as a symbolic head; and what it symbolized to me were :—1. The peace which passeth all understanding. 2. The eternity which baffles and confounds all faculty of computation. 3. The diffusive love—an emanation from some mystery of endless dawn'—(*Works*, vol. iii. p. 198.) It does not affect the beauty of these remarks in the slightest degree, but we believe there is no head of Memnon in the British Museum. The only two gigantic ones there are the head of Thothmes III. and Ramesses the Great; and we think it must be to the latter that De Quincey so appropriately refers.

¹ Manetho apud Joseph. *Contr. Apion.* i. §§ 14, 26.

² 1 Kings xi. 19.

Lord, and of the king's house, and all the shields of gold which Solomon had made.' It is not merely that the reigns of King Rehoboam (B.C. 976—959) and Pharaoh Shishak (B.C. 980—959) synchronize according to the united testimony of Hebrew and Egyptian chronology, but the interest chiefly centres in the fact of a monumental record still existing in Egypt, which certifies the event exactly as related in Scripture. Champollion found on the outside of the great Temple of Karnac a long list of towns captured, and countries subdued, by Pharaoh Shishak I. The captives, who are depicted in the usual way, with their hands tied behind them, and shields on their breasts containing the names of their respective nations, are ranged in two vast groups. Amongst them the student can readily recognize certain well-known Scripture names, which have been read as follows :—

Land of *Mahan-ma*, which Rossellini considers to be the *Mahanaim* of Genesis xxxii. 2, an ancient city belonging to the tribe of Gad; land of *Baitahuria*, supposed to be the same as the two *Beth-horons*, which Solomon fortified according to 2 Chron. viii. 5; land of *Maktu*, interpreted as the Megiddo of 2 Kings xxiii. 29, where three centuries later Josiah, King of Judah, was defeated by another King of Egypt, who is mentioned as Pharaoh Necho. The fourth and most interesting name which the genius of Champollion detected is that of THE KINGDOM OF JUDAH, commonly but erroneously read as *Judah Melek*, which could only be rendered literally as 'Judah King.' Whereas the final hieroglyph being the determinative of a country, proves beyond all doubt that it means, not the reigning king, but the kingdom of Judah, which Pharaoh Shishak boasted of having subdued, and which exactly harmonizes with what Scripture records concerning his capture of Jerusalem, when, 'in the fifth year of King Rehoboam, Shishak, King of Egypt, came up against it, and took away the treasures of the house of the Lord, and the treasures of the king's house; he took all. He carried away also the shields of gold which Solomon had made.'¹

We conclude with this striking instance of the harmony

¹ 1 Kings xiv. 25, 26; 2 Chron. xii. 9. The writer possesses a photograph of this magnificent monument, recording Pharaoh Shishak's victories over his enemies. The figure of the king, as large as life, surrounded by inscriptions as legible as if they were done but yesterday (their real age being nearly 3,000 years), and amongst them the captive bearing on his breast the name of 'The kingdom of Judah' (this is the third figure in the list on a level with the king's knee), present a sight of no ordinary interest to the Biblical student. Copies of several of these figures are painted on the walls of the Egyptian Court in the Crystal Palace.

between the histories of Israel and Egypt. We do not deem it necessary to adduce others of a similar kind, as it is admitted by those who ignore Scripture that the age after Solomon has become sufficiently historical to acknowledge the records of the Bible without further doubt; but the Egyptian monuments have already yielded a satisfactory number of testimonies (and that many more will yet be added we confidently believe) to the truth of the story of Israel in Egypt as set forth in the oracles of the living God.

ART. III.—BISHOP GRAY.

Life of Robert Gray, Bishop of Capetown and Metropolitan of Africa. Edited by his Son, the Rev. CHARLES GRAY, M.A., Vicar of Helmsley, York. With Portrait and Map. 2 vols. (London: Rivingtons.)

THE career of such a man as the first Bishop of Capetown is the common property of Christendom: it would have been impossible that such a life should have been lived and no record of it given to posterity: the question, rather, was, who should be worthy to attempt such a task, and now that the work has been done, as was fitting, with filial love and care, we rejoice to think that the great prelate's memory will in no degree suffer loss by the manner in which the biographer has acquitted himself. Of typographical errors we have noticed not a few, which will no doubt be removed from future editions; an admirable map helps us in forming an estimate of the magnitude of the Bishop's plans, labours, and journeyings, and of the network of ecclesiastical organization which he was permitted to spread over the land; the portrait which appears in the first volume recalls to those who knew him well, and who were privileged to share his counsels in hours of anxiety, the care-worn look which in his later years he was wont to wear, but we could have wished that the compiler had also given a copy of the better known portrait of the Bishop taken many years ago, before the burden of overwhelming work had effaced the natural sweetness and vigour of his features. These, however, are minor matters: the nominal editor, who disclaims the title of 'author,' has well discharged

his duty, but Mr. Charles Gray frankly and modestly tells us that the bulk of the work has been done by another hand, and that 'letters have been inserted and things have been said by another which would not have been admissible, had I been the author.'

Whosoever the hand that has given us this biography, we are thankful to receive it, being such as it is: the task was both difficult and responsible; in the history of the Anglican communion, Robert Gray will occupy at least a foremost, if not the most prominent place among the Bishops of the nineteenth century: another and a greater, who was in all respects save the accident of official precedence the premier Bishop of our times, has influenced the Church to a degree that will never be thoroughly estimated, but it was not given to Bishop Wilberforce to build up an ecclesiastical province in a land which he found a spiritual waste, and while thus occupying one of the Church's outposts, to exert a most real and beneficent influence, not only on the Mother Church, but wherever the Anglican faith has been embraced: and no man in our generation has done so much as Bishop Gray to recall us to first principles, and to show us by actual example that our real strength lies, not in the accident of human establishment, but in the essence of divine organization. The books before us, therefore, are not merely a biography, but a valuable contribution to contemporary history. As we look at them we cannot but reflect in how many and widely different places they will be eagerly read; while some will study them as the records of fierce theological controversies and of legal subtleties and refinements, and others will read with absorbing interest the story of missionary enterprise boldly commenced and patiently accomplished, they will be regarded with reverent tenderness in many a small up-country home in Africa, where the episcopal visit, once paid, led the inmates to live in hopes of its being repeated, as well as in many a rural parsonage at home, where the memory of the good Bishop's visit is cherished for some sweet courtesy, some kindly notice of little children, some simple tale of missionary adventure or some impulse given towards a higher level of spiritual living. Such as these were the legacies which he was ever unconsciously leaving behind him as he made his weary and exhausting tours throughout England in the interests of that adopted land from which in sympathy he was never separated.

There was nothing in the Bishop's early life which gave special promise of distinction: delicacy of constitution pre-

vented him from utilising to the full the advantages which are ever within the reach of an Eton boy and an Oxford man : he was unable to finish his career at Eton, and we read of his spending some time at Barbados for the sake of his own health and that of a sister, who died in that island, ministered to until the last by her two brothers, both younger than herself. At this time we find in the future Bishop's diary, which he seems to have always kept with much regularity, such entries as the following :—'Read prayers at home, Edward the lessons ;' and when, on his homeward voyage, he found the Sundays unmarked by divine service, he wrote, on the first occasion, 'This day is spent far from what it ought to be,' and for the future he himself said the Church prayers, 'the ship rolling very much.' It must be borne in mind that at this time the writer was only seventeen years of age, and the habit of daily church-going was much more rare in 1827 than it is in 1876. In 1831 he graduated from University College, Oxford, and obtained an honorary fourth class : it was the first occasion on which four classes appeared in the list of Honour men, and he did not accept the distinction with satisfaction, lest it should be thought that he had aimed higher and had failed.

If we except the habit of severe self-examination which his diaries reveal to us, he would seem to have in no respect differed from the average of well-born and fairly educated young Englishmen of that day : he took an intelligent but not enthusiastic interest in passing events : he studied Italian and German, cultivated a moderate taste for art, and having added to his stock of accomplishments by Continental travel, was in 1833 ordained deacon by his father, the Bishop of Bristol, in St. Margaret's Church, Westminster. Incidentally the story shows us how things were done in the Church forty years ago, for the young deacon had no curacy and no directly spiritual work. His father's health was enfeebled, and he devoted himself to the double duty of nursing him in his sickness and of managing his official correspondence. After a time he took a holiday of two months, which he spent at his brother's parish of Godmanchester, and here 'he fairly grappled with parish work, both in sick visiting and in preaching.' He had ever regarded the priesthood as his vocation : 'it was the determination of my childhood and the desire grew up with me,' and he seems to have entered on its duties with chastened and devout spirit.

It may, we suppose, be said with truth that just at this time the spiritual life of the Church of England had reached

its lowest depth: the Evangelical movement had indeed made itself felt, but its influence then, as always, was limited to individuals and to coteries of such individuals, and had failed to make its mark on the Church or Nation in the aggregate. The demand for Reform was agitating the political atmosphere, and the opposition which was offered to it effectually fanned the flame and increased the clamour of disaffection. The Tories, who, while they subordinated their religion to their politics, instead of their politics to their religion, were yet the representatives of the highest religious life of the period, unhappily persisted in identifying the security of the Church with the maintenance of things as they were, and by perversely taking the place of apologists of palpable abuses compromised the very interests which they desired to serve. Robert Gray was no doubt imbued with the principles which were wont to prevail in episcopal palaces of that day, nor were his experiences just then calculated to correct any hereditary prejudices which he may have entertained; for in 1831 he had been startled by reading in a newspaper at Geneva that his father had been exposed to great peril, the mob breaking into his palace at Bristol, and setting it on fire, and thence proceeding to attack the Cathedral itself. The object of this demonstration was to revenge themselves on the Bishop and the Recorder, Sir Charles Wetherell, who, in the Upper and Lower House respectively, had opposed the Reform Bill. The attitude of the brave old Bishop at this crisis seems to show that the chivalrous spirit of the African Metropolitan was hereditary. It was known that the Bishop was the special object of the rioters' vengeance, and the clergy entreated him to forego his intention of preaching in the Cathedral on that particular occasion; but to one remonstrant he replied, 'I am to regard my duty to God and not the fear of men. It shall never be said of me that I turned my back upon religion.' To a Minor Canon, who had suggested the postponement of the service, he said, laying his hand on his shoulder as he spoke, 'My young friend, there are times in which it is necessary not to shrink from danger, our duty is to be at our posts.'

It was then in 1833, as we have already stated, that Robert Gray entered on that ministerial life which lasted through thirty-nine eventful years, and a cursory glance at the condition of the Church at that time should make us grateful for the many things which have since been accomplished. The *Christian Year* had been published in 1827, but although a second edition was called for in the following year,

the influence of that precious book has always been gradual and silent, and it is notorious that for some years it was not felt beyond the limits of a cultivated and devout circle, who were not wholly ignorant of its authorship. The political discontent of the period was hostile to the growth of religion, and at length the pent-up passions of what threatened to be sedition burst their barriers, and it seemed as though both throne and altar would be swept away. Within a few days of Mr. Gray's ordination, Mr. Keble preached in St. Mary's Church the famous sermon which we know, on the authority of Dr. Newman, to have given the start to the Oxford movement of 1833. The first of the 'Tracts for the Times' appeared in the following autumn; in the meanwhile ten Irish bishoprics had been disendowed, and by consequence suppressed; pluralities, and the nepotism which promoted them, were not looked on as scandals; Convocation would have possessed the interest of a curious fossil, had not its very existence been known only to the few who studied constitutional history; the Gorham case had not indeed unsettled the minds of many of our best and noblest, but neither had subsequent study stereotyped the doctrine of Holy Baptism and stamped it on the mind and conscience of the Church. Since those days, to quote the late Sir J. T. Coleridge, 'the rule has become the exception, the exception the rule; the change for the better is great, and to be observed not so much in bright instances here and there as in the general tone of feeling and conduct, in the higher appreciation of what the profession requires of its members and the larger and more distinct acknowledgment of duty.' Mr. Gray was of course too young to have any active share in the great movements that were being organized, and there is nothing to show that he felt any interest in them; indeed it was not until 1839 that he read any of the 'Tracts.'

If we look at our Colonial empire in 1833, we find that a scarcely veiled presbyterianism was the only representative of the Church of England in those regions; the lessons which had been suggested by the defection of the United States had not been learned: in the whole of British North America there were only the two Bishoprics of Nova Scotia and Quebec; in the West Indies the Crown had, in 1824, established the sees of Jamaica and Barbados, but the Bishops were mere functionaries of the State, which provided, and has since withdrawn, their stipends, and which mapped out the island into Rectories and Curacies, filled in like manner by clergy who were stipendiaries of the State; while

the same power which thus maintained the ministers of religion, maintained also in full vigour the traffic in slaves and prohibited the clergy from approaching the negroes until they had obtained the consent of their owners. In the East, Bishop Daniel Wilson, another official of the State, was nominally in spiritual charge, not only of Hindostan, but of Mauritius, Ceylon, New South Wales, New Zealand, and Tasmania. The five Sees, so unsatisfactory as at least three of them were in regard both to their establishment and their maintenance, which constituted the whole of our Colonial episcopate in 1833, had reached the number of sixty when Bishop Gray, who had done so much to uphold the independence and to vindicate the inherent grace of his order, and whose own See had been divided into seven, laid down his crosier and entered into rest in 1872.

In 1834 Mr. Gray, who had been ordained priest, was presented to the living of Whitworth in his native county of Durham, and the death of his father, which occurred soon after his institution, enabled him to enter on his new duties. He was of course wholly without experience; his reading had always been extensive but unsystematic; his diaries, however, bear ample testimony to his devout realization of his responsibilities and his anxiety to fulfil them. He had many difficulties; there was no vicarage house, and he had to live in Durham, several miles distant from his parish; he was among the friends of his family, and this circumstance, combined with his 'bright hearty presence,' threw him much into society. This he frequently laments in his journal—but amid the distractions of 'much dining-out, little time for writing and less for reflection, no time for reflection and less for study,' he was yet carrying on 'an attentive and critical study of the Greek Testament and reading a variety of works of which, strange to say, the only ones which he mentions with delight and enthusiasm are *Henry Martyn's Life*, *Bridge's Christian Ministry*, and *Sumner's Apostolical Preaching*.

It has been stated by those who are well acquainted with the locality that the young Vicar was many years in advance of his clerical brethren in his estimate of ministerial obligations. Be this as it may, it serves rather to show the low condition of the Church generally than to point to any extraordinary level of parochial activity, as judged by our present standards. He found only a Morning Service on Sundays and a congregation of thirty, and after a time he added an Evening Service with unwritten sermon. Ash Wednesday had never been observed until in 1835 he held service and preached to

five persons, having paved the way by a sermon on 'Fasting' on the previous Sunday. He undertook the voluntary charge of Byer's Green, then a hamlet of 300 souls, which have now increased tenfold. Here, by the formation of a Temperance Society for the benefit of the colliery folk, he anticipated by forty years the recent and tardy action of the Church in regard to this difficult question. Such a man was not likely to continue unnoticed, and we find that preferment was offered to him more than once, and after prayerful consideration declined. His marriage to that incomparable lady, who for so many years shared his labours in Africa, bound him to Whitworth, where his wife's dowry had brought to him house and lands, which made him the Squire as well as Vicar of the parish. His work increased and his anxieties kept pace with his work. A large population was 'hovering over his head,' and he was only waiting to see where they would settle down before attempting to carry out a scheme of building six churches or chapels in the neighbourhood. As usual, too, wherever the Church is active, 'Ranters and other Dissenters invaded the parish,' and as an antidote he 'preached on the Ministerial commission, and distributed some of the earlier numbers of the 'Tracts for the Times.'

Nor was his activity limited to his own locality. He undertook in 1840 the local secretaryship of S.P.G., and this no doubt was under Providence the first step which led to his being called to his great work in Africa. In 1845 Bishop Maltby, no incompetent judge of a clergyman's value to his people, pressed on him the living of Stockton-on-Tees. After prayerfully weighing the whole matter, the offer was accepted, and for several reasons, but 'partly from the hope of being of use in Stockton and altering my too secular and expensive mode of living.' The place was in itself unattractive; the church was hideous, and the pews were bought and sold. The people had been accustomed to the old-fashioned slovenliness of worship; added to which, there was a wrench to be endured in leaving Whitworth and its friends and associations; but the trial was borne with cheerfulness; the ugly church was tolerated, and a black gown was purchased, in which 'a very moderate' opening sermon was preached by the new Vicar. Confronted by a large middle-class population, he saw the necessity of giving to the children a sounder education than their fathers had received, and we read of his attempting a middle-class school. The parish responded to its Vicar's zeal. Congregations increased; schools were filled; the laity were prepared to maintain a second curate; but in little

more than a year after his institution, Mr. Gray was offered the more valuable living of Whickham, the Bishop of Durham not only making the offer in the most flattering terms, but adding, a still greater mark of his consideration, that he would desire to consult with him as to his successor. This offer was, however, declined on principle. Mr. Gray thought that to move so soon would not be fair to his people at Stockton; another token of the Bishop's esteem which was offered to him in the same year, an honorary Canonry in Durham Cathedral, was gratefully welcomed and was retained to the end of his life.

But Stockton was not destined long to have him for its Vicar. Early in 1847 he was sounded by Ernest Hawkins as to his readiness to accept a Colonial Bishopric if it were offered to him. The Colonial Bishops Council had been established in 1841, and the sees of New Zealand, Gibraltar, Antigua, Guiana, Tasmania, Fredericton, and Colombo, had been established by its efforts, and now four new sees were about to be founded, and it was intimated to Mr. Gray that he could make his choice between Adelaide and Capetown. His preferences were undoubtedly on the side of remaining at home, and he had many scruples as to his own fitness for a Colonial Bishopric; but his sense of duty to the Church forbade him to do more than say, 'If the Archbishop has before him the names of other men equally qualified for the office, I had rather not be named.' He consulted his own Bishop, who said, 'Stockton can never be so well filled again as it has been by you and your immediate predecessor.' It seemed at one time as though his wish would be gratified, for Capetown was actually offered to another priest, who was unable to leave England, and at last the direct call came from Archbishop Howley, and was recognized as a call that must be obeyed; he would make no choice as to the particular See which he should fill, but placed himself, with characteristic self-abnegation, at the disposal of the Church, 'unconditionally, without qualification or reserve.'

The inevitable worry which is wont to precede consecration and departure from England now pressed upon the Bishop designate and developed that painful tendency to sleeplessness which never left him during the rest of his life. He was overwhelmed with business of all kinds; he took frequent counsel personally and by correspondence with Sir Harry Smith, who, though Governor of the Cape, happened to be in England in 1847, and other old Cape residents. Already he began to experience the encroachment of the State, which

claimed on the strength of the appointment to a Colonial see the patronage of the benefice vacated. 'Things cannot long go on thus between Church and State,' he wrote; 'the reciprocity is all on one side. We find the money for the foundation of a See and pay for a Patent, "waste-paper," as they call it, and "a trap to catch Colonial Bishops in," and they nominate Bishop and his successor and keep a tight hold upon all they can catch.' The Bishop's words about Letters Patent were painfully prophetic, as we shall see by-and-by, but his instincts, always on the side of right, were proved on this occasion to have had the law on their side, when some ten years later, in the famous case of *The Queen v. Eton College*, Lord Campbell refused to the Crown the right of nomination to the living vacated by the present metropolitan of New Zealand, and we may add that no similar claim has since been made.

He was consecrated in Westminster Abbey on S. Peter's day, 1847, with the Bishops of Melbourne, Newcastle, and Adelaide, and in December sailed for Africa. Troubles, however, began before he had left England many days; he had been requested by Bishop Blomfield to confirm at Madeira, and while there to investigate and, if possible, to allay the contentions which existed between two rival congregations. There were two chaplains, one sent by Lord Palmerston on the authority of the Foreign Office, but without the licence of the Bishop; the other, who officiated in a hired room, holding the Bishop's licence. It was not an edifying contention: for even Bishop Blomfield rested his authority over Madeira only on the Order in Council of Charles I., by which all British subjects in foreign parts were declared to be under the authority of the See of London; but to the heated partisans in Madeira it had become a battle between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, and Bishop Gray detected that 'the Christianity of the place was with Mr. Lowe (the licensed chaplain) and his friends.' Queen Adelaide was at Madeira at the time, and took a warm interest in Church matters and in the prospects of the Bishop in Africa. She had the ministrations of her own chaplain, and thus was kept at a distance from local squabbles, but her sympathies were with Mr. Lowe, who, we may here add, continued to visit Madeira after he had resigned the chaplaincy until his death. His ministrations were much valued by the invalids who frequent the lovely sanitarium, and it was on his way to the island in 1874 to fulfil what he regarded as a special mission entrusted to him that he lost his life, in the wreck

of the steamer 'Liberia.' The visit to Madeira enabled the young prelate to lay down those simple principles which are the barest A B C of churchmanship, and for which he afterwards and so often bravely struggled. His words are worth recording: 'The Church,' he wrote, 'does not consist in the possession of a material fabric or in a stipend from Government, or in an appointment from Lord Palmerston. These are mere accidental appendages, and can never constitute the Church. There is wanting a faithful body, under a ministry lawfully appointed and sent by those who have authority into the Lord's vineyard.'

On Sunday, Feb. 20, 1848, the Bishop landed at Capetown with his wife and four children, and troubles, the fruit of past neglect, beset him at once. The very advent of a Bishop gave rise to an outburst of bigotry. Hitherto the Bishop of Calcutta had been regarded as Bishop of Africa, and so wholly a nullity had episcopacy ever been that the only administration of confirmation provided for residents at the Cape had been on the occasion of the visit of the Bishop of Tasmania, who stopped there at the request of Archbishop Howley, on his outward voyage in 1842. In the city of Capetown itself there were two churches and two clergymen; both men of pronounced opinions and living three miles away from their churches. The very Cathedral, which was 7,500*l.* in debt, was closed from Sunday to Sunday, with the exception of a Thursday evening lecture badly attended. Lent was unnoticed, and it was not without anxiety that the Bishop commenced daily prayers on Ash Wednesday. Many of the English immigrants had turned Mahometans, and there was the mixed population of Hottentots, Malays, negroes, and others whose heathenism daily confronted him. The most perplexing question was where, with the men and resources at his command, he should commence. The intricacies before him were like the desert paths, which he so often afterwards trod, where the road starts plain and clearly defined, but soon becomes a track which, getting fainter and fainter, is at last crossed by a deep spoor of bullocks, sheep, and men; this the traveller pursues eagerly, but soon it is recrossed by another, and in a few miles it is absorbed in scrub or bush, and the bewildered wanderer has lost his way and must do his best to retrace his steps. But Bishop Gray was never bewildered in the sense of being incapacitated; the vulgar estimate of the great prelate would make him impatient at delay and reckless in regard to temporal things; in reality, he often had to wait and suspend action while men and funds

were lacking, but he was never without plans which were to be adopted when the way was open. Now on his arrival he had Capetown itself, growing rapidly in population and importance, and needing the services of more clergy than the whole colony contained. Five hundred miles away, Grahamstown was becoming the capital of the Eastern Province; Port Elizabeth, East London, Durban, and many other towns of less importance, were dotting the eastern coast-line, 1,200 miles in length, each with its own varied population, and each suggesting a vast interior district dependent on it. To the west there were 'the Bays,' the huge Namaqualand just beginning to attract enterprise and capital to its copper-mines. St. Helena, a long week's voyage distant, and the tiny Tristan d'Acunha, the barren islet with its 130 inhabitants, lying out of the track of ships, 1,200 miles from the nearest land; this the good Bishop visited more than once and supplied with a devoted minister, and at last, when the shallow soil seemed unable any longer to yield its scanty crop, the little colony, with its clergyman, was by the same fatherly solicitude transferred to the mainland. Some few indeed, when the move had to be made, refused to quit their desolate home, and the population has now almost reached its former number of souls; they are once more without any religious privileges, and their neglected condition has attracted the attention of Parliament during the present year.

A few months of eager activity saw matters somewhat settled at Capetown, and the Bishop's family comfortably established at Protea, and the first visitation journey there commenced. It lasted seventeen weeks and a day, and in that time 4,000 miles were traversed; and when his home was reached, he felt as though he 'should never be clear of letters and papers. Every day new questions start up which involve important principles, which I find very difficult to settle, and tremble to handle.' He was not, however, without efficient helps, and we read of Archdeacon Merriman (now Bishop of Grahamstown) setting forth to Algoa Bay to build up the church there, 'his whole soul in his work;' and the names of White, Badnall, Green, Douglas, and others, which have since become familiar in the story of South Africa, already appear in the Bishop's journals and letters. A year had hardly been spent in Africa when the Bishop started for St. Helena, 'realizing that scripture, that they that have wives must be as though they had none;' and while at this the extreme western limit of his diocese, his thoughts were travelling eastwards to Natal, and even beyond the boundaries

of the See to Mauritius, 'while those excellent people, the Gomm's, are there,' to the Seychelles, Comoro Islands, and above all, Madagascar, which is a most interesting field, and will ere long be opened out again. It is, we think, no mean testimony to the Bishop's foresight and zeal that, amid all the cares which confronted him daily in his own diocese, he should have thought of the needs of this island at least twelve years before it was open to Europeans, and it is humiliating to add that it cost ten years more of persistent effort to overcome the faithless timidity which hindered the establishment of a bishopric at Antananarivo. We find, indeed, that Madagascar was constantly before his mind; even when in 1864 he was in the thick of the Colenso controversy, he wrote to Mr. Keble of the necessity of sending a Bishop thither without delay, as the times of persecution were ended and the land was open.

Another visitation tour of 2,000 miles, made principally on horseback, completed the second year of residence in Africa, and now the Bishop determined to commence missions among the heathen. Umhalla's country was the first to be occupied; this was known as British Kaffraria, but a still larger country, Independent Kaffraria, which has since been adopted by the Scottish Church as its own field, and for which Bishop Callaway was consecrated by the Scotch Bishops in 1873, was also occupied by the Bishop about this time. At Easter, in this year, he set out on that famous visitation, without a parallel, so far as we know, in modern missionary work, which occupied nine months of incessant and exhausting travel. The weary Karroo had to be crossed before Bloemfontein, the northern limit of the journey, was reached. He lived to see this place the seat of a Bishop of the Free State, who has since pushed the frontiers of the Church far to the north in the Transvaal country. Thence his route lay towards Natal, where the prospects seemed so fair that he wished to 'get Archdeacon Grant or some very able man for Capetown, and the Archdeacon for Grahamstown, and me to go to mission work at Natal.' 'This diocese *must* be divided,' and 'Convocation *must* meet,' were the two propositions on which he insisted at this time. The Bishop contributed much towards accomplishing both of these objects. A 'solemn declaration from the Bishop and Clergy of Capetown' was in this year sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury, repudiating the recently established 'Supreme Court of Appeal,' and praying that Convocation might meet. 'If it does not soon speak, the Church will merge in the State, and the heterogeneous

elements, of which the British Government is composed, will become a new form of Antichrist.'

The subdivision of the diocese and other matters called for his presence in England, and in 1852 he returned to this country, paying a visit to St. Helena by the way. Before taking leave of his clergy, now forty-two in number, he laid before them his plans for the organization of the Church; next to the subdivision of his diocese, the establishment of a Synod was insisted on. It is well known that of the two great legal cases which disturbed his episcopate, one, the Long case, had its origin in the opposition that was offered to synodical action; it was objected that the Bishop aimed at establishing a clerical autocracy, but nothing could be more unfounded, for, just as, when he urged the restoration of Convocation as the remedy for Church difficulties at home, he insisted on its reforming its constitution, and 'that the approval of the laity should be requisite to give the authority of the Church to any of its enactments, except on matters of faith,' so in his pastoral letter of 1851 the Bishop wrote: 'It is not in accordance with the principles of our branch of the Church, or of the primitive and Apostolic Church, that the Bishop should by his sole authority settle all questions which may arise, and conduct the affairs of the Church through all their details. The presbyters, the deacons, and the laity of the Church have each their separate functions, responsibilities, privileges, which are at present in much danger of being overlooked.'

The time spent in England was a very busy one, and the burden of work was made heavier by ill-health, which at one time was so serious, that Mrs. Gray hastened home from the Cape to nurse her husband. On S. Andrew's day, 1853, the great object of his visit was accomplished, and Bishops Armstrong and Colenso were consecrated for Grahamstown and Natal respectively. To secure this subdivision Bishop Gray resigned on November 23, *not his Letters Patent*, as has frequently been stated, *but his See*, and on December 8 he received, *not new*, but *additional*, Letters Patent, constituting Capetown the Metropolitan See of South Africa. Bishop Gray had never entertained any exalted opinion of the value of these documents, and on several grounds he suspected the legality of the compact now made between himself and his suffragans. His scruples were politely but firmly set aside by the Attorney-General, whose handiwork the precious Letters were, and when at a subsequent period their legality was tested, the same eminent authority, then filling the office

of Lord Chancellor, with airy insouciance, gave the death-blow to his own creations, and declared them 'null and void in law.' But these troubles had not yet descended, and immediately after the consecration the Metropolitan returned to Africa, and for some years we have nothing but records of growing work.

This great advance on the conception of the founders of the Colonial Bishopricks Fund was largely the work of Bishop Gray. The good men, who in 1841 determined to rescue the Colonial Churches from the presbyterianism in which they were fast bound, had not risen to the idea of provincial organization. To 'get a Bishopric endowed' seemed to them to be an excellent thing, as indeed it was, but the vision of autonomous Churches and Provinces, grouped around the latent Patriarchate of Canterbury, had never been revealed to them. The only Metropolitan See beyond the limits of the United Kingdom was that of Calcutta, and was, as it continues to be, as ecclesiastically abnormal as the creation of a mere Act of Parliament is likely to be. They were content, therefore, to multiply suffragans of Canterbury, each prelate being independent of his brethren, as the necessities of the Colonies demanded, and as their resources enabled them. The right of Synodal action, whether Provincial or Diocesan, was unknown both at home and abroad thirty years ago, and its recovery is one of the many good things which have been won for us by faithful men whose struggles have made posterity their debtors. The present generation has seen the birth of ecclesiastical provinces in Africa, in North America, in Australia, and in New Zealand. The only regions in which this liberty has not been acquired are those in which the Church is, or has been, subsidized by the State, and has been content, or compelled, to forego her freedom in return for the countenance of the civil power.

In 1856 the Bishop was thinking of a Bishopric to be established in the Orange Free State, 'formerly part of my diocese, now under nobody's charge,' and this was accomplished in 1863. In the same year we meet with a hint of coming troubles in Natal. 'The Bishop of Natal has got into great trouble,' he wrote to Dr. Williamson. 'People will not submit even to a Bishop's *ipse-dixit*. He has startled people by the rapidity of his conclusions. . . . They ask what next? If he will only learn caution and deliberation . . . his fine, generous, bold and noble character will triumph over all difficulties.' It is worthy of note that it is the Metropolitan Bishop Gray who laments the autocratic action of Bishop

Colenso. The popular notion of the two men is, we imagine, quite the opposite of this.

Pressure of work in Africa, which surrounded him like the atmosphere, never lessened his intense interest in the Church at home, and at this time (1857) he wrote to Bishop Wilberforce: 'I am looking anxiously for the appointments to London and Durham. The Metropolitan City is the field for you. I will not believe, till I know the contrary, that even Palmerston will not ask you to occupy a post which there is, perhaps, not another Bishop on the bench who could adequately fill.' Had the Bishop's expectations been realized, who can attempt to estimate the good effect of such an appointment on the whole Anglican communion?

In 1857 the Synod, whose establishment was desiderated in 1851, was assembled for the first time. Opposition arose from several quarters, principally on the part of some Government officials, who saw in it a disparagement of their idol, the Royal supremacy. They were worsted in law and in argument, and took refuge in offensive vituperation, for which apologies had to be made. The effect, however, was that five parishes refused to send delegates, and the clergyman of one of these parishes, the Rev. J. Long, refused either to publish the Bishop's summons to the parish to elect a delegate, or to attend the Synod himself. We here meet for the first time with the cuckoo cry, which was repeated *ad nauseam* in the Colenso case, of 'the Church of England in South Africa.' It was useless to plead that on geographical as well as ecclesiastical grounds no such a Church could exist, and that Lord Campbell in *The Queen v. Eton College* had refused to recognize such a title; and we can quite understand how, amid a Colonial population, history, law, and geography were ignored, and the contumacy of the clergyman was applauded 'as a struggle for civil and religious liberties.' We need say no more about this case than that in 1861 Mr. Long, who had repeated his contumacious conduct, was suspended for three months, but, in consideration of his family, he was allowed the whole of his stipend during his suspension—an amount of lenity which we apprehend is not met with in secular courts. Against this sentence Mr. Long appealed to the Supreme Court of the Colony, where the Bishop had to defend himself, the only alternative being to employ a Jew as his advocate, and after much delay his sentence was confirmed. An appeal was then carried to the Privy Council, with what result every one knows. The judgment of the Cape tribunal was reversed, and the decision was based on the invalidity of the Letters

Patent. The Court expressly refrained from dealing with Mr. Long's obligations '*in foro conscientiæ*.' The Bishop was saddled with the costs, but as the Court stated, truly enough, that he had been 'involved in the difficulties by which he has been embarrassed by the doubtful state of the law,' the Treasury, acting on a suggestion of the Judicial Committee, contributed the insignificant sum of 285*l.* 5*s.* towards the Bishop's expenses; which amounted to 1,600*l.*

In 1858 Bishop Gray was again in England: if ever a Colonial Bishop did good by visiting this country, it was Bishop Gray. Such sojourns were to him seasons of incessant work; on his first visit he had obtained two suffragans: he now obtained a third by the establishment of the See of St. Helena; but in one sense these Sees were always his: he was not a titular Metropolitan only; nothing which touched these young Churches or affected either their spiritual or material interests, was foreign to him. On June 14, 1859, he assisted at the consecration of the Bishops of Bangor, Brisbane, and St. Helena, 'the oaths correctly taken to Canterbury, Sydney, and Capetown.' This is worthy of notice, inasmuch as of late a policy of ultra-centralization has prevailed at Lambeth, and, where not resisted, has confounded jurisdiction and thrown the relations of Colonial Metropolitans and their suffragans into simple chaos. We should be afraid to say how many Australian Bishops have sworn obedience to Canterbury instead of to Sydney: several of the Canadian Bishops have been guilty of the same anomaly, and we know of one South African prelate who took at his consecration the oath of obedience to the Northern Primate! Such a hyper-papal system may suffice, or at least may inflict no serious grievance so long as a Church is content to be the mere appanage of the Civil Power; but as soon as, whether voluntarily or otherwise, it is thrown on its own resources, it must either assert its independent life and group with the Churches with which it has an obvious affinity or perish.

Beyond securing a Bishop for St. Helena, the enthusiasm of Bishop Gray accomplished what Livingstone with all the interest which he excited had failed to do; it was his presence which gave the needful impetus to the proposed Universities' mission to Central Africa, and made Mackenzie the first Missionary Bishop of our Church. But it was notwithstanding many struggles that this apparently simple result was gained. The Bishop in 1861 thus recounted his experiences:—

'When I first asserted the right of the Church to consecrate a Bishop for the heathen in my Cathedral Church, Earl Carnarvon told

me that my claim, which I requested might be submitted to the Law Officers of the Crown, came as a thunderbolt upon them. The case was, however submitted, and considered, and I was informed that the claim was admitted. But at that time it was not believed that the Bishops at home could do such a thing—the idea was scouted. Nothing daunted, however, the Bishops submitted a case to the present Lord Chancellor, this same Sir R. Bethell, the Queen's Advocate, and the present Attorney-General, and they all pronounced that the English Bishops could do the same, but very amusingly cautioned them against the exercise of so novel and unusual a power !'

Subsequently the Foreign Office 'was in a flutter' about issuing a licence without defining the limits of the Central African diocese, and the Law Officers were again taken seriously into consultation on the momentous question. Well might Bishop Gray ask, 'Shall I name the Mountains of the Moon !' With justifiable indignation might he exclaim, 'How the world will laugh at those absurd restrictions in the next generation !'

The opposition to this attempt on the part of the English Church to vindicate, after centuries of, first Roman, and then Erastian usurpation, her indefeasible right to carry the Gospel to heathen lands, was not limited to lawyers and politicians. Bishop Gray wrote, on 'February 4, 1859: Meeting of Colonial Bishops Council ; full attendance: Bishop of London very vehement against Missionary Bishops : says it is unscriptural and contrary to the practice of the Church to begin new missions with Bishops at the head of them.' These statements were repeated by that right reverend prelate in Convocation, and fresh objections were started. The proposal that the Metropolitan of South Africa and his suffragans should consecrate a Missionary Bishop 'seriously changed the universal practice of the Church of England, viz. that the Queen shall, in virtue of her supremacy, nominate all Bishops of the Church of England, either in the Colonies or at home.' 'To dispense with the Royal mandate was as grave a thing' in the eyes of Bishop Tait 'as to dispense with subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles, and to consecrate a Bishop for the Orange Free State would place the consecrating prelates in the position of the Pope when he sent Bishops to this country against the will of the people.' Bishop Tait further declared that he did not see that there would be any difference 'between three of our Bishops consecrating Bishops for the Orange territory and consecrating Bishops for Prussia and Switzerland *where the episcopal system did not exist.*' This was in 1859: hardly more than half a generation has since

passed, and surely the world has already justified Bishop Gray's exclamation in regard to such proposed restrictions. We mention these events to show how many and serious were the hindrances to the Church winning her independence, and how impossible it was, and is, to some men to realize the fact that the Church abroad can never be governed by narrow restrictions of Acts of Parliament, which contemplate a wholly different condition of things, and which the very lawyers themselves pronounce to have no force in countries which have achieved a political independence.

To Bishop Wilberforce we are indebted for the successful termination of this struggle ; but it was the Bishop of Capetown who originated the scheme, and never rested until it was carried out. Bishop Mackenzie was consecrated at Capetown on the festival of the Circumcision in 1861, and went immediately to the scene of his brief episcopate ; the first public act of Archbishop Longley in 1863 was to consecrate his successor, and at the same time the first Bishop of the Free State, both of whom took the oath of allegiance to the Metropolitan of South Africa. Altogether, during the primacies of Archbishops Sumner and Longley, eight Bishops were consecrated in England for Africa, all of whom took the oath to Capetown ; it was not, therefore, without reason that, no change having in the meantime been made in the law, Bishop Gray complained of having to travel to Inverness to consecrate Bishop Webb, and that another African Bishop should, as we mentioned before, have been compelled to acknowledge the Archbishop of York as his metropolitan.

In August, 1859, the Bishop returned to Africa ; his stay in England had been full of anxieties, which were shared and cordially lightened by the firm friendship of Bishop Wilberforce : 'the two friends who had shared, and were yet to share, so many burdens on behalf of the Church, their mother, knelt in prayer together, and for each other, before separating.'

In 1862 the Bishop was again driven to England in consequence of the death of Bishop Mackenzie ; the visit was a brief one, but it sufficed to secure a successor to the saintly man whose body was resting under the cross, planted by the hand of Livingstone, on the banks of the African river. The opinion of the great traveller of the great Bishop may fitly find a place here. In the story of his second expedition (p. 405) we meet with the following passage :—

'As soon as the death of Bishop Mackenzie was known at the Cape, Dr. Gray, the excellent Bishop there, proceeded at once to

England, with a view of securing an early appointment of another head to the mission, which in its origin owed so much to his zeal for the spread of the Gospel among the heathen, and whose interest he had continually at heart. The Bishop had taken a voyage home at considerable inconvenience to himself for the sole object of promoting this mission to the heathen, and it was somehow expected that the man he would secure would be an image of himself, and we must say that whatever others, from the representations that have gone abroad, may think of his character, we invariably found Dr. Gray to be a true, warm-hearted promoter of the welfare of his fellow-men, and one whose courage and zeal have provoked many to good works.'

Such was the testimony of the Congregationalist Livingstone, of whom the Bishop was wont to speak as a 'noble fellow,' and, indeed, it is strange that while the great prelate met with so much misrepresentation at the hands of churchmen and the English press, the Moravians, Wesleyans, Free-Kirkites, and the French Protestant missionaries esteemed him highly, and in several instances sought his advice in their work.

But the chief sorrow of his episcopate was now beginning to descend on the Bishop of Capetown. Through all the troubles of the Long case, Bishop Gray had not allowed litigation to divert him from the prosecution of that missionary work which was ever so dear to his heart; the Kafir Institution was often a prominent topic in his letters and diaries; the necessity of an English College and an Orphans' Home he was now urging on the Church; these he lived to found and to rejoice over their vigour and usefulness; he was also in frequent counsel with Sir George Grey in reference to a proposed confederation of the several South African provinces which it has been reserved to the present Government to put into legal shape; he seems to have allowed nothing to escape him which could tend to the benefit of his adopted country; but as early as 1858 he had been disturbed by the views of the Bishop of Natal: in 1860 he wrote: 'Natal is a very wilful, headstrong man, and loose, I fear, in his opinions upon vital points. We shall have to fight for Revelation, Inspiration, the Atonement, and every great truth of Christianity ere long.' In the following year he wrote: 'It is curious and painful to see how the reaction of his mind from the utter Calvinism in which he was brought up, is driving him to the contemplation of God solely as love, into opinions which seem to me to undermine the whole Gospel scheme.' Nevertheless, up to the period of Bishop Colenso's return to England, in 1862, to publish the first part of his work on the Pentateuch, not only had there been no estrangement, but the two Bishops 'had been as brothers.'

The popular belief is that the Metropolitan was eager to use the authority which he conceived himself to possess, and that a more conciliatory attitude might possibly have arrested the suffragan in his wild speculations. The biography shows most conclusively that nothing could have been more exemplary than the patience and forbearance of Bishop Gray. The clergy in Natal had suffered from their Bishop's action and teaching before the rest of the world suspected his orthodoxy, and on several important points had looked for counsel to Bishop Gray both as Metropolitan and as the founder of the whole South African Church. On one occasion, although pained by the language complained of, yet believing that it might be construed in harmony with the Church's formularies, he urged the clergy to give due obedience to their Bishop, and 'in my efforts to promote peace,' he wrote, 'I know that I made the hearts of faithful men sad.'

In 1861 Dr. Colenso had published his commentary on the Epistle to the Romans; an early copy was sent to Bishop Gray, who wrote to the author 'praying him to keep it back and to consult his friends.' When it became known, and the Archdeacon of Natal protested against the teaching of the work, Bishop Gray, still shrinking from taking any personal or active part in the controversy, sent a copy of the book to the Archbishop of Canterbury, requesting him to consult with the English Bishops and to give him advice as to what he should do. Even this was not done without communication with Bishop Colenso, who 'quite approved of the letter to the Archbishop, of which I sent him a copy, and says that he knows that I shall always show the utmost kindness that my sense of duty will admit. Poor dear fellow!' the Bishop adds, 'I feel deeply grieved about him.'

Archbishop Sumner wrote 'a very touching letter, full of kindness and sympathy,' and early in 1862 the English Bishops met to consider the suspected volume, which they declared to be unsound: in consideration of the possibility of the two Primates being called on to give a judicial utterance on the subject, it was not thought right that they should commit themselves to any public judgment beforehand: but the Archbishop wrote (and the fact must not be lost sight of, as it shows how in this and in many other ways the popular opinion is unsupported by history): 'I am greatly struck by the mildness and conciliatory spirit which you have united with the firmness and decision exhibited in the whole of your distressing correspondence with the Bishop of Natal.'

At this time, as has been already mentioned, Bishop Gray

was suddenly driven to England to find a successor to Mackenzie; he was followed in the next steamer by the Bishop of Natal, who remained in this country until 1865. The first part of the work on the Pentateuch was published soon after the author landed in England, and again Bishop Gray wrote an affectionate appeal to the Bishop of Natal to stay his hand, and to take counsel with friends. The second part was issued in January 1863: in this the Bishops and clergy were practically accused of hypocrisy and falsehood in the exercise of their ministry, especially in the office of Holy Baptism, and they were invited, 'as the only remedy, to omit such words, to disobey the law of the Church, and to take the consequences.' It was evident that things could not go on quietly any longer. The Bishops and Convocation were appealed to, and it was a crisis in which, as Bishop Phillpotts said, 'the Bishops *could not* give an answer evading responsibility. The case was one of singular notoriety, of vast scandal, of universal reprobation.' The immediate cause of the Bishops assembling as they did on February 4, 1863, in large numbers, was the formal appeal of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to the Primate as its President. It is the custom of that Society to elect all its officers annually in the month of February; the Bishop of Natal was a Vice-President, and entrusted with the administration of large funds for the benefit of his diocese. Archbishop Sumner had died in the autumn of 1862, and Archbishop Longley, whose whole conduct in regard to the troubles of the South African Church was in perfect accord with his noble and beautiful character, summoned not only all the English, but as many of the Irish and Colonial prelates as were within reach. At this distance of time, it is strange to read that the question was actually put, 'Shall any advice be given to the Society?' but the Bishop of Natal seems to have had friends among the assembled prelates who did him more service than any professional advocate could have rendered to him. Every obstruction that was possible was offered to any decision at all, and this appears the more extraordinary when all the Bishops were unanimous in thinking Bishop Colenso's position untenable; the late Bishop Thirlwall declared it to be 'utterly untenable;' Bishop Tait said, 'There was not the slightest difference of opinion in that body as to the Bishop's teaching. They had no confidence in that teaching. . . . If he heard that Bishop Colenso was going to officiate in his diocese, he should stop him.' The result of this day's discussion was that the S. P. G. was advised 'to withhold its confidence from the Bishop of Natal until he has

been cleared from the charges notoriously incurred by him, and that by twenty-five to four the Bishops agreed, 'under a great scandal, to inhibit the Bishop of Natal from ministering in their dioceses. But Bishop Gray was still without the counsel which he had sought, and the Bishops assembled again on February 7. The question of his own legal position and authority was at that very moment under discussion before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council: he had at least a moral right to the advice and sympathy of his brethren, and he was now advised that until the sale of the suspected books in the diocese of Capetown was proved, he could take no steps.

It cannot, however, be said that in his subsequent action he was without the advice of the English episcopate, for we read that the Bishop of London said with warmth, 'The Bishop of Natal is within the Bishop of Capetown's jurisdiction,' and at another period of the debate Bishop Tait asked 'why the Bishop of Capetown had not before this proceeded against the Bishop of Natal? and why he was not doing so now?' After an argument which at one time waxed so hot that the aged Bishop of St. Asaph, as the oldest prelate present with the exception of the Bishop of Chichester, invited Bishop Gilbert to join with him in proposing 'that they should fall to prayer' before another word was spoken, a declaration was agreed upon, the Bishop of St. David's being the only dissentient; in this document forty prelates called on Bishop Colenso to resign his position, which he could no longer fill. Immediately after this conference, the Southern Convocation met, and the Lower House condemned Bishop Colenso's book, and in the Upper House it was relegated to a committee to report on it, the Bishop of St. David's counselling delay, 'as it will be impossible for him [*i.e.* the author] to retrieve his position and office in the Church.' The committee reported strongly against the book, but contented itself with warning the faithful against it, as it would shortly become matter for the decision of an ecclesiastical tribunal. Meanwhile Bishop Gray had gone back to Africa only to find the clergy sorely straitened for money, and in Natal the Church bitterly divided and distressed. As Metropolitan he felt that he had 'no alternative but to go on with the case.' He had consulted the English Bishops, and even the one who before all others had shown least sympathy with him, had reproached him for not bringing his suffragan to account within the limits of his province. But he had other and nobler motives; to his brother he wrote, 'If any one is to

suffer for Natal, I ought to do so. I was a main instrument in bringing him out here, trusting too implicitly to the judgment of others.' He accordingly summoned the Bishop of Natal to appear in November and in the most delicate way offered him the loan of his own house at Kalk Bay during the trial. The intervening three months he spent in a laborious visitation abounding with unpleasant incidents. In writing to his son the Bishop gives the following details of a single night's adventures :—

'After going sixty miles with one of the horses tired out, we arrived at a farm, which we found deserted, only a Hottentot woman there. She let us in, but there was no food but what we brought, and your mother slept on a short table and I on a chair without a bottom, and the mud floor in alternate changes. There was a hen and chicken in the room, and we had had nothing all day but some sweet cake and a piece of brown bread which we asked for at the place where we slept before. We had nothing to wash in but a pie-dish, and by two o'clock, the next day when we got to Beaufort, the state of our commissariat was not pleasant.'

No personal hardships ever succeeded in checking the ardent faith or in quelling the Christian courage of that great Bishop. In a letter written about the same time as that from which we made the last quotation, he charged his son, 'Do what you believe to be right and cling to the right, let who will gainsay.' This was the maxim of his own life and he wished to deliver it to those who should come after him.

The trial took place and the result we know. The duty of exposing the errors of a Bishop who 'renounced his belief, but not his position,' who 'abandoned the Bible and Prayer-Book, of which his office made him guardian, and yet retained that office,' brought into prominence one who has since done noble service to the Church and has raised the work of Missions in India to an altogether higher level—the late Bishop of Bombay. The 'Long' judgment had so complicated matters that 'Bishops and clergy were at sea, as to action,' but there was no sign of faltering on the part of the Metropolitan. 'If civil courts interfere and send Colenso back, God helping, I will excommunicate, and, if my brethren will join, will, if the Church at home is afraid to do so, consecrate an orthodox Bishop.' This was written in 1863, after the sentence was pronounced, which was, however, not to take effect for four months. It was cordially approved by Dissenters, especially by Dr. Duff, the eminent Free-Kirk minister, who had come to the Cape from his labours in India for the restoration of his health, and who wrote an enthusiastic

letter to the Bishop of Capetown. An appeal was carried to the Privy Council, at which the Metropolitan appeared by counsel, but under protest and only in deference to the advice of his friends ; meanwhile the laity in the Synod of Capetown thanked their Bishop for his action in regard to the Bishop of Natal. The time of waiting for the judgment of the Privy Council was spent in missionary tours, and when the long-expected pronouncement came, it was found that the same man who in 1853 as Attorney-General, not without remonstrance from non-legal minds who suspected a flaw, insisted on drawing up Letters Patent for the three South African Sees, now as Lord Chancellor was ready to destroy his own creations, and ruled that the Letters Patent were valueless in law, and that practically there was no See either of Capetown or Natal, and consequently that there were no Bishops of those countries ! The judgment did indeed involve two propositions by no means compatible the one with the other —first, that the relations between the two Sees were only the result of a voluntary compact without legal force, and, secondly, that the Crown can yet interfere and take cognizance of such voluntary jurisdiction, and, if it choose, can annul it ; to say nothing of the fact that the Church had paid at least 10,000*l.* for Letters Patent for various Sees, which were now pronounced by the very authority which issued them to be valueless. Both in Africa and in England the unhappy judgment won much sympathy for the Metropolitan ; but it was not ‘personal kindness’ that he desired. ‘I want the Church at home to speak out and say she has communion with us,’ he wrote in 1865, and in the same year the Convocation of Canterbury expressed the sympathy of both Houses, not without persevering opposition on the part of the Dean of Westminster.

In November 1865, Bishop Colenso returned to Natal, after an absence of nearly four years, and in the following month, but not until he had made a last and most pathetic appeal, the Metropolitan acted on the unanimous resolution of the Provincial Synod and declared him to be separated from the Communion of the Church. The Synods of America and of Canada approved of the sentence, and ultimately the Convocation of Canterbury declared ‘the Church of England to be in full communion with the Bishop of Capetown and with those Bishops who lately with him in Synod declared Bishop Colenso to be *ipso facto* excommunicated.’ We know of no more humiliating reading than the debates of Convocation on this subject in 1866 ; it seemed as though the supreme

object of language was to 'mean nothing:' more than one Bishop, sympathizing with the orthodox side, proposed skilfully drafted amendments and commended them to the Upper House, 'because it commits us to nothing;' and in striking and noble contrast to this, Bishop Wilberforce challenged his brethren [can we not many of us recall the very tones in which the solemn words would fall from his lips?] 'to incur the evanescent danger of speaking out for the greatest truths the Church of Christ ever held.'

In 1867 the Lambeth Conference was summoned, and Bishop Gray had not been idle in providing for the vacant See. It was intended by those to whom the idea of the gathering owed its existence, to put forth such a declaration by the assembled Anglican episcopate as should purge the Church of any heresy which it might have contracted, and also to provide a tribunal acknowledged as binding on all hands, by which any questions of heterodoxy should hereafter be settled. The deposed Bishop received no invitation to the Conference, but great was the surprise—and, indeed, it demands a stronger word adequately to express the feeling—when Bishops, who had come from the antipodes to deliver their souls on the one prominent topic, found that Archbishop Longley had given a pledge to the Bishops of London and St. David's, that the position of Dr. Colenso should not be discussed. The proceedings of that august assembly were conducted with closed doors, but even then the Church was not wholly ignorant of the general purport of its discussions; and the whole story is revealed by the volumes before us. Bishops from the United States, from Canada, from New Zealand, refused to be prohibited from approaching the subject on which they felt most intensely, and there was reason to believe that had he not been unwilling to oppose the Archbishop, 'so meek, so kind, and fair,' who had ever sympathized with him, Bishop Gray might have carried a resolution affirming all that he desired; as it was, fifty-five Bishops signed a declaration accepting the spiritual validity of the sentence of deposition. There can be no doubt that in consenting to 'taboo' this crucial question Archbishop Longley made the one capital mistake of his primacy, which in so many respects was a beneficent one. It will, we trust, act as a warning to those who are concerned with the next Lambeth Conference. Such an assembly will be found less docile than the Lower House of Convocation shows itself under similar treatment: American and Colonial Bishops, when they occupy the equal seats of the common Episcopate in numbers far exceeding the

English prelates, will not consent a second time to have their agenda paper prepared for them, and to be debarred from introducing the very topics on which they feel most deeply.

Bishop Gray's energies were now directed to the finding an orthodox Bishop, and the Archbishop consented to Mr. Macrorie being consecrated in his province, and if necessary in his diocese. The present Dean of Chichester offered St. Mary's, Oxford, for the consecration ; as an alternative, Scotland had been proposed, but Bishop Tait wrote 'a long and grave letter' to the Primus, remonstrating against it. *The Times* and other papers were violent in their utterances, and 'on January 22, the Bishop of Capetown received a letter in Norfolk Square, from the Bishop of London, which was in *The Times*, with a leader to back it up, before the Metropolitan received it.'

These are the words of the biographer. The following are the Bishop's own :—

'January 24—Late in the evening a messenger left a letter at my door from the Archbishop of York, remonstrating as to the consecration.

'January 25—The Archbishop of York's letter appeared in the *Times* this morning, with an article in support of it. Very meanly and uncourtously do these great prelates treat a brother in thus sending their agitating letters to the public press before they send them to him.'

And we think the majority of Christian people will agree with the Bishop's last sentence.

Archbishop Longley was still desirous that the consecration should take place in this country, and before starting for the Continent, wrote to his Vicar-General strongly expressing such a wish. The Colonial Secretary also led Bishop Gray to believe that there would be no difficulties suggested by the Government ; indeed, he had invited the Archbishop to apply for a Royal licence to consecrate. That nobleman, the Duke of Buckingham, had already given the Metropolitan trouble by an ill-advised despatch which he had sent to Natal, and which was interpreted by the Colonial authorities as 'conveying a warning to all civilians in the Government employ to take no part in the consecration [of Mr. Macrorie], and give no countenance to it, under pain of the displeasure of her Majesty's Government. The Earl of Carnarvon had called attention to this in the House of Lords, and the Colonial Secretary expressed his regret at what had happened, and stated that he had written a second despatch which he had endeavoured to make more acceptable.' There were reasons, therefore, for thinking that

the Colonial Office was willing to make some further amends to the Metropolitan, but when Parliament rose and no more questions could be asked, the Duke of Buckingham took no notice of the Bishop's letters, and in October Bishop Gray was again on his way to Africa, having summoned his suffragans to Capetown, and having fixed the Conversion of S. Paul for the consecration of the Orthodox Bishop. Within a few days of his leaving Plymouth, Archbishop Longley was taken to his rest, 'to the infinite loss of the Church, which, if his gentle hands sometimes failed to guide with unerring firmness and decision, he at least ruled in the loving spirit of an apostle, and with staunch fidelity to her ancient creeds and faith.'

On this occasion the Bishop took with him eight ladies, the nucleus of a sisterhood which he had long desired to establish. This was felt to be a substantial and valuable addition to the diocesan staff; and we may here add that he never saw reason to regret the acceptance of their services, and in his last moments his chief anxiety was 'lest his successor should not sympathize with the work of the sisters as he had done and as they deserved.' This anxiety, we are thankful to know, has turned out to have been groundless.

We have given much space to the unhappy Colenso controversy, which indeed occupies a large portion of the volumes before us. It could not be otherwise, but we trust we have shown that the litigation, which was forced upon the Bishop, was accepted by him only when it became inevitable, and that incessant and wearying as were the calls made upon him by these suits, they never diverted his mind from the missionary work which was so dear to him. With the consecration of Bishop Macrorie happily consummated on the Conversion of S. Paul, 1869, the Bishop naturally looked for more peaceful times, in which to build up the Church undisturbed; he made a visitation of ten weeks' duration, and found the country dispirited by successive droughts and famines. At this time he expressed his wish to have a brotherhood who should be in some way connected with the Kafir College, and who should work among the Mahometans, and he returned to his home to find letters awaiting him in large abundance. The news from Natal was cheering; he was annoyed by having to give up to the Letters Patent Bishop property which he had purchased with his own moneys, but in spiritual things 'matters were going so smoothly,' wrote Bishop Macrorie, 'that it made him tremble.' In a letter to a near relative the Bishop wrote:

‘The world said, “Consecrate and you will add immensely to the evils which now afflict Natal ; there will be a vast increase of bitterness, and controversy will be intensified.” The facts are, that up to the period of the Bishop going there, all the papers were full of violent letters, and now there seems a perfect lull. It is, I believe, an answer to prayer and the reward of faithfulness.’

In 1870 the Bishop was again in England for a few weeks. Mrs. Gray, who had for so many years been his true help-mate, sharing his laborious visitations and relieving him in all that a woman could do, and in many ways that few women could hope to be of service, of the full weight of his duties, was now suffering from severe illness, and it was represented to her as a duty that she should seek medical advice in England. As soon as she knew that her malady was incurable she returned to Africa to die, and in April 1871, was buried in Claremont Cemetery, under the shadow of the Church of which she had been the architect and in which she was always interested.

‘I try to go on with my usual work and to be cheerful,’ the Bishop wrote soon after his bereavement, and indeed the virtue of resignation seems to have been his in large measure ; there was no slackening of energy in his work, however saddened may have been his spirit ; he looked forward to spending the rest of his life in purely spiritual work, now that controversies were at an end, and he was cheered by the fact that the Dutch Church, the greatest religious body in the country, was considering terms of union. But it was not for long that the capacity for work was continued. In the autumn of 1871 he started on a visitation tour in Namaqualand ; he had suffered from lumbago, which he ‘trusted the visitation would put to rights :’ the journey was full of misadventures, some of them of a serious kind, and after struggling with symptoms of real illness, the Bishop was unable to proceed further, and was nursed by kind English people at Port Nolloth. To return by land was impossible in the Bishop’s exhausted state, and a small coasting vessel, to the discomforts of which he was a prey for seven days and nights, landed him much weakened at Capetown. He was able to get to Grahams-town in November, to consecrate his old friend Bishop Merriman in succession to Bishop Cotterill. At last he had triumphed over all obstacles in the way of Letters Patent or Royal Mandate,¹ and was already contemplating yet another

¹ It appears that certain persons in Natal wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury to ask him if Bishop Merriman’s consecration, without a Queen’s Licence, was not incorrect ; and his Grace replied, not very defi-

visitation tour, which commenced in March 1872. Everywhere there were encouraging signs, but the tour was especially painful as it lay through a country in which Mrs. Gray had much delighted, and on the anniversary of her death the Bishop was confirming in the little wooden church at Plettenburg Bay. In July, however, the symptoms from which he had suffered in the previous year returned. A fall from his horse shook him severely, and on August 13 he held a confirmation at St. George's, very weak and ill. It was his last public ministration. He returned to his home, and gradually growing weaker and weaker, sank to rest, in his own words of humble hope, 'at the feet of my dear Lord for ever.'

It is pleasant to think that after so much wearying legislation the last years of the good Bishop's life were by comparison peaceful, and that he had been able to give his whole mind to the spiritual work to which all along he had been devoted. Repeatedly in his correspondence we find regrets that he was 'only serving tables,' 'a mere letter-writing machine,' that he had 'no time to write sermons as I ought, or to read theology, and first of all in this line, my Bible:' now he could, and did, find time for the study which he loved; the only disturbing element which interfered with his peace at this time was the attack made in England on the Athanasian Creed, the echoes of which controversy reached to Africa. He wrote, only four months before his decease, to his old correspondent Bishop Wilberforce:

'The Church of England can, of course, throw over creeds, if she will, and relegate them to a great theological lumber-room; but if she wants to continue the Mother of Churches, and to retain the love and allegiance of those she has founded, she must not do so. The creeds are our common property and inheritance, and they must not be set aside, except by the Churches of our communion in common council, if the union of Churches is to be maintained. I firmly believe that if this movement, fostered by both Archbishops, succeeds, it will go far to break up our Churches.'

In his own diocese a proposal to legalize marriage with a deceased wife's sister led to his writing a careful sermon on the subject: he felt it also his duty to prepare a sermon on

nately, but intimating that it was wrong to have proceeded without it; upon which encouragement the enemies of the Church began to talk of legal proceedings. The Metropolitan wrote to Bishop Wilberforce on this subject. 'I told him (*i.e.* the Archbishop) plainly that he had no more right to interfere with the internal affairs of this province than in those of York, and that we did not look to an Archbishop of Canterbury to sow dissensions amongst us.'

what he called 'the sin' of Mariolatry; he dreaded the apparently growing tendency of devotional books to coquet with the *cultus* of the Blessed Virgin. These sermons he never lived to preach, and, together with all his unpublished sermons, they were burned by his executors in compliance with the terms of his will. As in the early days of his episcopate his zeal had not been limited to his own diocese, so now he was 'longing to see a strong staff in China and Japan,' and writing letters to his old colleague, Bishop Douglas of Bombay, on the needs of India and the means of supplying them. The fortunes of the Mother Church he ever followed with keen interest: throughout the volumes before us are warnings against the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, 'which, if not destroyed, will destroy the Church.' After the delivery of what is known as the Purchas Judgment he wrote to his son: 'I do not feel very uneasy about the Ritualists. I think the remonstrance of the 5,000 has really won for them the day. The Bishop of London [Dr. Jackson] tells me that he thinks Parliament would have interfered if the judgment had been different.' Surely the last extraordinary statement from so respected a member of the Judicial Committee would of itself justify the following passage in which the Metropolitan continued: 'I do not think so—the court of Privy Council has lost its weight. Its judgments throughout have been so one-sided, and based upon expediency, that it can never again command respect.'

The words of Bishop Gray too truly describe the attitude which the Judicial Committee has appeared to many to assume as a court, not of strict justice, but of what, if for a moment we may adopt the legal technicality, we may call a court of equity. When we say that its awards have not been guided so much by abstract legality as by sheer expediency, it is not merely our opinion that we utter, for not only has this course been justified by the Archbishop of Canterbury, but he even sets it down to the tribunal's credit that it has so framed its decisions as to legalize the position of the great divisions of the Church by the Gorham, the Wilson, and the Bennett cases.¹

¹ Extract from Speech of the Archbishop of Canterbury in the House of Lords, May 5, 1873 :—'He was not going to reveal the secrets of the Judicial Committee, but he was going to make an assertion, which would be found correct, when the secrets of that committee came to be known. It was that there had been many instances in which the most learned members of that body might have fallen into difficulties if they had not had the benefit of the advice of those unlearned members, who could not be supposed to be able to advise them on mere matters of law. He could conceive it quite possible that some learned and noble lords, who in their

But it would be well if those who are thus enamoured of what seems to themselves to be equity, would remember what so great an authority as Blackstone has written on Equity itself. 'The liberty of considering all cases in an equitable light must not be indulged too far, lest we thereby destroy all law and leave the decision of every question entirely in the breast of the judge. And law, without equity, though hard and disagreeable, is much more desirable for the public than Equity without Law, which would make every judge a legislator and introduce most infinite confusion.' The Nemesis is rapidly working itself out, and those who at one time were profuse in their admiration of this ill-omened tribunal have had their enthusiasm rudely chilled by two recent judgments.

The Bishop's detractors, of whom he had many, persistently attempted to identify him with the ultra-Ritualists: but nothing could be more unjust: he wrote in 1867, 'I do not myself like ultra-Ritualism, but I do not believe that these men are untrue to the Church of England; and I believe that they might be guided if they were dealt fairly with and sympathy shown to them.' Writing to his own son in 1869, then recently entered on the duties of his benefice, he pleaded for patience and forbearance:

'Everything in these matters depends upon what people can bear. . . . I need not urge you to be gentle with the Methodists; by your account, it is zeal that has led to their multiplied ministrations. Be slow in your movements: let there be a gradual preparation of men's minds. If not, you will throw back your work.'

But while somewhat indifferent to the externals of worship, his whole career testified to the firm grasp which he had on the catholic faith; it was in the faithful insistence on this that he trusted to keep Church-people firm and loyal: 'when will the Church of England learn' (he wrote to the Bishop of Oxford [Wilberforce] in 1868), 'that she cannot retain her children, if she will not claim her full heritage of the faith?'

Probably, of the thousands who have known the Bishop's work and admired his chivalrous courage, without personally

legal capacity might be the ablest men in the kingdom, might still, from their ignorance of theological terms, so express themselves in a decision upon a theological point, that this might be the result—and he would venture to say it would have been the result in past times had there not been ecclesiastical members of the Privy Council to correct them—that one decision might have excluded the whole High Church party, another might have excluded the Low Church party, and a third the Broad Church party (a laugh).—*Guardian*, May 7, 1873.

knowing the man, the majority will regard him as the great confessor of modern times, as he indeed was ; but they will not know much of the beauty of his inner life, without which all struggling for the faith must soon descend into a contentious striving for the victory of opinions. His biography will lead its readers rather to offer to his memory the reverence that is due to an exalted spiritual character. One of his fellow-labourers in Africa wrote of him :—‘ He was ever living in the very presence of God ; the lowest whispers which told of a way to walk in came to him as calls from which there was no escape.’ Throughout his letters and diaries there is apparent a calm and chastened spirit ; impetuous, no doubt, he was, but it was a noble impetuosity ever enlisted on the side of the rightful and the true ; indignant he was at times, but his indignation was synonymous with jealousy for the faith once for all delivered. No man was more indifferent to clamour when his conscience assured him that he was right. ‘ The abuse which I get in the papers,’ he wrote in 1868, ‘ acts as an advertisement. Cold hearts and prudent men stand aloof in consequence, but others are moved and warmed, and I speak out all the plainer.’ No man was ever more humble, more conscious of infirmities, more anxious to conciliate, and we have met with few more affecting circumstances than the fact (which does not appear in his biography) that the last sermon which he ever published, and which was passing through the press when he was lying on his death-bed, was on ‘ The Sin and Danger of an Unforgiving Spirit,’ and that he frequently expressed his satisfaction that his last published utterance should be what it was. The sermon is now before us, and we learn from the preface that it was originally written nearly forty years before, as one of a series of sermons on the Lord’s Prayer. It was, indeed, one of his earliest utterances as a young vicar, and it was his last as a toil-worn Metropolitan. At the same time, we observe that in his last hours he said that ‘ on their death-bed men see things of that sort [the Colenso case] in a newer or kinder light, but looking carefully back at his chief public acts, he was thankful to see nothing to repent of.’ Few men had been more misunderstood or misrepresented ; few have had so many disappointments at the hands of those on whom they had a claim for sympathy ; but we believe that throughout them all the good Bishop practised what he preached.

Those who knew and admired only his public career called him ‘ lion-hearted.’ His strength was not that of a lion, it was rather that of a tower, ‘ four square to all the

winds that blew,' but with that massive strength which no selfish or unworthy motive ever weakened, there was joined the tenderness of a woman. This all who knew him personally often experienced, and could not fail to recognize; the biography gives abundant instances of its being shown. Not the least among the personal hardships of his visitation tours was the sight of the sufferings of his horses, from which they could not be freed, but which he did his best to alleviate. In one of his earlier journeys he mentions the grief with which he saw the road strewn with carcasses of horses and oxen which had succumbed on their travels and been left to perish. He describes the illness of one of his own horses in a characteristic manner:—

'I gave him a dose of Battley's opium (intended for me in case of tic in my head) mixed with some wine that M. Le Sueur had been kind enough to put up for me. I slept but little, partly from the uncomfortableness of my bed, and partly from anxiety for my poor sick horse, who was tethered at my feet to the cart.'

On the next day he wrote, 'We took him out of the cart and stayed by him till he died.' Neither was his tenderness limited to the faithful companions of his travel, on whose health and condition his own movements depended, and of which the anecdote already quoted is not the only one which his biography affords. When Vicar of Whitworth, in his long walks from Durham to his parish, he established friendly relations with a solitary deer, which had taken up its abode in a wood through which his road lay. He talked to it, fixing his eyes on its eyes, and the creature allowed him to pat its head and would follow him almost to the church door. He used to feed the mice in the cathedral vestry at Capetown; the birds building in the thick creepers around his own house and that of St. George's Home, the half-starved dogs, which abound in Capetown, almost like the Oriental cur, homeless and ownerless, skulking in hate and fear from men, seemed to know and to be fearless with him; and a friend records how, on the very last occasion on which he enjoyed the Bishop's society at his own home, he took up a wounded beetle and carried it to a place where it would not be crushed, as they strolled up and down the garden path. Such was his pitiful care for all God's creatures, even the meanest. Of how tender a mould he was in his own family and among his friends, his biographer abundantly shows, and all who knew him will not need such testimony. The writer of these pages was once present on an occasion which showed how kind, how just, and how thorough the great Bishop was in everything

which he did. We were walking westward together one summer evening, and had just entered Kensington Gardens, when we were accosted by an Irish girl who told an improbable story of her having lost her place as a servant in consequence of attending a sister who had died in St. George's Hospital. There could be little doubt of her being an impostor, but the Bishop deliberately questioned and cross-questioned her, and at last he said, 'I fear you are telling me a lie; come with me to the hospital, and if I find your story true, you shall be cared for.' He was at the time ill and tired, and full of anxieties, but he did not think twice about going back a long mile to sift the story rather than either refuse help or give to an undeserving case. It is needless to add that before the hospital was reached, the girl ran away, and we retraced our steps, but it seemed at the time to be no insignificant test of the Bishop's thoroughness even in small matters, and the incident has never been forgotten.

Nor in his public conduct was he less tender and conciliatory. He had to fight for principles and he fought nobly. He did not mince his words when dealing with abuses and injustice. He spoke of the 'Dagon of the Privy Council,' of 'that masterpiece of Satan for the overthrow of the Faith,' but against individuals there is not one word recorded as having been uttered by him which would infringe the law of Christian charity. Neither would he allow others to speak with undue warmth of their Fathers and brethren. To an anonymous correspondent he wrote in 1869:—

'People ought to guard against the inclination to judge and disparage others: it is the sin of Churchmen in this day. It recoils upon those who yield to the temptation by injuring their own moral and spiritual state. — in a late letter has fallen foul of the Bishop of Oxford (Wilberforce), the Bishop of Lincoln (Wordsworth), whom I think one of the noblest men of the day, the Bishop of Lichfield (Selwyn), another really great man, and the Vicar of Leeds (Woodford), with I know not how many more. Why should we not rather thank God for giving us such very noble men as the Bishop of Lincoln? A Church seldom has many such men in it at one time. It is not a healthy state which leads the mind to dwell disparagingly on the weak points of a good man. . . . I think the mind should be constrained on the good side of those around, especially of the Fathers of the Church, rather than the evil.'

And now, in taking leave of this biography, we feel how impossible it is in any notice, however lengthy, adequately to depict a man of so many gifts, such exalted graces, so abundant labours. We notice even, as we are about to lay down our pen, that we have omitted to point out the value of these

volumes as text-books of missionary life and policy. The enthusiasm of the dauntless prelate never for a moment warped his calm judgment, or weakened his sound common sense. Like Bishop Patteson, whose biography will find a place on many shelves side by side with that of Robert Gray, he insisted on 'plain hard-working right-minded curates' being sent to him.

'In tenui labor ; at tenuis non gloria,'

is no inapt description of a missionary life and work. The details are generally insignificant, often disagreeable, the results must always be magnificent. Both Bishops protested against being hampered with theorizers and sentimentalists, who are impatient of success, and whose hearts fail at the first experience of disappointment. 'There is quite enough here to encourage men whose minds are in a healthy state' (he wrote in 1848), 'but there is at the same time quite enough to discourage and disgust morbid souls.'

The battles which he fought and the sacrifices which he made, not for any abstruse refinements of theology, but for those elementary truths which are the very life and charter of the Church, are in striking contrast to the tendency of the nineteenth century towards compromise and comprehension and the worship of majorities ; his example will, we trust, be to many a call to the practice of similar fidelity and Christian manliness. Mr. Keble described these acts of confessorship as 'like a bit out of the fourth century'—future historians will have to record that in the nineteenth century the call to stand fast in the faith came from the poor struggling Church of South Africa ; that when in England men's hearts were failing them and not a few were disposed to compromise truth, lest the accident of an ancient establishment should be taken away as the penalty of fidelity, it was reserved for a Church which hardly reckoned its years by decades to show us where our true strength lay and to point out the principles on which alone, when external supports are removed, and all the armour wherein too many trusted has been taken away, the Church could take her stand in the assurance that she shall not be removed. One more biography remains to be written—the Church is waiting eagerly for it—and with the lives of Samuel Wilberforce and Robert Gray before them, our children will be able to realize what great things GOD has done for the Anglican communion in these latter days, and will learn to honour the men who were called and privileged to carry out His gracious purposes.

ART. IV.—LORD CLARENDON AND THE RESTORATION SETTLEMENT.

A History of England, principally in the Seventeenth Century.
By LEOPOLD VON RANKE. Oxford Translation, 1875.
(Clarendon Press.)

THE Oxford translators of Ranke's *History of England* have done a good work, the full effects of which the longest-lived of them are hardly likely to witness. In its German form the book would have made little or no impression on our literature, but it is now accessible to all, and seems destined to bring about considerable changes in the modern English estimate of men and things in Stuart times. Not that these effects will be produced rapidly. The book is rather a commentary than a history, and therefore cannot supersede the usual sources of information. It is heavy in style, and almost wholly deficient in picturesque details. Yet it deals with its subject in so strictly philosophical a manner, so exhaustively weighs the evidence, so fearlessly and impartially gives the results, so illuminates English by the light of foreign history, and shows so much clearer an appreciation of our English political, religious, and social complications than our own writers on the seventeenth century have yet shown, that it cannot fail to exercise a gradual and an increasing influence on historical students. In course of time it is sure to produce a very different tone of thinking and teaching from that which prevails at present.

It was high time that some one should intervene; nor is it surprising that aid to the cause of truth should have to be sought from abroad. In the sphere of history, at any rate, we may abjure, and hope long to banish, the doctrine of non-intervention. The constitutional questions of the seventeenth century would seem to be still too much a part of the politics and theology of to-day to admit of severely impartial treatment at the hands of Englishmen. That romantic century, separated from us by such a vast gulf when we consider what England has done, suffered, and become since those days, is still so near us that its traditions linger on in every family and institution. Our hearts beat with every wave of thought and impulse of action which stirred the heroic blood of the period, not only because they interest us as history, but

because the struggle was for precisely the same things as we might be called upon to fight for to-morrow. Like the Athenian spectators of the sea-fight in the Gulf of Syracuse, described by Thucydides, we feel as if we were ourselves engaged; we bend involuntarily backwards and forwards with our champions, and fancy that our distant cries might animate the combatants, our breathless hopes and fears affect the issue.

Naturally enough, then, it is the age on which political writers of history eagerly seize for the development of their principles; and as nearly all our historians have for the last fifty years been on one side of politics, it is also perfectly natural that our history should have taken a particular tone. Once set by an able writer or group of writers, that tone becomes conventional. A chorus of applause drowns a feeble opposition. A generation becomes so accustomed to it, that nothing else can command attention. Silent contempt rewards the efforts of independent minds to recall the true note. The attempt is soon relinquished. Newspapers, reviews, articles, school histories, children's histories, pictorial histories, 'histories of the people,' have it all their own way, and the age exults in its enlightenment. But all this has happened before, and illusions seldom last through a second generation. If by the help of Ranke and those who may be expected to rally round his standard, a fresher and truer view of the Stuart period becomes the fashion, it will not be the first time that men have burnt the gods they once adored.

The best parallel to these violent fluctuations of English historical opinion is perhaps to be found in the successive waves of philosophical opinion in Germany. Living on the objective realities of the past, as cultivated Englishmen, in spite of appearances, so very largely do, rather than on theories of the present and future, history with us is a passion, a part of ourselves, a living example, a creed. That we are too often the victims of those whom we have followed as the safest guides may be perhaps only the penalty we must pay for a constitutional history of a thousand years, for a present which grows out of a continuous past, unbroken by revolutions, its elastic texture only strengthened by the lapse of time. It may be at bottom only a nervous dread of the destruction of that which we have learnt to hold dear which impels us to grasp with such tenacity the hands of our leaders. But whether such excuses are available or not, it is at least our duty to watch for the reaction which we may now certainly expect, to exhibit the present diseased condition of literary

opinion, and to point out the underlying forces which are giving evidence of a power capable of undermining and supplanting it.

We can hardly discuss the questions raised in connection with Lord Clarendon and the Restoration Settlement without adverting for a moment to the changes which have taken place in the modern estimate of those who fill a much larger space in the public eye,—Cromwell and Charles the First. We may, for our present purpose, class them all three together as the men who, on the whole, most affected the course of events in the seventeenth century ; and we shall be doing no injustice to Strafford or Laud, Pym or Hampden, Shaftesbury or Halifax, Locke or William of Orange, if we hold that in the rank these men take on the historic stage they are not on a level with the first three. Charles and Clarendon represent the idea of the Constitution of England, that one of the two powers which Ranke justly tells us move the world—that one which England has accepted in preference to the other, ‘the inherited, historically-formed power, interwoven with existing laws and prevailing social ideas, as distinguished from that which ascribes to the representation of the people an unlimited authority before which all historical rights vanish.’ Make all deductions we choose from the merits and virtues of these two men, two of the chief factors of English history, and it remains that without them we should not have saved the Royal prerogative, which means the Crown, or the connection of Church and State, with all the mighty mass of interests bound up in that connection. Indeed, if we sweep English history from Alfred to Queen Victoria, we shall hardly find a single person to compare with Clarendon as the representative of the British Constitution—an assertion which may perhaps be more readily admitted when we proceed a little further in the present sketch. Cromwell just as surely represents the other and opposite power, the idea of action upon abstract principles, free from all traditional limitation, of unlimited resistance to the Crown, of the Nonconformists as against the Church. We hear much of Cromwell’s large-minded toleration, but we may not forget that ‘Prelacy’ was proscribed under his government along with ‘Popery.’

Let any one look back only a very few years, and he cannot fail to observe an extraordinary change in the modern estimate of these three great persons. They have, indeed, within the memory of man, actually changed places in the opinion, not of the vulgar alone, but the well-informed and

intelligent public. The great Protector, admitted into the line of kings and queens, already claims something more than equality with them. His cruelty, duplicity, fanaticism, self-will, his open tyranny, his overpowering ambition, the mistakes of his foreign policy, are all blotted out and forgotten. Like a fresh picture in a set of Dissolving Views we have bit by bit found the old outlines replaced by the lineaments of a godlike hero, the man of fervid piety, self-devotion, sagacity, the creator of English grandeur in the eyes of the world, the great leader under whom mankind has marched to liberty. Already the familiar lines of Gray, which stamped him guilty of 'his country's blood,' are taken to be a landmark of the poetical licence and historical ignorance of the Georgian period. Yet it is not so very long ago that Hallam, who must certainly be held to have represented the Liberal opinion of his day, as opposed to Toryism, and who said all he could in conscience say for Cromwell, compared him, in an elaborate passage, with the first Napoleon, summing up his estimate of the causes of their success with the remark that 'both possessed a certain coarse good nature and affability that covered the want of conscience, honour, and humanity ;'¹ nor, if we go back a little further, and ask the judgment of Charles James Fox, the person of all others most bound to take a favourable view of the Protector, shall we find a much milder verdict.²

The elevation of Cromwell involves, of course, the depression of Charles and his great Minister. They cannot all stand at the same level. It was not so long ago that the epithet, 'King Charles the Martyr,' was felt to convey a truth : but who would venture to use the term now ? His faults have indeed been brought before a more searching light ; but he has not only received the condemnation he deserves for them ; his very virtues are denied, his foul murder finds no pity. A fitting saint and martyr for the Church of England was this false, tyrannical monarch ! shouts the enlightened press.

But Clarendon's case is harder still, if possible. The intrepid patriot who withstood the tyranny of Charles and his advisers in their prosperity, then when he deemed the country to have obtained sufficient safeguards, placed his services at the disposal of the unhappy King, stood faithful for twenty bitter years of war and exile to the fallen Crown when humbled to the dust, guided father and son through the labyrinths of their desperate career, applied at last his principles, those

¹ *Constitutional History*, ii. 265.

² *History of James II.*

with which he had set out, to the restoration of old England after the usurpers had been swept away, resisted to the death the corrupt advisers of his faithless pupil on his return, and fell at last overpowered with the enmity which it was his greatest honour to have incurred, the historian who has given us the one great work of English history which we possess, a work of matchless influence upon our national thought and institutions—this great man is now reviled as loudly as Charles I., his writings depreciated, his course of action maligned, his policy denounced with the utmost bitterness, his fall unpitied.

How, by whose means, under what circumstances, has this change come about? Has any fresh light been thrown upon these persons and times, so as to justify such a revolution of opinion? It will be difficult to prove that this has been the case. With the exception of the publication of *Cromwell's Letters and Speeches* by Mr. Carlyle, and Mr. Forster's *Life of Sir John Eliot*, nothing new, or at least of any consequence, has transpired. Mr. Forster's books have done good service in exposing the tyrannical character of Charles's measures, and in showing the righteousness of the resistance made by Eliot and others; but they are simply an application of the habits of thought of the nineteenth to the circumstances of the seventeenth century, and entirely fail to measure the relative guilt of those who inherited a place and a system for which they were not themselves responsible, and who chiefly erred in its farther development. Nor, though it must be admitted that the letters of the great Protector have enabled us to understand him much better than before, and to perceive that his conduct was rather the result of fanaticism than hypocrisy, of self-deception and the impulsive influences of a sour puritanism rather than of political foresight or the vulgarest form of ambition, yet many of these letters were known before, and it may be doubted whether a candid perusal of the whole collection will make any sensible addition to the judgment pronounced by Neal, in his *History of the Puritans*, written more than a century ago. That stiffest of Nonconformists discerned truly enough that Cromwell was guided throughout by three principles—(1) that an impression left on his mind after prayer was a rule of action which should supersede all others; (2) that private justice must give way to public necessity; (3) that the goodness of a cause was to be judged by its success. This is to place the motives and conduct of Cromwell in the most favourable light which can

be admitted ; but who would trust five pounds to such a man ? Who would commission him to execute the meanest functions of social life ? Nor can it be supposed that any but the vulgar, if we may except those who have slavishly learnt to admire every utterance of Mr. Carlyle, have been much influenced by those apostrophes and vivacious comments which accompany the text of the letters. Familiar as we have become with the eccentric style of the veteran historian, it requires a strong stomach to enable one to digest the constantly recurring—‘Yes, my brave one,’ ‘I should think so,’ ‘Another little window into his Highness,’ ‘His Highness is rallying, getting out of the unutterable into the utterable,’ ‘Groans from Dryasdust,’ ‘Look of yes from the military people,’ ‘Do you mark that, my honourable friends,’ ‘A real Head of the Church this King, not an imaginary one,’ &c. &c.

It is not, then, the intrinsic merit of these and similar productions, still less anything new which has been advanced, to which we must look for the cause of the changed estimate of the modern press. They fell on a prepared soil. The preparation of that soil has been not literary, but political and politico-religious. And here it is that the date of the commencement of the change comes to the aid of our inquiry. It will be found to date from the period of the Reform Bill agitation, from the time when the Bishops were recommended by Lord Grey to set their house in order, from the Appropriation Clause, from the general and violent agitation which attended the termination of half-a-century of Tory rule, from that reorganization of our Constitution which the lapse of time and the delay of timely reforms had made absolutely necessary. That Constitution had never suffered so severe a strain since the days of the Stuarts ; it was no wonder that men’s minds became unsettled on historical questions. It was exactly the time for the appearance of a political prophet and historical teacher. The demand as usual produced the supply. Hallam had been a sort of precursory prophet ; but the calmness of his thoroughly Whiggish mind was far from meeting the want. The more violent writers of the *Edinburgh Review* were much more nearly in the required track, and it is to one of these that the main share in the formation of our modern historical thought on these subjects must be ascribed. It is by Lord Macaulay’s *Essays*, read and read again in their original form, and then collected and circulated by the thousand in cheap editions, that the work has been principally done. Reinforced by the later publication of his *History*, the views he maintained have gradually prevailed over all others, and more

modern writers have done little beyond echoing his sentiments with ever-increasing shrillness and sharpness. But echoes die out in the end ; and even if we did not perceive the importance of Ranke's work in producing that result, we might well have augured from the very nature of Macaulay's utterances that they could not stand the test of time. Their surpassing influence is intelligible enough from their brilliant style, their exceeding wealth of illustration, their magnificent scorn of opposition, their sledge-hammer positiveness. The ear of the nation was indeed caught and retained, as it had never been caught and retained before. But the readers of the very interesting *Life* which has just been published can be at no loss to understand how the circumstances of Macaulay's education, and the violent partisanship of his whole early and middle life, did in reality unfit him for the task which he undertook ; they cannot but perceive by a calm reperusal of the celebrated *Essays* how much they owe to their having been struck off at white heat during the terrific agitation of the times when they were written—times when it was utterly impossible that one who lived in them, as Macaulay did, could possibly exercise the judicial qualities of the historian. The misfortune has been that what was well adapted for a moment of political conflict, as a means of strengthening his party and promoting the sale of a Review, should have been set up as a standard round which the educated world was to rally for all time. Valuable as the recovery of certain long-neglected truths was in itself, it may be a question if it was not dearly purchased at the price of an entire eclipse of the other and larger circle of truths. Is it to be for ever thus in the region of history ? Are we never to rejoice in the full orb of unclouded light ? Are we to be for ever satisfied with alternate glimmerings insufficient to walk by, and leading us into many a snare and pitfall ? If the truth must be told, it will be difficult to name a modern English historian who even attempts to give both sides dispassionately. One great exception must indeed be made in the person of Lord Stanhope, whose recent loss to history and letters can never be sufficiently deplored, and has not as yet been adequately recognized ; but he unfortunately left the period of the Stuarts to other hands.

We have then to cross the Channel for help. It is remarkable and suggestive that even for a moderately fair, intelligible and popular account of the Civil War itself, the last generation was indebted to a foreigner. M. Guizot's *English Revolution* was the first book in modern times

which presented a real, living picture of the great conflict which has so affected the history of the civilized world, in colours which were not glaringly false, and proportions which were not monstrous. Using all the lights which were at that time available, and gathering with true French genius the complicated situation of affairs into a focus, he produced a book which may still be read with pleasure, and has, indeed, not been superseded. His chief defect was that the French type of Protestantism had so penetrated his mind that he was quite unable to grasp the position of the English Church in the politics of those times; and as that was beyond doubt the key to the whole subject, it is only wonderful that his picture was so little out of perspective.

The same difficulty, but in an inferior degree, has beset Ranke himself. The German Lutheran is far nearer to our standpoint than the French Protestant; but the Church of England still seems to be a mystery to all who are outside her communion, and a stumbling-block to all who write upon the times of the Stuarts. No one is more aware of the importance of this side of his task than Ranke, as may be seen in the following passage: 'As the result,' he says, 'of the intimate connection which had subsisted from the earliest times between Church and State, religious questions were everywhere, but particularly in England, the kernel of the political. We may fairly ask whether this is not still the case in our own day, though the fact is less noticed.'¹ But it would in reality appear that, however fair and impartial an historian may wish to be, unless he has received a training which is the lot of few, he labours under disadvantages almost insuperable.

An English reader, thoroughly conversant with the seventeenth century, can hardly then accept Ranke's judgment on Charles I. and Cromwell as final. There is much yet to be done before the work of the political writers can be so balanced in the mind of the British public by truer history, that any sensible change in the estimate of these great personages will be effected. But a beginning has been made; and many a future writer will probably be encouraged to take a more independent line of thought, and a more consistent view of the leading men of that age than even Ranke himself.

In the case of Cromwell, for example, it is refreshing to find the great historian, who, by the consent of all, takes the first rank among the historians of the present century, going

¹ *History of England*, iii. 348.

so far as to admit that the Protector's authority was merely that of the tyrant, 'depending for its existence on the force of arms and his own personal character,' 'felt to be an oppressive burden,' both by friends and foes, at home and abroad, and causing the man to be 'hated rather than loved;'¹ and to observe that he condemns the Irish massacres as well as their author's manner of describing them in his letters, inasmuch as those fierce executions could not be excused on the ground of fanaticism or accident, but were rather the result of 'cold-blooded calculation and a violence which is deliberate.'² Yet Ranke would be very far from following Hallam's example and depressing Cromwell to the level of the first Napoleon.

And again in the case of Charles I., no greater contrast could be imagined than that we find between Ranke's treatment of the unfortunate King's conscientious convictions and the way in which such subjects are handled by the modern school. We hear nowadays so much of his duplicity and faithlessness, his tyranny and heartlessness, that we are inclined to forget, what we all along very well know, that his mistakes were more of the head than of the heart, his errors those of his education and his inherited position, his virtues all his own. The indiscriminate laudation common in the period when he was almost worshipped as a saint and martyr, has, indeed, passed away; and no one could attempt to revive it with any prospect of success. The defence of his political conduct made by Hume in the last century, and even as late as the present by the elder Disraeli, has equally become a thing of the past. But who can study the King's own letters—not the mere garbled extracts published by the rebels from the copies found in his carriage at Naseby—without observing, through the clouds of the casuistry in which he was brought up, the predominant conscientiousness of the man? Who can follow the authentic memoirs of his imprisonment, the conferences in which he displayed such brilliant talents, his magnificent behaviour at his trial and murder, without feeling that a key must be found somewhere to unlock the inconsistencies which meet us so often in tracing his troubled history.

The juxtaposition of the two following passages from our author will place his views on the above point before the reader:—

'To some,' says he, 'it will appear scarcely allowable, in the light of our times, to revert to the question, how far the words

¹ *History of England*, iii. 214, 222.

² *Ibid.* iii. 33.

repeatedly uttered by Charles I. in the solemn moments between this life and eternity, that he died as a martyr, really expressed a truth. Certainly not so in the sense that has been attached to them, that he was merely a sufferer who lived and bled for the known truth. He was rather a prince who all his life long fought for his own rights and power, which he, if ever man did, personally exercised, seeking at first to extend, and later only to defend them, by all means in his power, open and secret, in council and in the field, in the battle of words and with actual weapons, and who perished in the conflict.¹

But we read a little further on as follows :—

‘He trusted chiefly to the intrinsic power of rights and ideas for which he fought. Though imprudent in his undertakings, he was at bottom of solid understanding ; often undecided and untrustworthy, —we know how fond he was of having two strings to his bow,—he never lost sight of the importance of his cause ; he was naturally inclined to concessions, but neither the threats of his enemies nor the entreaties of his confidants could induce him to cross the line which he had marked out with sagacity and conscientiousness in religion and politics ; he held immovably the convictions on which depended the connection between the Crown and the established Church. . . . It would have been easy for him to save his life. . . . That he did not do so is his merit towards England. Had he given his word to dissolve the episcopal government of the Church, and to alienate its property for ever, it is impossible to see how it could ever have been restored. Had he granted such a position to the army as was asked in the “Four Articles,” the self-government of the corporations and of the commons, and the later parliamentary government itself, would have become impossible. So far the resistance which he offered cannot be estimated highly enough. So far there was certainly something of a martyr in him, if the man can be so called who values his own life less than the cause for which he is fighting, and in perishing himself, saves it for the future.’²

The consistency of these two passages with one another was no doubt clear in the mind of the author, but it might have been better if he had developed it a little further. It is easy to see that they can only be reconciled by interpreting the battle for the King’s ‘own rights and power,’ of which he first speaks, as a battle also for the freedom of his people and the rights of the Church, of which he speaks in the second place. The first passage covers his whole career, the second may refer only to his conduct after the war had commenced. And surely this is the fact. In that later period we may well hold that both motives of action coincided. The issue was in truth, as Charles put it when he

¹ *History of England*, ii. 550.

² *Ibid.* ii. 553.

stood on the fatal scaffold—'It is for the liberties of the people that I am come here.' For those liberties which he had himself crushed in the day of prosperity he contended to the death. By that death he not only expiated his faults towards the nation, but left us the inheritance which we now enjoy. Perhaps, after all, it may not be so much amiss to speak once more of him as 'King Charles the Martyr.'

It is again in accordance with this more favourable judgment that we find Ranke asserting that Charles 'lived in the conviction that he had committed a fault for which he was punished, but that he was the champion of a holy cause to which God's help could never be wanting.' In the same spirit our author even ventures to assert once more the King's authorship, though not in the full sense, of that famous *Eikôn Basilike*, which played so great a part in the history of England. What scorn would be heaped on any lesser name on whose authority it was stated that this much-controverted book, though put into form by another hand, 'contained much that was actually Charles' own composition,' that 'the later portions possess historical value, and may very likely belong to the times of his last imprisonment,' and that 'they express throughout Charles the First's resolution not to let himself be degraded to the position of a king who may follow neither his reason nor his conscience!' This is not very far from Bishop Kennet's well-known theory of the authorship. But we may well expect that it will be long enough yet before English authors will venture to commit themselves to the judgment on this subject delivered by the sages of past times,—who had by-the-by so many better opportunities of forming a correct opinion than ourselves,—such men as Bishops Pearson and Burnet, South, Warburton, Hume, and Dr. Johnson. If Dr. Wordsworth, who stood almost alone in this century, somewhat damaged his cause by carrying his defence farther than we can follow, his independent and courageous criticism will be honoured by those who value the judgment of the great German writer who has now come to his assistance.

As the figure of Lord Clarendon is less prominent than those of Charles and Cromwell, and less romantic on the stage of history, though perhaps more important in a Constitutional point of view, the process of depreciation to which he and his works have been subjected has been less observed, more pursued by way of inuendo, ridicule, and small attacks, more taken for granted as something which an enlightened public must necessarily accept without proof. But though the method has been rather that of sap than storm, the persistent animus

with which the attack has been sustained has been still more apparent, and its success still more complete; so complete indeed that even for the readers of the *Church Quarterly* a slight sketch of what this great man was, and what he did, may not be unacceptable. The debt which we owe him for the Restoration Settlement has never yet perhaps been sufficiently recognized. As a matter of fact, it may almost be said that to modern eyes the Revolution has eclipsed and extinguished the Restoration. The final establishment of the Constitution, after the failure of Charles the Second and James the Second to overthrow it, has obliterated the far greater monuments of English wisdom raised by the advisers of the first of those monarchs after the Great Rebellion. The farther precautions against the yoke of Rome and the tyranny of the Sovereign which were possible at the later date, being called for by the whole nation, were impossible at the former, nor could the keenest-sighted of statesmen be expected at that time to see their necessity. The gigantic work to be done was to place the old English Constitution in working order suitably to a condition of affairs so different from that which preceded the Civil War, to restore the old lines in such a way, that they might not run counter to necessary changes. What a delicate task it was! How many, and what vast, interests had to be consulted! When was ever a settlement effected, so just on the whole to all parties, and yet so strictly conservative of the inheritance of the past which the country by an immense majority resolved to restore and perpetuate!

We have to make good our assertion that Clarendon has been and still is to students of English history the one chief representative of the British Constitution. It will be seen that he has become so by a twofold process, by his political career at the critical period of our history when the Constitution, thrown into the crucible, emerged, substantially, in its present shape; and by his works, which revived and perpetuated the memory of that period. We are apt to think of him too exclusively under the latter aspect. No attempt will be made to depreciate it here, but we prefer to dwell on the former; for no one who understands the reign of Queen Anne can fail to have observed the immense effect of the publication of *The Great Rebellion*. Withheld from the public—not without good reason—till several reigns had passed away, it affected the nation to an extent unparalleled in the annals of literature. Strengthening and vivifying as it did the convictions of a powerful section of Englishmen in the midst of a period of balanced political struggle, it can scarcely be doubted

that it was this publication which turned the scale. The Church, which more than commonly formed the backbone of the politics of that day, received an enormous impulse, and its enemies, Roman Catholic and Nonconformist, a very serious blow. The majestic description of the perils through which the united Church and State had passed nerved thousands who had previously been lukewarm in the cause of the Constitution, and left its mark on the legislation of that eventful reign. Perhaps the superiority of the Episcopal clergy over the Nonconformist ministers was more due to the impulse thus given than Roger North supposed when he wrote (in Queen Anne's reign) thus :—'Of late full scope is given to the conventicles, but alack! there is no rebellion to be raised, and so they are become effete and useless, and the teachers are stunned and amazed at the vast deflection of the people from them to the Established Church, and at this day remain under a consternation at it; for they presumed their gifts to be so much superior to those of the dull, conformable clergy, that being once let in, they thought they should soon empty all the churches, but have found themselves out-preached, out-written, out-lived, and in every good thing, even in popularity itself, if that be such, out-done by the episcopal clergy.'¹

Lord Stanhope has, in a fine passage,² described how at a still later date, far within the reign of George the First, the effects of this revived enthusiasm for the principles of the Cavaliers exhibited itself, and traces the 'second growth of Jacobitism' to Clarendon's 'noble work,' 'the great character of the author,' 'his unconquerable spirit of loyalty, his firm attachment to the fallen, his enduring and well-founded trust in God when there seemed to be none left in man.' 'The difference of the cases was forgotten;' spell-bound by that 'spirit-stirring history,' men imagined that they were throwing away life and fortune for Charles the Martyr when they were only plotting and drinking healths for a Roman Catholic pretender. Truly, if mankind are to profit by the lessons of the past, it is no bad provision for this purpose that the chief actors in heroic times should take their turn of disgrace and banishment, or at least should be allowed to retire from public life in time to write memoirs. Whatever may be our sympathy with the sufferers, it is to this dispensation that we owe the immortal work of Thucydides in ancient times, of Clarendon in modern, to say nothing of the contributions of Whitelocke and Ludlow, of Commynes, Sully, and De Retz. If Clarendon's writings have accidentally encouraged some unprac-

¹ *Examen*, 446.

² *History of England*, ii. 33, 5th edit.

tical dreams, their influence for good on the whole can hardly be sufficiently estimated, nor are their virtues yet exhausted.

We are perhaps less familiar with this great man's claims on our gratitude through his own personal share in the conflict and settlement of the seventeenth century. Let us recapitulate them.

And first we may notice as a factor in the character of the young Hyde, that he was born exactly at the time, 1608, when the English race was at its highest development, while Shakspeare, Raleigh, and Bacon were yet in their prime, the Elizabethan impulse not yet spent, the sense of English greatness not yet seriously impaired, the strength of the English Church Establishment not yet debilitated by the innovations introduced under Charles the First. Next, that he came of a thoroughly good English stock, the traditions of which never left him, and which indeed were strengthened by the two marriages he successively made. Next, that he affected the company of every distinguished man with whom he could make acquaintance. The somewhat pompous and self-satisfied account he has given us of his early life is not altogether agreeable reading, but we see throughout the marks of the inquiring, self-educating, literary, thoughtful mind, in incessant contact with the very ablest men of his day, neglecting the mere pursuit of legal studies, which was his profession, or rather keeping them in quite a secondary place, while he devoured all the ancient and modern literature which came in his way, and thus laid the foundation of that inimitable style which so captivated our forefathers, and even yet keeps his works afloat amidst the flood of our own sensational rhetoric.

From the university of Oxford the young Hyde seems to have gained, in any direct way, but little ; for his father died soon after he came into residence. Magdalen College at first, to its credit, refused, and then too late consented, to obey James's mandate in his favour ; and thus it came to pass that Magdalen Hall had the honour of receiving the future Chancellor, whose blood was to mingle with that of the Sovereigns of Great Britain. His friendships, however, with so many Oxford men, and especially with Falkland and Sheldon, his constant visits to Great Tew, which ' looked like the University itself by the company that was always found there,'¹ and perhaps still more, the character of his mind and studies, made him as much an Oxonian as if he had lived there for years ; while his wider sphere of life as a country gentleman and

¹ *Clarendon's Life and Continuation* (Oxford, 1827), i. 48.

London barrister corrected the narrowness which an exclusively academical residence was wont—perhaps we may say, even in these days of railways—is wont, to foster.

Thus at the commencement of the troubles in 1640, he was only thirty-two years of age; old enough to understand his part, young enough to play it; trained to discussion, yet fixed in principle; devoted to Church and State, yet a firm enemy to the abuses which he well knew to be no proper part of that connection, but rather a canker which would destroy the whole body politic if not cut out with the knife. Hence the part he played as a reformer both in the 'Little' and the 'Long' Parliament. Hence the leading position he assumed as 'the greatest chairman in the committees of the greatest moment,'¹ those on the court of York, on the behaviour of the Judges as to ship-money, on the jurisdiction of the President and Council of Wales. He is dining daily at this time with Pym and Hampden, Fiennes and Haselrig. The Star Chamber and the High Commission Courts fall by his help. His name is not even found amongst those of the members who opposed the Bill of Attainder against Strafford.

This phase of his career comes to an end when he discovers, in a conversation with Fiennes, that the quarrel would be to the death against the Bishops.² We know how he began now to consider that reforms had gone far enough, and must not be allowed to degenerate into revolution, that sufficient security had been taken by means of Triennial Parliaments, the practical control of the public money by Parliament, and the solemnly-confirmed power of impeachment. Mr. Forster has made his conduct, during this short period of hesitation and transition, the subject of one of his bitterest attacks. But when Charles found it desirable to accept the advice of one who had hitherto most opposed him, what can be a greater misuse of words than to call it treachery that a man in Hyde's position should keep his secret as long as he found he could effect anything towards a reconciliation of the conflicting parties? From this violent writer's point of view, it might indeed be a backsliding from the front rank of the rebellious leaders, now advanced some steps beyond reform; but if Hyde could save the nation from civil war by influencing the waverers in Parliament, while he advised the King as to the necessary concessions, who can justly blame him? Rather he deserves all praise. It was the same grand position that he held at the Restoration, the representative of the golden mean, abused by the extreme men on both sides, but inflexibly holding his

¹ *Clarendon's Life and Continuation*, i. 87.

² *Ibid.* i. 91.

own. It is the position of the Beatitudes:—‘Blessed are the peace-makers.’

So also, after the printing of the ‘Grand Remonstrance’ had been carried against Hyde’s utmost efforts, that decisive act of the ‘Root and Branch’ party, which even May, the sympathetic historian of the Long Parliament, virtually condemns, and Hallam has stigmatized as ungenerous after the King’s concessions,—after the illegal proceedings on both sides, the imprisonment of the Bishops, the session of a Parliamentary Committee with full powers during the adjournment of the House, the forcing of the Bill against dissolving Parliament,—and then, on the King’s part, the arrest of the Five Members; even after the departure of Charles for the North, quickly followed by Hyde, even yet this man of peace refuses to give up his efforts in that sacred cause. It was now that his cultivated literary and legal knowledge brought him decisively to the first place among the King’s advisers. We know how the paper war which now raged was conducted by Hyde in a manner so superior to that of the parliamentary writers that they found it necessary to suppress the royal documents, while the King’s party found nothing more advantageous than to print the parliamentary papers side by side with their own. In the appeal to law,—the abuses of the Tudor and Stuart dynasties having once been swept away, and the issue once distinctly raised under the guidance of Hyde,—the side of the rebellion had no chance. The position at this crisis is well put by Ranke :

‘The contest was not between absolute power and a democratic republic, though these ideas appear in the background. The one party, in fact, desired Parliament not without the King; the other the King not without Parliament; but the one sought to maintain the autonomy of the Throne and of the Church, and the Estates of the Realm as hitherto constituted; the other would shake the foundation of the Church, and subject the Crown unconditionally to Parliament. Therefore, on the question of the Militia, a dispute broke out within the legislative body itself; part broke loose from the rest and joined the King.’¹

Of this part Hyde was the intellectual and political chief.

Our space imperatively forbids us to dwell on the numerous points of interest which cluster round the career of this great man during the period of nearly twenty years which now intervened. We can see, as we watch his painful course, how every step was preparing him for the work which was in store for him. We observe the ever-increasing

¹ *History of England*, ii. 357.

confidence with which the unhappy Sovereign regarded him ; and at the same time the incessant, but unsuccessful attempts he made, by placing some check upon the evil counsellors whose aid could hardly be dispensed with in those sad years of war, to prevent the ruin of that Sovereign. We follow his Mission in charge of Prince Charles ; we watch his resolute resistance to the ubiquitous influences which Rome was weaving round the exiled family, his equally resolute counsels, when better times dawned, against the policy which would have restored the crown on inadmissible conditions. A pedantic, obstinate, bigoted man, his enemies called him ; too much given to finding fault and lecturing,—so said the younger soldiers and the heedless courtiers, so also said the Papist James II., in his secret *Memoirs*, and Roger North, the ultra-Tory, in his long-suppressed *Examen* ;—we recognize in Hyde the life-long bosom-friend of the wise and good, the one steadfast counsellor round whom all England gathered, the *justus et tenax propositi* on whom men of every sort found themselves forced to rely. But whatever else we may omit, it is necessary for the purposes of this sketch to observe how pre-eminently above all other influences which he exerted during this period stands forth his unwavering resolution to keep each of his royal masters in succession true to the central idea of governing by and with Parliaments.

To him was due the attempt to create a Parliament at Oxford which should overshadow and suppress the Parliament in London. Perhaps a prince who could have taken more heartily to the idea might have made something more than Charles was able to make out of what he himself calls, in his letters, his ‘mongrel Parliament.’ So also, when the weary years of waiting had rolled away at last, and England was calling once more for her King, it was Hyde above all others who insisted that the Declaration of Breda should be limited by the decision of Parliament. Consistently with all that he had done and suffered, he would have the nation in free assembly decide on the measures necessary for its well-being. It was an eventful resolution on his part. The whole subsequent history of England has depended upon it. And his modern detractors know it well. This policy, so constitutional, so wise in relation to a prince like Charles the Second, excites the bitterest wrath. In their hatred of what the free Parliament did they forget their hatred of arbitrary power. Just as the ultra-royalists of the Restoration condemned the Minister for his all-powerful resistance to their intolerance and selfishness, so the modern school tells us that Charles ought

to have been allowed to accept the terms offered him by Monk, without any reference to future Parliaments. The headlong defenders of prerogative join the headlong defenders of the 'people's rights.' The vices of the seventeenth century make up their differences with those of the nineteenth. Extremes, as usual, meet.

And now the time had come for which Hyde abroad, and his friend Sheldon at home, had so long been preparing, the great crisis of Church and State, when the old and the new were to be welded together, and the people of England once more set going on the track which they have followed ever since.

And first as to the State. The solution of the political problem was to be found in the preservation of the royal prerogative jointly with the full rights of Parliament; but that prerogative was no longer to be supported by the arbitrary courts and crooked contrivances of former days; those parliamentary rights were to be made for the first time in our history a reality. It is remarked by Lingard,¹ with perfect justice, that Hyde, now Earl of Clarendon, introduced the maxim which his successors followed, viz. to leave the Parliament, in show at least, to the unbiassed exercise of its own judgment. In this was bound up the whole future. The Revolution and all that has happened since have been but the natural and easy developments of Clarendon's policy, laid down in opposition to King and courtiers, royal mistresses and foreign ambassadors. It was one thing to engage that Parliaments should never more be suppressed by want of summons;—this had been already provided for, but it was impossible as yet to surround it with proper safeguards, and it was violated, not indeed with impunity, by both royal brothers:—it was another thing to make Parliaments practically free while they were sitting, and thus to establish continuous precedents, to form a self-adjusting system which should develop by degrees such vigour and invincibility that no enemy could assault it without being dashed to pieces, like waves foaming round the reefs of some coral-formed island which has been growing year by year beneath the sea till at last it defies the storm, is ready to be clothed with ever-fresh verdure, and becomes the centre of some gigantic system, perhaps one of the glories of the earth. Till this was done Party-government was impossible, for parties could never form. Instead of 'His Majesty's Government' and 'His Majesty's Opposition,' as we say more truthfully than we suppose in our modern newspapers, the alternative was pro-

¹ *History of England*, ix. 121.

scription and civil war. But when once this absolute freedom became habitual and recognized, retrogression was for ever prevented. Intrigue, bribery, corruption of every kind, might impede the certain results of the policy, but under party-government all hindrances must pass away. If Danby and Shaftesbury first instituted a real system of political parties, drawn up on opposite and defined principles within certain common limits, so that they should be ever watching one another and alternately governing,—and this in its rude outline was the grand boon contributed, not only to England but to the whole civilized world, in the times of the later Stuarts,—Clarendon must enjoy the credit of having made our system of constitutional government possible.

There is nothing on which the detractors of Clarendon are more eloquent than on his alleged departure from this principle in opposing the parliamentary appropriation of supplies and defending the dispensing power of the Crown. The course of events showed that he was wrong, or at any rate necessitated the reversal of his policy. But let us put ourselves in his place, and try to think as a Minister like Clarendon must at the Restoration have thought. The nation, after twenty years' abeyance of the Crown, once more demanded personal government from its rightful Sovereign; but, taught by past experience and justly suspicious of Charles, it would give him no substantial power of any sort, no instalment of a standing army, scarcely even a body-guard; yet half of it had only recently been banded together against him; many thousands of Cromwell's consummate soldiers were scattered over the land, very many in London itself. The smouldering embers were from time to time just bursting out into flame. Towards the end of Charles's reign, when bonfires on Queen Elizabeth's birth-day blazed all along Cheapside, amidst the tumultuous roar of seditious multitudes, who then first acquired the title of the 'mob,' the scenes of 1641 would certainly have been re-enacted, had it not been for the few regular troops, and still more dreaded cannon, which had by this time been collected together, and were available to guard Whitehall.¹ No one hated, or tried harder than Clarendon to prevent, the wicked uses to which Charles put so much of the revenue which had been granted him; but the Minister felt with equal force that 'secret-service money' might well be necessary under the circumstances for State purposes, that the nation was not yet ripe for so great an innovation as a public inspection of the King's accounts, that the crooked courses of the incorrigible

¹ North's *Examen*, p. 574, &c.

monarch would not bear exposure, and that the consequences of exposure might too probably involve another rebellion. In his agony of fear lest the Royal family should once more be banished, he condemned himself to banishment, to the knife of the assassin, to the melancholy death of the exile. The one idea of his faithful nature was to make the best of his tremendous task, to hide the faults which he could not cure, to prevent by his own personal influence and incessant vigilance the evils which he would not cut out at the root by abolishing the financial independence of the Crown or its dispensing power. For him the question was :—How is the King's government to be carried on ? Like many another anomaly in our Constitution the power was to be retained, its exercise controlled. We know how, even at the Revolution, the country shrank from legislative enactments which the previous experience had made absolutely necessary.

But whatever judgment we may pass on Lord Clarendon's resistance to the appropriation of supplies, it affords another illustration of his thoroughly sound constitutionalism as to Parliaments. It can hardly be denied that so great a political change should not have been made without an appeal to the people ; and this it was which the Minister imperatively demanded. He advised the King to dissolve an assembly which had already sat too long, but which lingered on for many years more, and, under the title of the 'Pension Parliament,' brought many a disgrace on Great Britain. The King and the Bishops, fearful lest more Presbyterians should be returned at a new election, and Monk, alarmed at the still threatening Cromwellian element, refused to listen to Clarendon ; but he at least was true to his principles. The old prerogative was, in his conception, to co-exist with the free Parliament. It was to be made to co-exist by calling a fresh Parliament. It did so exist till the Stuarts themselves threw away their advantage and made the place assigned to them in the old Constitution for ever untenable. By that time the forces of British society had assumed sufficient coherence to dispense with the dispensing power of the Crown.

Ranke has sketched, in a few powerful lines, making use among other materials, of a well-known passage in Pepys' Diary, the position of Clarendon at this supreme point of his career :—

'All the more prominently loomed the figure of the Chancellor, who literally lived and moved amid business. He commanded a hearing in the Privy Council, when he made a proposal, through his natural eloquence and the superiority which a perfect acquaintance

with the subject always gives. He seemed to be instructing the rest in a light, easy manner ; no one would have ventured to contradict him. . . . He had got into his own hands an immense amount of patronage in all branches of the public service. In England, as well as Ireland, the Episcopate as a whole was indebted to him for its restoration, and most of the Bishops also owed him their nomination. The reorganization of the Judicial Bench was still more palpably his work. He was the most prominent representative of the old-fashioned loyalty. . . . He had the most intimate relations with the bankers who advanced money to meet the wants of the State. In foreign affairs the initiative and the maintenance of secrecy, an all-important point, rested with him. . . . The family alliance into which he had entered, through his daughter's marriage with the Duke of York, gave him a decisive pre-eminence, even among the nobility. . . . It was only natural that this colossal power should excite envy and jealousy.¹ . . .

'There was something grand in his position while he endeavoured to define and hold fast the limits between Monarchy and Parliament, opposing now one, now the other. And, perhaps, he might have succeeded in this had he been successful in other matters.'²

And again, when he fell—

'Thus,' says Ranke, 'volcanic England threw on a foreign shore the man who had given her a royalist and an ecclesiastical organization. The historical merit of the Chancellor consists in this, that he united, after the most violent revolutions, the new England to the old.'³

And now a word on the ecclesiastical establishment at the Restoration. How much may be attributed to Clarendon and how much to Sheldon, we shall probably never know ; but the first place must be given to the responsible Minister to whose hands the work was entrusted. This work consisted of two distinct parts, the final settlement of our Prayer-Book, together with the means taken to secure the proper joint action of clergy and laity in the process, and, secondly, the strictly parliamentary part which related to the Act of Uniformity. It is here that we most miss the guiding hand of a master. Ranke, from the causes to which we have referred, has failed to penetrate to the recesses of this subject ; nor can we do more here than make the briefest passing reference to it. A history of England since the Reformation, which shall give its due historical place throughout this period to the action of the Church of England, is still just as much a desideratum as ever.

¹ *History of England*, iii. 407-8. ² *Ibid.* vi. 26. ³ *Ibid.* iii. 461.

To assert that the final settlement of our Prayer-Book was a perfect model of constitutional action is to repeat a commonplace of history ; and it is impossible to overrate the importance of that settlement, the result and completion of more than a century of stormy and fluctuating struggle, a fabric which has lasted unshaken to our own day, under which we still live and act, and to the construction of which we still refer with ever-increasing curiosity. This curiosity assumes, indeed, a more and more practical nature as we discover more and more clearly how exceedingly difficult it is to perform that operation called 'changing front in face of the enemy,' or even to effect the slightest change in the great settlement without running the risk of absolutely falling to pieces. All the more honour to him who steadily pursued the same constitutional steps by which the Prayer-Book of the Church of England had become the law of the land, but in a manner more perfectly unexceptionable than even in the reign of Edward VI. Every stage of the process indicated by the King's Message to the House of Lords—which, indeed, was his own—was honestly and loyally carried through under his direction. The Commission was

'granted, under the Great Seal, to several Bishops and other divines to review the Book of Common Prayer, and to prepare such alterations and additions as they thought fit to offer ; afterwards the Convocations of the Clergy of both provinces of Canterbury and York were by his Majesty called and assembled . . . and upon full and mature deliberation . . . they exhibited and presented to his Majesty in writing some alterations which they think fit to be inserted in the same, and some additional prayers . . . all which his Majesty having duly considered, doth, with the advice of his Council, fully approve and allow the same ; and doth recommend it to the House of Peers,' &c. &c.

From that House, with, as it would seem, some further alterations made by a joint committee of Convocation and Peers, lay and episcopal, the Prayer-Book passed to the House of Commons, where no alteration of any kind was made. The strictly parliamentary business, as to the degree and manner of its use, the provisions, in short, of the Act of Uniformity, with which the Clergy had no special concern except through the Bishops in the House of Lords, then began. It was this complete and deliberate character of the process, including, as it did, the legitimate action of every part of the body politic, and insuring that nothing should be done in a hurry, nothing forced upon the clergy or laity against their will, which has placed the Establishment upon so firm a foundation that every

effort to root it up only adds to the strength and tenacity of its position. Some few exceptional members of the Church are found to swell the discordant chorus of the Liberation Society, but not a few of these have of late years learnt, upon farther inquiry into the history of the Restoration Settlement, to understand and value their privileges.

In adopting this constitutional course, Clarendon must have the further credit of having relinquished his own preconceived opinions on important points. No one would gather from the terms in which he is nowadays reviled as a bigot and a persecutor, that it was his ideas that were contained in the Declaration of Breda and in that of October 25, 1660. Both were issued when he was supreme and almost sole adviser of Charles, and in both are contained principles which would certainly have drawn the more religious and moderate Non-conformists within the limits of the Church. The Prayer-Book itself he did not wish to alter in any particular; for he thought there would be no end of such alterations, and that they would satisfy no one of those 'whose faction was their religion.' In this he suffered himself to be overruled by the legislature, but not to any great extent after all. In the application of the Prayer-Book to the use of the nation, he was willing to be far more liberal than the legislature. It would seem that he would not only have made certain rites and ceremonies optional, but have approved of some approach to the famous 'Ussher's Model' of the Episcopate, to which Charles I. and the saintly Hammond had once been brought to consent, and towards which our own modern movement for the increase of the Episcopate, for the reform of Church patronage, and for the development of diocesan synods, is in some degree tending. It is also well known that the harshness of the final proceedings which issued in the expulsion of so many non-conformist ministers on S. Bartholomew's Day, would have been mitigated if he had followed his own unbiassed opinion; but the time has not, perhaps, even yet come when that distressing event can be fairly and dispassionately discussed. None of the fresh light which is so much required has been thrown upon it by Ranke.

Bishop Burnet's unfavourable judgment upon Clarendon's course of action in ecclesiastical matters has received the more attention in consequence of his generally favourable view of the great Minister's career. He has described the policy which Clarendon from this time pursued towards the Nonconformists as the result of the personal position he had attained, his family alliances and ambitious schemes. Like many

another judgment of that clever historian which succeeding generations have learnt to suspect, question, and reject, this view will not bear candid examination. The future historian of Clarendon will be able to prove by his letters the depth and the nature of his attachment to the Episcopal government of the Church, and he will be able to unfold the reasons which determined him to a different course in the Act of Uniformity and the Conventicles Act from that which he had at the commencement of the reign laid down for his guidance.

Under the first head he will notice, on the one hand, how the view of the statesman mingled in his mind with the more spiritual aspect of the Episcopate, how, exactly in accordance with the sentiments expressed so often by the martyr-King,¹ he looked to the political convenience of the order as well as to its primitive sanction. The following short extract may be taken as a type of much more :—

‘There is no question,’ said he, writing in 1646, ‘the clergy will always have an extraordinary influence upon the people ; and, therefore, except there be an army kept on foot to govern both, as you will find there is in all places where the clergy have no power, there must be a way to govern the clergy absolutely, and keep it subject to the rules and orders of the State ; which never was, nor never can be, without Bishops ; so that civil prudence would make unanswerable arguments for that order if piety did not.’²

And, on the other hand, that higher notions on the subject of Episcopacy should prevail with Clarendon at and after the Restoration Settlement, will appear strange to no one who measures the effect of the famous *Seventh Book* of Hooker, which was published by Bishop Gauden at that time, and in which all that can be said for the absolutely primitive, if not Divine, authority of the Episcopate, was advanced as it had never yet been advanced by any one else. Like Clarendon's own works half a century after his death, so this, coming after a still longer interval, also broke upon the land like the voice of a prophet speaking from the dead.

Under the second head, it would be easier to show than it was in Burnet's time (though he had quite sufficient materials) how entirely the policy of the Minister towards Nonconformists must necessarily have been modified by the gradual disclosure of Charles II.'s character and intentions. As has been said, he himself was resolutely bent upon the restoration

¹ ‘Letters of Charles I.’ in *Clarendon Papers*, vol. ii.

² *Clarendon Papers*, vol. ii.

of the Church in its possessions, its sacred services, its ritual, its officers ; but he was also for liberty of conscience. One fatal barrier intervened. It soon became apparent that the King and his immediate friends were the worst enemies of the Church of England, and that under the cloak of Indulgence Romanism was to be brought into that place which no friend of the Established Church could contemplate for a moment. The events of James II.'s reign are the best proof that they were right ; the refusal of Baxter and his friends to accept a toleration in which the Papists were included is the best index of the national temper. In those two Stuart reigns toleration would really seem to have been impossible. The Church, as Clarendon saw, must not only be reinstated, but protected. Even after the Revolution, toleration was far enough from being complete. Years had yet to pass before the insidious attacks of Rome could be met on open ground and fair fight.

So also we may expect that Lord Clarendon will some day receive his due meed of praise for the bold and skilful way in which he, along with the 'sagacious and politic Sheldon,'¹ combined not only the various forces of Church and State together in harmonious action, not only exchanged the usurped autocracy of the Crown in ecclesiastical matters for a more limited and constitutional position, not only restored Parliament and Convocation to their due and proper places, but with a stroke of his pen swept away the separate power of self-taxation which the clergy had for so many ages exercised. This was the natural result of all he had seen and suffered ; and that he carried all parties with him in the act may be judged by the fact that no voice was raised against the measure, the greatest, as Speaker Onslow and Bishop Gibson have said, ever passed in our country without an Act of Parliament. The memory of the Laudian régime was still too fresh in men's minds. Who could forget the Convocation of 1640 which attempted to supply the funds refused by Parliament, unless accompanied by a redress of just and real grievances, through the means of a Benevolence of the clergy to be levied on pain of excommunication ? There had been enough, far more than enough, of separate action. All estates and powers were to be welded together in one system of taxation, on one territorial basis of freehold and copyhold tenure. A new, and yet the old, England was to commence its great career, and the clergy were to find their new and yet their old place in the system. The work of Edward the First in bringing the

¹ Ranke's *History of England*, iii. 362.

clergy within the general constitution of the realm was completed at last by Clarendon.

These broad outlines must suffice for the present sketch. It would be impossible here, if possible at all, to enter into a defence of this great man on every point. If he were perfect he would not be human. When he was falling headlong from his 'colossal' position, sinking under the weight of the hatred of the Cavaliers, who resented his honourable integrity, the ridicule of the contemptible minions about the court, the disgust of the King at his lofty moral elevation, the unpopularity of the Dutch war which he had done his utmost to prevent, the grief and distress of the nation at the Plague, the Fire of London, the blockade of the Thames, when friends were failing him, the gout torturing him, Parliament hunting him down, the mob erecting a gibbet before his gate, the popular feeling expressed itself in a scroll nailed to the gibbet, thus :—

‘Three sights to be seen ;—

Dunkirk, Tangier, and a barren Queen.’

Most of the attacks made on Clarendon's memory are as groundless as these. The sale of Dunkirk was not his policy, and he got not a farthing for it. Tangier was no doubt a useless acquisition, but we should by no means have been justified in relinquishing it at that time. The idea that he promoted the King's marriage with a princess who could not bear him an heir in order that his own grandchildren might come to the Crown, has been thoroughly exposed, if indeed it was worth the trouble. We may regret the course he pursued on certain minor points, still more the way in which he defends and explains it in his over-anxiety to clear his character in the eyes of his children and descendants; but the treatment he has received from modern writers may be well illustrated by observing the way in which even Hallam allowed himself to deal with a well-known passage in his *Life*. After devoting some pages in his original edition to the exposure of what he believed to be Clarendon's dishonesty, he thought better of it many years later and confessed himself mistaken. No doubt he had made a great mistake; yet he left the whole of the former passage uncanceled, and merely appended a hesitating apology, if apology it can be called, of six lines !¹

It requires, indeed, no extraordinary penetration to see that all who have political and religious reasons for detesting the Restoration Settlement must find some way of depreciating Clarendon. It is necessary for them to remove all impressions in his

¹ *Constitutional History*, ii. 363.

favour produced by his actual life or by his works. Repeating with variations every passing accusation, every morsel of contemporary gossip, they have, as we have said, succeeded only too well; but their chosen ground has been his immortal book, the *History of the Great Rebellion*. Nibbling attacks on this part and that have become a fashion. No allowance has been made for the circumstances under which different portions were composed. The harassed exile, in the midst of an internecine conflict, is supposed to be blamable for branding the revolutionists and communists of the day as enemies to the State, the delusive calm which preceded the rebellion as a time to be regarded with fond regret. It is in opposition to all this debased criticism that Ranke's judgment is so especially opportune. We will conclude this already too long article with an extract or two.

After endorsing Lord Campbell's remark that the '*History of the Great Rebellion* is the best work which exists upon contemporary history,' except that of De Retz—Cæsar being put aside as precluded from the comparison by his subject—and that it 'surpasses De Retz in dignity, in moral earnestness, and even in trustworthiness, though not in insight, or in gracefulness of style,' Ranke observes that—

'the three parts of Clarendon's work, in spite of their different character, form a whole, embracing the entire great period, and held together by the author's unity of view. It breathes the same spirit which inspired his administration, and won for it a continuous influence in English history. For the understanding of that history these works, in spite of their defects, are invaluable. They are the immediate product of the life of a great statesman, and everywhere bear traces of what he did or refrained from doing. It is perfectly true, as has been said, that it is difficult to tear oneself away from the book when once one is deep in it, especially the earlier sections; one converses with a living, intelligent, powerful spirit. His sketches of character are unequalled in the English language; they are by no means free from political colouring and party bias, but they are based upon a large view of human affairs, combine praise and blame very happily, and betoken a keen appreciation of the shades of qualities which appear in life. The narrative is pervaded by a tone of honest conviction, which communicates itself to the reader. It is as if one was listening to a venerable gentleman narrating the events of his life in a circle of friends. Clarendon's language is at once intelligible and forcible. In it we recognize one who was at home with the classics, and who found food for his soul in the Book of books.

'The effect which an historical work can have is, perhaps, nowhere seen more strongly than in the *History of the Rebellion*. The view of the event in England itself, and in the educated world generally, has been determined by the book. The best authors have

repeated it; and even those who combat it do not get beyond the point of view given by him. They refute him in details, but leave his view in the main unshaken. Clarendon belongs to those who have essentially fixed the circle of ideas for the English nation.' ¹

This estimate of Clarendon and his works is decisive, and it cannot be crushed. Let us hope that we are drawing to an end of a period of historical writing which will do little credit to our literature. Let us distrust these modern assertions that Clarendon has 'poisoned the springs of history.' Let us rather learn to suspect that those who profess to use so subtle an analysis of our intellectual wells have themselves a design upon our political and religious life, a design of which, indeed, their followers have sometimes been unconscious, but which they have none the less promoted. In their attacks upon the Restoration Settlement and its authors they are aiming their shafts, as we have seen, at the establishment of the Church and at the Constitution of the realm. Perhaps those who value their noble inheritance may find as fair a field for their energies in restoring the true view of the Stuart period in the minds of the educated classes, as in the social, political, and religious combinations which the exigencies of the times are for ever requiring at our hands.

ART. V.—CLASSICAL AND BYZANTINE— ST. PAUL'S, AND KEBLE CHAPEL.

1. *Account of the Proceedings at Keble College, on the occasion of the Dedication of the Chapel, and the laying of the Foundation Stone of the Hall and Library, on S. Mark's Day, 1876, with the Sermons and Speeches then delivered, and a Description of the Chapel.* (J. Parker & Co., Oxford and London.)
2. *The Archæology of Rome, with Photographs.* By JOHN HENRY PARKER, C.B., Hon. M.A. Oxon, F.S.A. *The Catacombs.* (Parker, Oxford; Murray, London.)

THE title of this article may, we fear, be not very inviting to a good many readers. Even the term Christian Art is frequently under comment, both from Christians who have

¹ *History of England*, vi. 28, 29.

suspensions about Art, and Artists who object to Christianity. The word Classical is a terror to the strictly Gothic or mediæval school of architecture and decoration; it is a word which seems to involve something pagan. As for Byzantine, it means 'of Byzantium;' and what else it expresses, is so really difficult and important a question, that we must try to elucidate it here.

In the first place, the term Byzantine is useful to us as opposed to Roman-Classical; though all early Byzantine art would have been, and was called Roman, and though Constantinople is called Rome to this day by millions in the Russian and Oriental Churches. Every archæologist will acknowledge that there is a difference, though he will often find it extremely difficult to define or maintain it, between late Roman-Classical art of Rome in Italy, and that of the Eastern Rome of Constantine. Byzantium was the centre of his Empire, and of Christendom alike, until Charlemagne was crowned a rival Emperor of the West. The popular idea, that all stiff rich work of the late Empire, particularly in mosaic, is derived from Constantinople, is perhaps not very inaccurate. But when the term 'Byzantine' is opposed, not to the term 'late Roman-Classical,' but to 'early Greek-Classical,' we see it in a new light, and it may teach us new lessons.

In one sense, Byzantine is the decadence of a decadence: it is Neo-Greek art, derived through Rome from the models of ancient Athens. The arts of Rome had always been in Greek hands; but when their seat was transferred to a Greek city, they regained the name of their true nationality. Whatever Athens and Argos may have learned from Egypt, their works are the source of all European architecture, sculpture, and painting. The Greek peripteral Temple developed or changed naturally into the Greek, and then the Roman Basilica for civil business and the work of common life; the Basilica became the type of Christian churches of the larger sort. The sculpture of the earliest and best Christian sarcophagi is good Greek work; the paintings of the most ancient Catacombs are graceful frescoes of vines and shepherds, resembling those of the cities of Magna Græcia.¹ The primitive age of the Church is the Augustan period of history; and such arts as the early Church cared to possess

¹ The typical Good Shepherd of the Catacombs (almost invariably in the act of bearing the sheep on his shoulders) is certainly derived from the Hermes Criophorus of Calamis. See O. Seemann: *Götter und Heroen*, Leipz. 1869, p. 79, and Raoul Rochette, *Discours sur l'origine des types imitatifs qui constituent l'art du Christianisme*.

are the arts of that period, already in a decadent condition as compared with the works of Phidias, and doomed to sink lower, even to destruction, and be re-created in her hands. But as the Greek language of words spoken and written was the vehicle of the Christian faith throughout the Roman world, so the Greek language of carved or painted idea was used from the first to express and impress the words of our Lord, and from the fourth century, at latest, to convey instruction as to Scriptural histories and recognized doctrine. The graphic arts were always in Greek hands : for her great constructive gifts to Architecture, the round arch and cupola vault, were all Rome ever gave to Art in the way of original invention. It was by the Greek or Eastern Rome, then, that the changed relics and half erased ideals of true or Attic art were preserved till the early Italian Renaissance ; and the word Byzantine really means decadent or transformed Greek art as well as Roman. The word Classical, or Græco-Roman, will apply to all traces of the ancient forms or principles which remain from the Augustan age. And when Niccolò Pisano, worker in the Cathedral and Baptistery of his fair city, went on from the instructions of certain 'Greek' or Byzantine architects to study the freer and more natural forms of the 'Chase of Meleager,' lately brought from beyond seas in Pisan galleys, he went from Neo-Greek models back to the old. He returned to that rock of Pentelic marble from which he and all sculptors are hewn. Art had been fairly adopted by the Christian faith since Constantine, and had taken root and slowly grasped Italian soil for many a century. She flowered in his hands, and Cimabue's and Giotto's.

Two modern works of great importance have attracted due attention within the last few years : the greater remains a fragment, the lesser has been completed. The decoration of St. Paul's has become a weariness to the world, without ever being anything else. In the Chapel of Keble College, a single learned and inventive mind has had its full play, and the result is a work of great beauty and lofty instruction, not without its imperfections, but successful enough to form an æra in English church-decoration, by displaying its most important principles to all the world, inherited from the Nicene period. The first and great effect of the mosaics of Keble Chapel is, that they have begun to disarm the Anglo-Puritan suspicion of church art, by applying it to a primitive subject, and keeping it pretty well within the Scriptural cycle ; and we shall always remember the satisfaction of various Protestant members of the Oxford middle classes, as ex-

pressed to ourselves on S. Mark's Day last. But before entering on this subject, let us just point out that these two buildings, the Cathedral of our metropolitan city¹ and the College Chapel, are examples of two of the earliest types of the Christian Church, the *basilica* above ground, and the Catacomb church, or *cubiculum*, below;² that they may also be taken, as representing Classical and Byzantine church building;—and let us here assert that there is such a thing as Classical-Christian architecture. The statement would, perhaps, a few years ago, have been objected to by some of our friends, the Gothic School, but it will now, we think, be accepted as harmless, and in fact a truism.

It must not be for a moment denied that from Constantine's day, the fourfold or cruciform basilica, surmounted by its soaring cupola, began to symbolize and set forth the humiliation of the Body of Christ, and of His Church militant on earth, together with the Glory to which He ascended, and which He prepares for the Church triumphant. Byzantine architecture was thus essentially Christian from the first, and symbolic in its primary or constructive ideas. But Christians had built churches before, or hewn them in caves of the Roman tufa; and these sepulchral churches had had their ornaments, referring to the Lord's words of Himself as Vine and Shepherd; to His proclamation of a resurrection like Jonah's; to Moses and the Old Testament, as typical of Him. And some of the earliest of these works are as classical in their elegance, their naturalism, and their easy adaptation to constructive form, as Pompeian paintings, or those of the Pamphili Doria Villa, lately illustrated in Mr. Parker's *Photographs*.³ They are too old to be archaic. It is the strange historical quality of Byzantine art to contain the archaism and early stiffness of the Christian Renaissance, mingled with imperishable fragments of the Classical decadence; but these are pure Greek ornaments, in a rather flowing domestic style, and without any ecclesiastical character. They are the symbols of a simple and implicit creed, not yet formulated for defence against experienced error. The sixth-century mosaics begin to embody solemn statements of doctrine; and as they link the primitive

¹ Canterbury, of course, is the Metropolitan Cathedral.

² Such buildings as Keble Chapel might be considered as derived from the Cella Memoriarum; but in Christian hands these buildings partook of the character of the small sepulchral churches. A Cella was often the rudiment of a Catacomb when an area or burial-space was attached to it. See *infra*.

³ *Photographs*, Nos. 1063-66.

ages of faith to the ages of theology at their origin, so at the other end they connect primitive doctrine with mediæval, by a gradual progress, which is illustrated and demonstrated in Mr. Parker's series of Photographs from the Roman mosaics. But in the oldest fragments of mosaics, as in the frescoes, there are well-marked traces of the skill of earlier Greece.

It will be seen how natural it was for the earliest churches of the faith to adopt classical ornament, not only in the first catacombs of Rome, but above ground, there and in other cities. They found it ready to their hands ; they could hardly avoid it. They met in private basilicas or large chambers, belonging to richer members of the Church ; at least, during the intervals of persecution they would do so. A part of the first and second century brickwork of such a hall in the actual house of Pudens¹ yet remains in the Church of S. Pudentiana at Rome, and will be found in Parker's *Photographs*. The value of this work to archæology and history can hardly be exaggerated. Whatever course inquiry may take as to the Wall of Servius or antiquities of the Republic, no one can doubt the importance of having facsimiles of the actual condition of works of primitive art. They bear the most important testimony as to character and doctrine, and they are irrefragable. Without underrating Mr. Parker's text, we can see that the study of the illustrations alone will be invaluable to the historian. It is like having original documents always at hand ; the colours are faded and the outlines broken ; there is much late work and much dolorous repainting ; but there is a fair remainder from which primitive catechumens were instructed, and which express the faith of martyrs and confessors. The rules and limits of Christian art should be strictly laid down and honestly obeyed ; but these reproductions prove that the Early Church no more denied herself the use of Art than the Anglican Church does of printing.

Frescoes of various subjects were the rule of Greek and Italian life ; and the Church must have assembled within variously painted walls from the earliest date, at first without noticing or caring for their decorations. Questions of religious art may probably have come before the Church at a very early date, but they seem to have given little or no trouble. For the first three centuries image-worship meant the Paganism from which she had just emerged, and the sweeping invectives of Tertullian against all carved or pictorial repre-

¹ Parker's *Photographs*, Nos. 178, 1733-4. [For Church of S. Pudentiana, 178, 279-81, 388-9, 858, 1746-7.]

sentations whatever¹ are inspired by his dread of relapse into the worship of devils, not by fear of the yet unknown worship of saints. It is possible, too, that the Hebrew section of believers, in every congregation—for there probably was one in all the churches of the larger towns—might object to the representation of uncommanded or unprescribed figures in any place of worship; and the decree of the Council of Illiberis (*Can.* xxxvi.) probably gave form to suspicions which had long existed among Hebrew or Oriental Christians. But the distinction seems tolerably obvious between pictures which only repeated the Lord's words concerning Himself, or told the history of His life on earth, or explained its prefiguration by the Law and the Prophets, and idols set up for worship. The real and gross idolatry which surrounded the early Church taught her for awhile the vital difference between the harmful and the harmless. She even distinguished between gentile and pagan motives of art; and had no scruples in using the traditions of human skill. Her dead witnesses were buried, and the Communion of the Body and Blood of Christ was celebrated among rude paintings of vines and shepherds, perhaps by heathen hands, which Christians understood with reference to Christ, and to which the heathen attached no meaning at all; and men who would have faced the fire or lions, rather than burn incense to a marble Jove or deified emperor, were little likely to be disturbed by the fear of becoming idolaters again by mistake or accident.

We may assert, then, that the Church accepted some kinds of classical ornament, as she did classical architecture, because it was there and a thing indifferent. And we have always thought, during our attendance for two or three years on the meetings of the Executive Committee for the Decoration of St. Paul's Cathedral, that the Anglican Church might do now as the Primitive Church did then. She may logically accept the quasi-classical interior of the great Church, and decorate it with the subjects of the earlier cycle of the Catacomb paintings, and in the best Grecian, Roman, or classical style, under the eye alike of the Dean and Chapter, and of Mr. Fergusson and the expert members of the Committee. Having been long personally interested in the completion of St. Paul's, and having watched that of Keble College Chapel with the faithful attention of an Oxford churchman, we cannot help connecting the two buildings in our thoughts, or asserting that the subjects, which in the modern-Byzantine Church are treated in mosaic like that of

¹ *De Idolatriâ* c. iii.

Torcello, would be the proper ones for St. Paul's, done in severe classical or Raffaellesque composition. There is no reason for disputing Mr. Fergusson's observation, in his *Essay in the Contemporary Review* of October 1875: 'One thing at least seems certain, that whatever ornament or colour is added to the interior of St. Paul's, it ought to be classic in design and feeling, as far as the æsthetic forms of the art are concerned; though the subject may express Christian feeling' (we should say faith or doctrine) 'in the same mode as is done by the ritual arrangements of the Church, which are not those of a classic temple.'

The difficulties in the way of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's seem hardly understood by the public, which has hitherto waited with commendable patience, but now begins to want to see something done. The Capitular Body is permanently and personally answerable for the success of the work, while the Executive Committee, a much more numerous assemblage, divide the responsibility between them, and cannot well suffer in reputation from any failure. It is impossible for the Chapter to place themselves entirely in the hands of a majority (or rather, as is required of them to do, of a determined minority) of the Committee; though no doubt practical unanimity on the part of the larger body, if it existed, might go far to determine the course taken by the smaller. But there has always been a division of classical feeling set against clerical; one party desiring artistically correct decoration according to architectural precedent; the other earnestly set on distinctively Christian ornament, as far as it can be used without offence against constructive beauty or architectural principle, which are, in fact, the same thing as regards the Cathedral. As principles, we have no doubt that these views may be carried out together, so as to please both parties, and that on the basis just quoted. There is a classical style of interior ornament of the late Augustan age; and it was unquestionably used by the Primitive Church; and even after Constantine's transfer of the seat of Empire and centre of the Church, that style continued in use, according to the diminishing skill and taste of the artists of the time, till it sank into technical barbarism, acquiring the name of Byzantine on its way. It became conventual and ascetic, but it had been religious all along, at its gracefulest. It is religious, we suppose, in the chapel and catacomb of the confessor Domitilla, and in those of S. Prætextatus and the earlier *cubicula* of S. Callixtus;¹

¹ See De Rossi's or Northcote's *Roma Subterranea*, and Canon Venables' article 'Frescoes,' Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*.

but it is as graceful in these cemeteries as in the yet wider sepulchres of Pompeii and Herculaneum. It is religious, full of the spirit of Christian devotion and sacrifice, in the transitional mosaics¹ of Sta. Maria Maggiore at Rome, begun twenty years after Alaric. It is religious enough in the still highly classical ornament of Galla Placidia's Chapel at Ravenna, where the mosaic of the Good Shepherd is designed exactly like the Orpheus of the Catacombs, and the vine of the vaultings is the best example in existence of the Byzantine transition.² Classicalists and clericalists ought to embrace each other straightway; and we should, in common with the rest of the public, very much like to see them do it. The ornaments of S. Domitilla's tomb are not less Christian than those of Galla Placidia's, because they are lighter and more flowing. The correct drawing and well-judged proportions of classical art would not be Pagan or un-Christian in St. Paul's, they would only be right in the technical or artistic sense. While the Capitular Body chose their subjects, and arranged type, symbol, and history—let us say, on the principles of the Early Church just reasserted in Oxford—they would direct all the decoration to the glory of God once made manifest in the flesh. While the artistic body, or their executant workmen, plied brush or chisel, according to Raffaele or Brunelleschi, every man of them who earnestly believed the Faith would be engaged in a work of religious art, which, after all, depends for its sacredness on the personal heart and spirit of the artist, and not on his rules of construction or design.

Was there ever a great artistic competition, we ask, in remembrance of Brunelleschi, which did not involve dire debate between rival architects and their generally somewhat frenzied followers? Was not Ghiberti persistently set up against Brunelleschi in Florence, till the true architect took to his bed, and the works could not go on without him? Did not Bramante utterly thwart Michel Angelo's sculptural designs for the Sistine? Has the course of Mr. Stevens's great and noble work run smoothly, or has the contact of minds on that matter tended to mutual exasperation or otherwise? The fact is, the greatest works may be effected, and must almost always be begun, amid conflicting interests, with imperfect view of the end, and with much provocation. The Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's have

¹ *Mosaics of S. M. Maggiore.* See Ciampini's *V. Monumenta*, vol. i. tab. l-lxi., and Parker's *Photographs*, Index of Churches.

² See D'Agincourt, *Histoire de l'Art par les Monuments d'Architecture*, planche xv. and text. Also Ricci's *Photographs of Mosaics*. For S. Domitilla, see Northcote, *Rom. Subterranea*.

to suffer for all. But though the present non-result of their deliberations must be deeply painful to them, their mortification need only be that of lofty hopes deferred. A work may yet be effected under their auspices, with which their names may be long and honourably connected. They may, we think, accept the principle that there is a Classical-Christian style, Greek in origin, Roman by adoption; and that the more classical it is, the more Primitive Christian it is; and that it may be rightly employed in St. Paul's with the help of modern study, science, and art-power.

The success of the Keble mosaics may, we hope, have an important bearing on the whole subject of church-ornament in England. Of their artistic merits immediately: but the fact that their subjects disarm suspicion of 'idolatry' or iconolatry, and that they so nearly coincide with those of the Early Church, are still more important. These, as is agreed by De Rossi, and by Roman as well as Anglican antiquaries, are entirely Scriptural; and, in the first days, they are very largely taken from the Old Testament. Lord Lindsay remarks on the taste of the Roman Christians for symbolic teaching. They certainly dwelt with special interest on all types of our Lord in the Law and the Prophets, and on the record of all events which received Messianic fulfilment, or bore on the New Testament history. '*Lex antiqua novam firmat, veterem nova complet,*' wrote Paulinus of Nola, near the end of the fourth century. It was only following the examples of S. Peter on the day of Pentecost, and of S. Paul before Agrippa, to set before the spectator's eye the recent events of the Lord's life, and bid him understand their correspondence with the Hebrew record. It would be exactly the course of teaching likely to be adopted in congregations like those of Rome, where a Hebrew nucleus always existed, possessing great influence, earnestly devoted to their own sacred books, and really standing in some respect as witnesses and schoolmasters to their Gentile brethren. As has been said, they had not only the Greek phonetic language of writing and speech in common, but the still wider and often more powerful means of picture-teaching. There certainly are traces of significant ornament from the end of the first century, if we take the pictures of S. Domitilla's tomb at the date assigned them by Dr. Mommsen;¹ and it seems highly pro-

¹ Dated bricks, he says, demonstrate the tomb to be earlier than the time of Hadrian; and though the case is not absolutely complete, there is strong probability that the tomb was actually made for S. Domitilla, the grandniece of Vespasian.

bable that they may have been used for subjects of exhortation and catechetical lecture to neophytes of different race and language. The constant appeal to Psalms, Prophets, and Law, often by Hebrew teachers using the Greek language—using it, perhaps, to Italians chiefly speaking Latin—would go far to explain the use of pictures to assist the preacher.

The intensity of Christian belief in the spiritual government of the world would lead men to feel that worldly events resembled each other as parts of the work of the same Ruler. The habit of the Christian instructed in Hebrew history is to note its contact with his faith; and indeed, in the events of secular history also, to watch 'Time's full river as it flows,' and mark, as far as he can, how God's partly revealed purpose may be working towards His end. It was natural, again, that the deeper and mightier truths of the faith should be very gradually committed to the trust of catechumens, or concealed from the contradiction and blasphemy of persecutors. Hence, most probably, these two predominant features of the earliest cycle of Primitive Art, which Mr. Hemans brings forward most clearly—reserve and symbolism. The primitive painter does not 'represent some subjects invested with the most awful sacredness, as the Crucifixion, Resurrection, Ascension, the institution of the Eucharist; and also, there is a prevailing mysticism, which always leads the painters to prefer such themes, in miracle, type, or historic incident, as suggest more than they represent; for, in fact, the more frequently recurring scenes always imply a truth or principle addressed to the believer, and lying far too deep for the apprehension of the multitude. In sculpture this is more strikingly carried out'—and he instances the great sarcophagus of Junius Bassus, bearing consular date A.D. 359. A short enumeration of its subjects will give an idea of the didactic art of the Classical cycle, before Eastern asceticism had set that stamp of earnest severity on Christian art, which we call the Byzantine type of it. Technically speaking, this sarcophagus is a very beautiful work of late Classical art: somewhat overloaded with quasi-architectural ornament, but with two ranges of sculptural panels which might be of pure Athenian carving; the figures graceful and athletic, with the slight severity or moderation of the best time. It is singular too, that the lower canopies of the panels are alternately circular and pointed: so that Greek meets with the germ of Christian Gothic in this strangely beautiful work, which cannot be photographed, unfortunately, from its position in the crypt of St. Peter's, but will be found

in Bosio's or Aringhi's *Roma Subterranea* (lib. ii. c. x. p. 277), or in the later work of Bottari (tav. xv.), in which the same plates were again used. The chief subjects are historic: the principal and central one is that of the Saviour, in form a beautiful youth (the ideal of 'Fairest of all men,' and not the ascetic one, always prevails on the sarcophagi). He is seated between two Apostles, with His feet upon the earth, this latter being personified as an old man just emerging from the ground.¹ The sacrifice of Abraham, the sufferings of Job, the fall of Adam and Eve, Daniel in the Lions' den, the entry into Jerusalem, Pilate washing his hands, and the arrest and denial of S. Peter (most probably), are the subjects on the panels. But on the spandrels of the dividing pilasters are curious symbolisms of the Lamb performing acts mystically chosen from the Old and New Testament. He is baptizing, striking water from the rock, multiplying the loaves, raising Lazarus, receiving the tablets of the Law. This may represent the latest typical work of the Christian Classical style and its early cycle of Scriptural subjects. Another fine sarcophagus of the fourth century, the large one brought from St. Paul's without the walls of Rome to the Lateran, shows dangerous innovation in subject: attempt being made at representing all three Persons of the Holy Trinity under human aspect, with identity of type and strongly marked and severe features, indicating middle age. It bears historical and sacramental images, in common with so many earlier works, and its workmanship is in tolerable style, but crowded, and without the Greek grace of the tomb of Junius Bassus.

We know that great difficulties of feeling have to be surmounted before the Classical style can be considered Christian, particularly according to its interpretation by the masters of the later Renaissance of the Cinquecento. The third volume of the *Stones of Venice* expresses both Catholic and Puritan feeling about much of their work. Again, very much has been learnt about the subjects and character of Classical Christian decoration since the time of Brunelleschi or Bramante; and to ignore all that knowledge in restoring St. Paul's would be a public act of indifference to Christianity, which neither of them would have allowed, and to which the name Pagan might be applied. The writer has always felt the necessity of caution in the use of this word, and he thinks Gentile, Ethnic, or Heathen are often better: since 'Pagan' implies having

¹ More probably the Old Man represents Uranus, the Firmament, and there is reference to Ps. xviii. 9, 'It was dark under his feet,' or to Rev. i. 7, so often set forth in the mosaics, and last in Keble Chapel.

seen and hated the Christian Faith, or being so degraded as to be unable for the time to receive it. But such a word is not provoked by the Classical construction of the late Renaissance, but by its monumental pomps and vanities; to which we fear nothing short of the grim reprobation of the Oxford Slade Professor can do adequate justice.

If we were not sufficiently aware, of the necessity of preserving the full effect of architectural line and proportion in the Cathedrals, Mr. Fergusson's paper is convincing on the point. He proves that it is *architecturally* wrong to conceal a fine material like Portland stone; as it is *morally* wrong to try to disguise bad material by a rich outer coating. (That is to say, it is not necessarily wrong to encrust good brickwork with marble, but it is very much so to encrust *bad* brickwork.) But fine stone ought never to be concealed.

In St. Mark's, at Venice, and elsewhere, brick is encrusted with marble in good faith, and with perfect propriety. In Keble Chapel, the earnest honour of the architect in exhibiting his fine brickwork and ceramic interior ornament has this unfortunate effect, that its red colour and polish overpower the beautiful russet marble disks and panels. Green serpentine would be much preferable in the small spandril inlayings of its eastern end. St. Mark's, at Venice, is not built in adherence to rules of constructive science, and stands blameless. But in a stone basilica, the material is matter of constructive morality, and must be properly displayed.

What the clerical mind feels is, that a principal part of the attention of their decorators must be directed to ornament significant of religious truth. Allowing full scope to the artistic or professional view, when anybody can clearly enounce it, or when any number of artists and their friends can tell the public what it is like, the Dean and Chapter will have to insist on their professional view, which is, that the decoration of the Cathedral ought to be instructive in spiritual truth, historically or by means of primitive and well-understood symbolism.

It is hardly necessary to refer Church architecture, with Lord Lindsay, to three types or rudiments, the *basilica*, the *cubiculum* (or, indeed, the *arcosolium*) of the Catacombs, and the Roman *cella memoriae*. We think that the *cubiculum* was virtually a Christian memorial chapel to the witnesses who lay around, and that a division of primitive temples into above-ground and under-ground will be found to agree sufficiently with that of the *History of Christian Art*. The constructive difference between one type and the other is that the *basilica*

stands on walls, piers, and columns, and is subject to architectural rule ; the chapel is, or ought to be, of such a size, and have walls of such proportional strength as to be as strong as a mountain cavern, and owe no allegiance to constructive rule. Then, in their decoration, the principal difference seems to turn on light. In Northern architecture (except in the Scandinavian or extreme North), the builder will want above everything to let it in ; in Southern he will be rather inclined to shut it out. But the Catacomb chapel could not obtain it from without, and depended entirely on artificial light, never admitting any flood of sunshine, or occupying any space of its walls with transparent colour and transmitted splendour. Its conditions carried out the Southern or Eastern objection to too much light quite absolutely. The *fossor* of the catacombs began from the sepulchral darkness of the tufa-lithoid ; the architect of the *basilica* began *sub Dio* ; one worked from white to black, the other from black to white, or from earth-shadows to sunlight. The subterranean artist then had to trust entirely to the opaque colour of his walls ; the other soon began to look for colour in his windows, and to enjoy transparent or transmitted hues. And hence it is, as all know, that mosaic is felt to be specially adapted to small or dark churches, and yet is so freely and fitly used in large churches all over the East and in Italy. The Southern architect must exclude the glare of noonday, his apertures will be like stars or light-flowers in his solid walls, and he will sheet the latter with fair mosaic if he can. But his mosaic will be significant, and must tell its tale, and it is quite necessary that very plain people should be able to see with little assistance what it is about. Therefore he is driven to use gold or silver grounds to obtain reflected light ; and pure and powerful colours for brilliancy (or *éclat*, as the French say, happily possessing a word which expresses clearness alike of sound, light, and colour). And on this stands the great artistic difference between the mighty mosaics of Rome, Ravenna, and Torcello, and the important modern efforts we have now to describe. The ancient inlayings are in the purest and richest colours ; the new ones are in half-tint. It may be true, that for a large or light church half-tint mosaics are better than the glowing work of old days. Those of Keble Chapel are beautiful to our heart's content. But then follows the question—and it is a most weighty one to the future decorator of St. Paul's—are the walls and the windows both to be works of colour, and which are to take the lead ? The windows at present prevail at Keble to a degree which is painful to us. We cannot think them good, and they

are far too much for the mosaics at all times, especially early and late in the day. Their reds greatly overpower their other hues, so that the glass itself is at variance with itself. It will be observed, and not only in Keble, but in the new and grandly designed northern window at Christ Church, that the scarlet colour is so powerful as to be quite in a different plane from the meagre yellows, acrid greens, and mauvish blues. It is very strange what a reaction there always is against really beautiful work. It is resisted as an innovation; counter-interests are worked against it, it becomes a fashion, perhaps; and then everybody tries to get it to pass away as vanity along with vanity. It does seem to us extraordinary how a Governing or Capitular Body could have Mr. Morris's and Burne Jones's eastern windows in Christ Church Cathedral, and not go on in that style. And how anybody who was aware of the existence of these works could put such shallow and glaring lights into the Keble mullions, is another of the many things which we do not know.

Both architects and patrons will have to make up their minds that style, light, and colour are all interdependent variables; that is to say, that they must affect each other, and should do so harmoniously; and that this depends on whether one leading idea is carried out by them all, and, above all, on how powerfully that idea may reach into detail, and command its execution. Mr. Butterfield has made his own style, and done it gallantly, and with beautiful result. We have not the least objection to brick and stone together, or to pointed arches and Byzantine mosaic together. It is our duty to pick what holes we can in his work, for if we are not critical, we are nothing. But we think he did not quite mean his chief colour-impressions to come through his glass, but to be inlaid on his walls. The mosaics are good hues enough, but hue depends on contrast; half-tints have only half-contrast, and the vehement colour-repulsions of the east and west windows are too much for the tender colour-relief of the walls. Walls and windows cannot both go first as vehicles of colour, and the risk of inventing an eclectic style between Southern Byzantine and Northern Gothic is this, that the walls *will* go first in the Southern work, and the windows won't go second in the Northern part of the building. As a pointed architect, Mr. Butterfield would depend on his windows for colour—as a horizontal one, on his walls. This question of walls and windows is, in fact, the same as the question of Northern and Italian Gothic, or of aspiring and horizontal architecture. Without addressing Mr. Butterfield

as Bezonian, one cannot help seeing that this is an effort on both sides. Within the walls he has his high-pointed stonework upwards, and his altogether lovely flower-cornice in white alabaster all round. Without, he has his lofty buttresses, high niches and pinnacles, and his horizontal bands along the building : the principal one a zigzag, which combines pointedness and horizontality. We think him quite right, because his results are, or will be, beautiful ; but they are certainly open to comment from his brother architects, and will doubtless receive as much of it as may be good for them.

If any one doubts the peculiar fitness of mosaic for interior wall ornament, or the statement that either walls or windows must take a lead in decoration, we should wish him to see the interior of Keble Chapel, when fully, but not too brightly, lit up for evening service. Then the mosaics have their way and show their power ; then, in their severity and splendour, they make one understand what real and good Christian art is and always has been ; rich, genuine, imposing, and historic, intelligible to learned and unlearned ; weighted with meaning and devotion ; full of the grandeur of sacrifice, and that not of gold and silver only, but of a yet more precious possession, the inventive heart and mind of the artist. This is, as Professor Ruskin said of St. Mark's at Venice, an illuminated building and book-temple ; and we hope to see equal brilliancy in its own style given to St. Paul's Cathedral.

Mr. Butterfield's own account of his work is now in the hands of the public, and should be carefully studied by all who enter Keble Chapel. It forms part of the interesting little memorial volume, edited by the Rev. Walter Lock, which stands at the head of this article. We cannot deal with its yet more interesting report of Dr. Pusey's and Dr. Liddon's sermons ; but the recollections of that day will not be easily effaced, we think, from the mind of any communicant of that morning, or attendant on the day's services. Many men of different thoughts met that day to feel themselves one after all ; and very different natures, as in the Ark of old, succeeded in suspending their differences in a Presence greater than their own.

There are a few more remarks to make as to the subjects of the mosaics. They are those of the second or Byzantine period of Christian art to the 13th century, and our sketch (on the next page) contains the earliest dates at which they are found ; the word *passim* being used for a subject of unknown antiquity and very frequent occurrence, in painting, sculpture, or MS.

Keble College Chapel Mosaics.

EAST.

(New Testament.)

Our Lord in Glory, Rev. i. (as from 6th century).

3 Saints.
3 Saints.3 Saints.
3 Saints.

The Crucifixion

Resurrection

(6th century subjects, Rabula MS.). (6th century subjects, Rabula MS.).

3 Panels { Baptism } 6th century.
 { Nativity } Rabula MS.
 { Annunciation
 (5th century,
 S. Maria Maggiore).

Organ.

NORTH.

Chancel Steps.

SOUTH.

(Old Testament.)

Passim.	{	Rock of Moses.	Joseph's Dream.	}	Ravenna
		Brazen Serpent.	Joseph sold into Egypt.		Ivory,
Passim.	{	Tables of the Law.	His Brethren before him.	}	6th cent.
Ravenna, 6th cent.		Abraham and the Three.	Building the Ark.		}
Passim.	{	Sacrifice of Isaac.	Sacrifice of Noah.	}	
Ravenna, 6th cent.		Melchisedech.	Entering the Ark.		

2 Angels.

2 Angels.

The Lost.

(12th century.)

The Saved.

The Judgment.

S. Michael,
below
The Lord.

WEST.

These pictures may be called classical, in the sense of their being in severely correct drawing; they are, in fact, original work. But the Great Judgment at the west end connects them with Torcello and Venice, rather than with the

earlier works of Rome and Ravenna. How far the *Schola Græca* at Rome (formed or greatly strengthened by fugitives from iconoclastic persecution in the eighth century) extended Byzantine art in Italy, or how far the Exarchate may have done so, is hard to determine, and a standing subject of dispute. But Lord Lindsay's statement (vol. ii. last ch.) can hardly be disputed, that the revival of the Eastern Empire under the Comneni gave rise to new and grand efforts in mosaic, of which that at Torcello is the chief survivor. The Keble mosaics are certainly impressed by this and the early work in St. Mark's. Their combination of apparent archaism, force, and earnestness of impression with technical skill and good drawing, is, to say the least, both Christian and artistic in the highest degree. We might have preferred the primitive cycle of subject, or asked that the feasts should be followed round the seasons, as in the Christian year, with its poetic zodiac of fair images. Nevertheless the selection is good, and the cardinal principle of reference from the New Testament or Dispensation to the Old, comparison of type with antitype, holds the highest place, as in the elementary theology of Oxford in all past years. The history of man, the Law, and the Prophets of Israel, bear witness to Christ. At the east end is the form of the Lord, as in the opening Apocalypse, and according to the use of Church art, from the sixth-century days of affliction all through the blackness of five more ages. He is come to His sanctuary with clouds, He is present with those who meet to call upon Him. Twelve Saints attend upon Him in the two panels on each side of the Church. The other mosaics in their order are represented in the preceding sketch.

We own that we wish the Good Shepherd had not been wanting, nor the symbolic Jonah. But there is little more, except to record our admiration of the choice material of the choir incrustations, of the beauty of the slightly modernized Byzantine birds and flowers on its cornice, and the exquisite red and green marbles in particular; again regretting that the colours of the windows should prevail as they do by daylight over such lovely and genuine hues. It is not so by lamplight, at all events. The red marble seat (for assisting clergy, we suppose) along the eastern wall, reminds us of that round the apse of Torcello. The light colours of the roof, in themselves well chosen, seem to us highly interesting, from the lofty and soaring effect they produce on the eye. This is another feature of the architect's ingenious determination to give his spectator soaring and horizontal lines, at one and in har-

mony ; in which we must say he appears to us to have achieved no small success.

The exterior of Keble College Chapel is hardly a fair subject for criticism at present, for various reasons. It will be seen to have the great advantage of being a church of itself and by itself ; and those who will compare it (and Balliol Chapel) with others which are too obviously only a part of College buildings, will see how much is gained accordingly. Architecturally, the building is a daring and, in many respects, a successful attempt to reconcile the aspiring and the horizontal construction and their associated ornament. Its effect of height, and the manner in which it towers over the rest, must not be unfavourably judged of ; for it will, we presume, be balanced, and the whole composition perfected, by a lofty hall and library. The change of pattern towards the top, and the larger use of white stone, undoubtedly gives lightness ; and seems to taper the weight, and to the eye diminish the thrust of the weighty roof and upper wall. The quatrefoil is ordinary, but not disagreeable. The zigzags and bands of all the College buildings will look better and better the more there is of them, and the more continuous they are made all round the quadrangles. The sculpture will gain greatly by time and weather : and the green Oxford mosses which always gather on brickwork, will greatly improve the colour and effect. We own we cannot imagine what necessity there can be for having such a highly conventional Lamb in the tympanum over the door, and making the most solemn of Christian images utterly grotesque, when the exterior is ornamented with pretty, modern-classical statues, chiefly at too great height for their effect.

This building is really for posterity, and its architect knows it will look more beautiful to our children than to us. We have really said everything we can say to its disparagement, within and without ; and we advise malcontents to console themselves, as we do, by considering Mr. Butterfield's other College chapel. Old Oxford men will remember various highly facetious comparisons about decorated dog-kennels, Saracen minarets, and walls of best streaky pork. They had their day, and if there is not much wit in common-room jokes, in this instance there was no harm. But no one in his senses will deny now that, outside and inside, that building is one of the most beautiful, as well as most strikingly original, of all small churches. And we hope the same verdict will be passed a quarter of a century hence, if not sooner, on the larger chapel which enshrines the memory of the author of the *Christian Year*.

ART. VI.—MEDIÆVAL FOLKLORE—GERVASE OF
TILBURY.

1. *Scriptores Rerum Brunsvicensium*. Ed. G.W. LEIBNITZ. (Hanoviæ, 1707.)
2. *Des Gervasius von Tilbury Otia Imperialia*. . . neu herausgegeben. . . von FELIX LIEBRECHT. (Hannover, 1856.)
3. *Radulphi de Coggeshall Chronicon Anglicanum. Excerpta ex Otii Imperialibus Gervasii Tileburiensis*. Edidit JOSEPHUS STEVENSON, 1875.

OF all those who pass Tilbury on the Thames, and are at once reminded of Queen Elizabeth and the Armada, few indeed, we suspect, are carried by the associations of the place to a remoter past, or recall so much as the name of the very remarkable and amusing writer, whose *Otia Imperialia* we propose to discuss in the present article. It is possible that the Tilbury at which Gervase was born, and from which he took his distinctive name, was not the well-known place where the great Queen harangued her troops, but the Tilbury near Yeldham, in Essex, which gave a title to Sir Horace Vere, the first and last 'Lord Vere of Tilbury,' whose reputation, like that of his brother Sir Francis, was made in the Low Country wars of the sixteenth century. But this is quite uncertain, and either Tilbury might fairly call up recollections of Gervase. He is best,—it may be said that except to a very few students of mediæval life and history, he is only—known by some half-dozen extracts and translations inserted by Sir Walter Scott in the notes to his longer poems, and 'discovered' for him, in all probability, by the research and curiosity of Leyden. These passages are so picturesque and amusing, and they illustrate so remarkably the belief of the writer and of his age, touching the supernatural,—we must hardly say the 'unseen'—world, that they ought long since, we should have imagined, to have led some competent scholar to supply us with a complete edition of the *Otia Imperialia*. But even now this is wanting. Leibnitz, from whose folio volumes Leyden or Scott made their extracts, printed only a certain portion of the *Otia*,—after all, connected in but a sidelong fashion with *Res Brunsvicenses*. Liebrecht gives us

even less, but has enriched his edition, if it is so to be called, with valuable notes and appendices; and Mr. Stevenson, in the volume recently edited by him for the Master of the Rolls, has contented himself with 'excerpta' bearing mainly on the history of the period embraced in the Chronicle of the Cistercian, Ralph of Coggeshall. What we have in print, however, is quite sufficient to set before us a writer who, if not different in mind and in feeling from others of his period, has certainly brought out certain phases of mediæval belief in a manner and at a length quite without parallel. There are few early chroniclers or historians who do not eagerly welcome such marvels and prodigies as come naturally in their way. Even William of Newburgh, philosophical enough to reject with scorn the figments of Geoffrey's *British History*, records with much precision the appearance of certain green children (*virides pueri*) out of the wolf-pits near Bury St. Edmunds, and the pranks of various mischievous elves who tormented the clergy of Lincoln. In most cases, however, the marvels of the chroniclers are confined to the cloister or to persons and places immediately connected with the Church; and their notices of such things are incidental. Gervase makes them his special subject; his range is by no means narrowed by the cloister; he writes from the point of view of a layman, highly cultivated for his time, and from his rank and position able to command a wide range and horizon. Occasional notices of himself and of his wanderings are scattered through the *Otia*, and from these sources we obtain nearly all the information we have about him.

Whichever Tilbury may claim the honour of having been the birthplace of Gervase, he was born in the latter half of the twelfth century, probably about the year 1165. Of his family nothing is known, and the only reason for supposing him to have been of noble birth is that otherwise the Emperor would hardly have made him what he afterwards became—Marshal of the Kingdom of Arles. However this may be, he was at first designed for the priesthood; and was sent out of England at an early age to join the *familia* of William, Archbishop of Rheims. How long he remained among the Archbishop's clerks is unknown: but during his stay at Rheims he was personally concerned, not much to his credit, in an affair which he described long afterwards to Abbot Ralph of Coggeshall, who has inserted the story in his Chronicle.¹ It contains such a dash of the marvellous as seems to present itself

¹ 'Sicut ab ejus ore audivimus postea, cum canonicus esset.'—R. de Coggeshall, *Chron. Anglicanum*, p. 122.

as a matter of course in any narrative by Gervase. Archbishop William, a great and splendid prelate, uncle of the King, Philip Augustus, was one day riding outside the city of Rheims, attended by his 'clerks,' among whom was Master Gervase. As they passed onward the young Englishman saw a damsel of great beauty walking alone in a vineyard. He turned aside to talk to her, and found at last from her words that she belonged to the 'impious sect of the Publicans,' who were then agitating both France and England.¹ They seem to have been ignorant countrymen—'*idonii*,' '*poplicolæ*,' '*rusticani*,' they are called by the chroniclers—who held opinions bordering on Manichæism;—and the Archbishop, when he found the pair in converse, and received the excuse or the explanation of Gervase, ordered the maiden to be brought to his palace, where she was confronted by a company of learned clerks and doctors. She had herself, she told them, no skill and no knowledge wherewith to defend herself; but she had a mistress (*magistra*) in the city who well knew how to defend her teaching. This *magistra* was accordingly sought out. She proved deaf to all the arguments of the Archbishop or his doctors: and after a short imprisonment both she and her pupil were condemned to the stake as impracticable heretics. The pile was ready, and the victims were passing through the galleries of the palace towards it, when the *magistra* cried out—'Unjust and foolish judges! do ye think to burn me in your fires? I do not fear them.' As she spoke, she took a ball of thread (*glorum fili*) from her bosom and flung it from a window, keeping one end of the thread in her hand, and calling loudly, 'Take, take!' Then she threw herself on the thread, and in an instant she was drawn through the window, and disappeared,—aided, suggests the chronicler, by the same evil spirits who once raised Simon Magus into the air. Gervase does not imply that he witnessed the disappearance of the witch; but we gather that he was himself present at the burning of her pupil, who suffered with the utmost constancy, '*instar martyrum Christi, sed disparili causa*.²

In the household of Archbishop William, and while in training for the priesthood, Gervase laid the foundations of the learning by which he was afterwards distinguished, and which was so unusual an accomplishment for a layman. He

¹ Some of the Publicani who made their appearance at Oxford were, on conviction, branded on the forehead with a red-hot iron, and driven from the city.

² R. de Coggeshall.

had read, as we find from his books, many of the old historians and poets, and some of the Fathers of the Church. But he soon gave up all thoughts of the priesthood for himself; and we find him, still as a youth, teaching Canon Law at Bologna, when he had Giovanni Pignatelli, afterwards Archdeacon of Naples, among his auditors.¹ It is, however, impossible to determine the exact dates, and consequently the order of the various changes and wanderings indicated in different passages of the *Otia*. Gervase was at Rome when a boy (*puer*), during the papacy of Alexander III.; and in the year 1177 he witnessed at Venice the reconciliation before the portal of St. Mark's, of that Pope and the Emperor Frederick I. It is to be observed that Gervase says nothing of the insolent behaviour of the Pope, or of the famous 'conculcatio,' which almost all good writers agree in regarding as a fable; but that, on the contrary, he praises the moderation and patience of Alexander.² We find him afterwards in the service of William, the 'good' King of Sicily, who had married a daughter of our Henry II.; and then at Naples, probably in 1190, since he tells us that the siege of Acre was still pending, and that place was taken in July 1191. But before this he had been in the family of the son of Henry II. of England, that young King Henry whose coronation in the lifetime of his father played such an important part in the closing scenes of the life of Becket. For Prince Henry Gervase compiled a *Liber Facetiarum*, which no longer exists; and it must have been after the Prince's death, in 1189, that he entered the service of Otto, first Duke of Brunswick, nephew of Henry the Lion, Duke of Bavaria and Saxony. The second son of this Duke Henry was chosen Emperor at Cologne in 1198, and after much struggling and debate was crowned at Rome in 1209 as Otto IV. The Emperor's mother was Matilda, daughter of Henry II. of England. He had himself been much in England, and by his grace and valour had attracted the special notice of his uncle, Richard

¹ 'Civitatem advenimus' (Neapolim) 'in hospitio venerabilis auditoris mei in jure canonico apud Bononiam, Johannis Pinatelli, Neapolitani archidiaconi.'—*Otia Imp.* decisio iii. c. 12.

² 'In consilio siquidem Veneto pœnitentem Imperatorem ad sinum matris Ecclesiæ regressum intuiti sumus; cum summa humilitate stolam per manus sanctissimi Papæ Alexandri, quam dedit Pater pœnitenti filio, recepisset.'—*Otia Imp.* decisio ii. The old story ran, that the Pope placed his foot on the neck of the Emperor, with the words, 'Super aspida et basiliscum ponam pedes nostros;' and that Frederick replied, 'Non tibi, sed Petro.' But this, and many other circumstances assigned to this famous meeting, cannot be traced higher than the fourteenth century.

Cœur-de-Lion, through whose money and influence his election as Emperor was in great measure procured. Gervase, it is quite possible, had known the future Emperor either in England or in the Norman courts of the Kings Henry and Richard. The connection of Gervase with the young Henry, and with King William of Sicily, who had married another daughter of Henry II., indicates that he stood high in the favour of the English court; and it was perhaps due to this favour and influence that Otto IV., to all appearance some time before his own solemn coronation, made him Marshal, that is, in effect, Governor, of the Kingdom of Arles. With this kingdom he had already become connected through his wife, whose name is unknown, but who was the heiress of large estates there.¹ It was during his life at Arles that he compiled the three books of the *Otia Imperialia* for the amusement and edification of the Emperor Otto, to whom he sent them in the year 1211. How long after that date he remained at Arles we do not know. His wife died; and probably at her death her lands and possessions passed away from Gervase. Either in France or in England he then became a 'Canonicus,'—a somewhat vague term, which may perhaps imply, though we have no direct evidence of its having been so, that he had entered a house of Augustinian Canons.² It was at this time that he fell in, perhaps renewing an old acquaintance, with Abbot Ralph of Coggeshall, who heard from him the marvellous story of the witch of Rheims. The place and year of Gervase's death are alike unknown.

Gervase had a considerable reputation as a soldier, as well as a man of learning. 'Marte et arte claruit,' says Leibnitz; and the union in those days was by no means an ordinary one. It gives an especial value to his books, in so far as they illustrate the belief of his time from the point of view of a very able layman, who had seen much, and had been brought into contact with many of the great men who were then conspicuous in Europe, and were making the history of the age. The wonders of the *Otia* are not the collection of an ordinary story-teller, alive to nothing but the effect of the tale he has to tell, without learning or judgment, and quite incapable of seeing beyond his own province or even his own village. They take a very different character when we find

¹ 'In palatio nostro' (at Arles) 'quod ex vestro munere vestrâque gratiâ ad nos rediit per sententiam curiæ imperialis, Princeps excellentissime, propter jus patrimoniale uxoris nostræ.'—*Otia Imp.* decisio iii. c. 92. He calls Humbert, Archbishop of Arles, 'affinis noster,' iii. c. 86.

² Unless 'canonicus' is to be understood as signifying a reader or teacher of the Canon law—which is just possible.

them detailed by a man of wide experience and of much learning, whose critical judgment, whenever he dwells on the events of his own time, shows that he was fully capable not only of distinguishing between the truth and falsehood of such matters as came before him, but of discussing them with a gravity and dignity far above the flight of the ordinary chronicler. In the *Otia*, for example, when the occasion presents itself, he does not shrink from touching on the struggle between the Emperor Otto and the Pope, Innocent III.; and exhorts each to give to the other what was fairly his due.¹ This he does with a certain moderation and sobriety which command the approbation of even his editor, Leibnitz; who elsewhere characterizes Gervase as ‘mirificentissimus et superstitiosissimus fabulator.’ There is no doubt that throughout the life of Gervase, and wherever he travelled, he was especially attracted by the marvellous and the supernatural, and that the judgment he brought to bear on these things was something very different from that which he exercised on the ordinary events of life. But it is just this which makes his book so curious and so valuable. It is a picture, not so much of the mind of Gervase himself, as of the general attitude of the thirteenth century towards the usually (in writing of that time the ordinary expression must be qualified) unseen world of spirits, good and bad, elves, goblins, and demons; and towards those less frequent displays of nature which modern science has interpreted for us, but which were full of wonder and of mystery in days when science itself was still in the hands of astrologers and alchemists. Probably there was no time when the mediæval love of the marvellous was more fully developed than this first half of the thirteenth century, the great age in which the life of Europe was stirring so vigorously in every direction, in which art in all its branches received so much fresh development, and in which the true freedom of national life was so greatly strengthened from the foundations. Yet it is this century, and that simply from its strong leaning towards the marvellous, that Leibnitz is pleased to characterize

¹ He was, however, an uncompromising upholder of what he believed to be the Papal rights. He exhorts Otto to show himself ‘innocens Innocentio,’ and then goes on—‘profecto imperium tuum non est, sed Christi; non tuum, sed Petri. Non à te tibi obvenit, sed à vicario Christi et successore Petri. . . . Nihil amittis quod tuum est, si dimittis Petro quod suum.’ So the ‘minnesinger,’ Walther von der Vogelweide, who was at this time a liege servant of Otto IV., urges, in one of his short poems, the division of authority, ‘that being given to God which is God’s, and that to the Kaiser which is his.’ But Walther was a hater of the Pope, and would hardly have accepted the position of Gervase.

as 'omnium sæculorum post Christum ineptissimum.' Few now-a-days would be inclined to echo his words; but we shall understand the belief and the folklore (using those words in their widest sense) of the age much better after an examination of the *Otia*. It should here be added that this is the only work of Gervase's which remains to us, and the great popularity of it is shown by the number of manuscripts in existence. It is known that while at Arles he wrote a book *De vitâ beatæ Virginis et Discipulorum Jesu*, with especial reference to those local legends, sure to have caught his attention, which bring Lazarus and the Magdalene, with others of the holy personages, to the shores of the Gulf of Lyons, and land them in the Camargue, at the place still known as 'Les Saintes Maries.'¹ The very important treatise entitled *Dialogus de Scaccario* was for a considerable period attributed to Gervase of Tilbury, until Madox, editing the *Dialogus* for his *History of the Exchequer*, showed that he could not be the real author. It is now known that the *Dialogus* is the work of Richard FitzNigel, Bishop of London from 1189 to 1199, and Treasurer of the Exchequer,—a graver, if not a wiser man than Gervase.

The *Otia Imperialia*, in the name of which Herr Liebrecht finds some resemblance to that of Byron's *Hours of Idleness*, consists of three 'decisiones' or divisions. The first relates to the creation of the world, and to its history between the creation and the deluge. The second is geographical and historical, and describes the various portions of the 'three-nooked world,'—as it was then held to be, but always with a reference to whatever was most unusual and least understood; and the third, which in many respects is the most interesting, and is certainly the most curious, contains the marvels (*mirabilia*) of various countries and provinces,—*'non omnia, sed ex omnibus aliquæ.'* We shall find, however, that Gervase, in this division, dwells at greatest length, and most willingly, on the marvels of his native country, and especially of the Eastern counties, with which he was immediately connected; and of the kingdom of Arles, of which he was so long Marshal, and where he was living during

¹ 'Les Saintes Maries' has been well described by M. Lenthéric, in his recent volume entitled *Les Villes mortes du golfe de Lyon*. Lazarus, according to the legend, went to Marseilles, Martha to Tarascon, and Mary Magdalene to Sainte Baume. The two other Maries, the mother of James the Less and the mother of the apostles James and John, remained at their landing place. With them was a poor servant named Sara, who is now regarded as the patron of wanderers in the Camargue. It is asserted that they fled from persecution about the year 40 A.D.

the compilation of his book. But, although the volume was offered by him to the Emperor as a diversion for those hours when he should unbend his mind from the cares and turmoils of state, it was by no means designed to be without instruction. It would afford, suggests the author, excellent teaching and needful warning about many things; and the Imperial Celsitude, labouring for the establishment of the faith, might gather from it what should be approved and sustained 'in catholicis;' what should be plucked forth and condemned 'in hæreticis.' This seems to imply that much of the wild and vague belief, and confused, dimly understood physical and cosmographical science to which the first two 'decisions' are devoted, was to be regarded as the creed of the orthodox,—not indeed to be placed on the footing of great revealed truths, but to be held as something more than 'pious opinions,' from which it was not safe for a true son of the Church to turn aside. The *Otia* is in fact a sort of encyclopædia of mediæval literature; and covers much of the ground which, towards the middle of the same thirteenth century, was occupied by the *Specula* of Vincent of Beauvais, whose 'comprehensive manner' and 'vast industry' are praised by Hallam, although these were combined, he adds, 'with almost a studious desire, as we might now fancy, to accumulate absurd falsehoods.'¹ But these absurd falsehoods are to us the most valuable part of such a mediæval encyclopædia. They show us, with a distinctness not to be mistaken, the points and the subjects on which the modern mind differs so completely from the mediæval that, where these alone are in question, it would be as easy for a Connemara peasant to understand or sympathize with Darwin or Huxley as for Gervase or Vincent to comprehend the philosophy of the nineteenth century,—supposing that a glimpse of it could have been afforded to them. It is not so much a development of ancient thoughts and belief that has made modern science what it is, as a totally new standpoint and an application of induction and of critical judgment which, in many ways the earlier writers shrank from as from the suggestions of something evil. We cannot afford to neglect the 'falsehoods' of books like the *Otia* if we would really understand the centuries in which they were compiled. Even Leibnitz, modern philosopher as he was, admits that the stories, which he regards as more or less childish, were nevertheless closely bound up with the religion or at least with the approved faith of the

¹ *Literary History*, i. 120.

age.¹ The special stories which show us how completely, in the days of Gervase, the world was still a place of wonder, belong to the third division of the *Otia*. But the first and second well deserve some attention.

The account of the heavens, of the stars and planets, differs little from what may be found in the *Summa* of Thomas Aquinas. The highest heaven is the 'cœlum Trinitatis:' where the holy Trinity alone dwells, 'non localiter, sed incircumscriptè, et inenarrabili et inattingibili gloria.' In the heaven below this are Christ in his human body and the Blessed Virgin, raised above the choirs of angels; for the lower heavenly sphere is the Empyreum, tenanted by all the host of the angelic hierarchy. It is so called from $\pi\upsilon\rho$ —since it is immediately above the starry heaven or the firmament. This heaven is of water frozen to the consistency of crystal, and perfectly clear. In it the stars are fixed. The cœlum aërium, the region of the air, is below it, and there the saints are dwelling, and will remain until the judgment. On its border is the *infernus malorum*, the place of eternal punishment. Lowest of all, is the cœlum aqueum, the watery heaven, which encircles and waters the earth. All this is described, says Gervase, in order that the Imperial Majesty may recognize the glory and dignity of his Creator, and may know that he is but dust, as the contents of the apple of gold he bears in his left hand are designed to teach him. This apple, which formed part of the Imperial regalia, was of gold, to signify the glory of the Empire, but it was filled with dust and ashes, to imply the swift passing away of all temporal prosperity. There are many such references to the Imperial dress, ornaments, and habits, and all are curious. The flaming sword of Eden, which turned every way, was to teach the Emperor that the sword of his dominion ought to be double-edged, to punish others, and to cut through his own faults. The sword, we are told, was temporarily removed, so that Enoch and Elias might enter Paradise, but it was not entirely withdrawn until after the death of Christ. From the blessing of Melchizedec the Emperor is warned of the necessity for the benediction of his table by a priest. And a brief benediction sometimes carried trouble with it. The cellarer of the monastery of S. Rufus at Valence used on these occasions to exchange a long Psalm for a shorter. He died, and one of the brethren going his rounds at night, encountered the ghost of the cellarer, who confessed that he was suffering

¹ 'Sed talia tunc verba in pietate, vel certe in laude ponebantur.'—*Præfatio ad Scrip. Rer. Brunsvic.*

much for the impatience; which reminds us of the conduct of Major Dalgetty on his visit to the castle of Ardvoirlich. The prayers of the convent released the cellarer from his pains.

In his chapter on the dew of heaven, we are told that certain old people in England (*in majori Britannia*) were in the habit, on Christmas Eve, of setting in the open air a bundle of oats, or a vessel filled with oats or barley, on which, at the moment of our Lord's birth, there descended a certain heavenly moisture. The grain, thus blessed, was held to be a sure remedy in all cases of cattle-disease. From the 'ros cœli' Gervase passes to the waters of the earth, the rivers, the sea, and the deluge. The rainbow is a sign of two judgments, typified in its colours. The blue, which marks the exterior of the arch, indicates the judgment by water, already passed; the red of the interior is the fiery trial to come; and for forty days before the final judgment, the rainbow will be permanently fixed in the air, and will be entirely of a red colour, showing that the desiccation of the atmosphere has already begun. This, indeed, was one of the recognized forewarnings of the coming end of the world; and the fifteen days immediately preceding that end had each its sign and its prodigy.¹ In discussing the sea Gervase finds himself in a position of some difficulty. We have recorded his belief that the watery and the airy heavens brooded over the earth, one above the other. Nevertheless, although there were those who asserted that the ocean surrounded on all sides the great plain of the earth, and was so confined, he cannot but think from certain facts which have been detailed to him, that there is an upper sea, above our heads, into which mariners sometimes sail who leave the harbours of England or of France; in whatever manner the existence of such a sea is to be reconciled with the arrangement of the heavenly spheres. It is known, he says, that as the folk of a certain parish in England were once leaving church on a feast day, they saw the anchor of a ship fastened to a great heap of stones (*lapideo tumulo*) in the churchyard. The sky was covered with thick clouds, and a rope passed upwards from the anchor. Presently the rope was violently pulled and shaken, and they heard above the clouds

¹ These signs are duly enumerated in the *Pricke of Conscience*—a remarkable poem in the Northumbrian dialect, by Richard Rolle, the hermit of Hampole, in Yorkshire, who died in 1349. They are figured in the stained glass windows of All Saints' Church, York, and a legend from Richard of Hampole is inserted beneath each subject. The signs are dwelt upon in a fine passage of one of Jeremy Taylor's sermons.—*Works*, vol. v. p. 13, ed. Heber.

the shouts and cries of seamen, trying in vain to haul in the anchor. As this could not be, they sent one of their number to disengage it, and he presently appeared out of the clouds, descending by the rope. The people, who had so far looked on in wonder, seized him; but he died in their hands, just as a shipwrecked man might do, under the sea. The anchor remained; and as a memorial of the wonder, hinges and iron-work for the doors of the church were made from it, *prudenti consilio*, and these are still there for all men to see. Unfortunately the name of this church is not given, so that we can have no opportunity of judging for ourselves how far the iron, thus marvellously acquired, differed from that in ordinary use. There is another story of a Bristol sailor who lost his knife when at sea in some far-off part of the world. It fell through the lantern or smoke-hole (*lucernaria*) of his own house at Bristol, and stuck in the table before his wife.

There are curious chapters in this first division, describing the invention of various arts and appliances. Sardanapalus invented cushions. Ninus designed the first *braccæ*, or breeches, which appeared in the world. Some of these earlier inventors were of the giant race; for giants were born after the Deluge, although many had existed in the earlier world. Charles the Great was a giant. So was Roland; and in the history of the Britons, 'from whom, most venerated Prince, you descend on your mother's side,' we are told how Brutus and Corineus, at their first landing in Britain, found that the country was inhabited by giants only. And to that overthrow of Troy, which brought Brutus to the greater Britain, are due not only the establishment of that kingdom, but that of the Roman Empire, 'which you hold, most serene Prince; and that of the realm of the Franks, which you rule so far as Aquitaine is concerned;—three kingdoms, a happy number, being that of the most Holy Trinity.' The whole story of Brutus, and of the British kings to Vortigern, is told by Gervase after Geoffrey of Monmouth, and fills much of the second division of the *Otia*. This division is mainly geographical; but some curious discussions are introduced, one of which relates to the famous letter of Abgar, King of Edessa, to our Lord, and to the reply which it received. Eusebius asserts that the letter of Abgar was answered by one written in our Lord's own hand. A later story, which first appears in the *Ecclesiastical History* of Evagrius, who died in 593, asserts that either with, or in place of a letter, our Lord sent to Abgar a 'divinely wrought image' of His Person. This legend afterwards takes different shapes; but Gervase supplies many

details which do not occur elsewhere, and which we must suppose to have been the accepted version at that time floating through the East. The 'divinely-wrought image' appeared on a linen cloth. Our Lord had laid Himself on this cloth, and His whole figure remained miraculously impressed on it. It was preserved in the principal church of Edessa, and was taken from its shrine only on the greater festivals. Every year, on Easter Day, it went through various changes. At the first hour of the day the figure is that of an infant; and so it appears as boy, adolescent, and youth, until at the ninth hour it assumes its usual condition, and displays our Lord as of full years and stature. No heretic can live in the city of Edessa; no pagan, no Jew. The place fears no enemies. It cannot be taken; for if a foreign army appears before the walls a child of tender years, standing above the principal gate, reads aloud the holy letter which accompanied the *imago* of our Lord. On the same day the enemy is either appeased or takes sudden flight. This story seems to be a confused tradition of one preserved by Evagrius, who says that when Edessa was besieged by Chosroes in the year 540, the Persians raised a great mound to overtop the walls. This mound was chiefly composed of wood, and the besieged undermined it from within the walls, designing to set it on fire. But the flames would not seize it, until the holy image was brought into the mine and washed with water, which was then sprinkled on the wood. The timber instantly burst into flame, the fire spread in all directions, and the Persians were put to open confusion. Gervase, however, says nothing of the removal of this sacred relic, together with the letters of Abgar and our Lord, from Edessa to Byzantium in the year 944. A story of its origin, differing altogether from that given by Gervase, is told in a tract written by the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogeneta, in whose reign the relics were removed. The festival of their reception at Byzantium is celebrated in the Græco-Sclavonic calendar on August 16.¹ All this may have been ignored at Edessa, where, besides these famous relics, the body of S. Thomas the Apostle was, according to Gervase, enshrined in silver. On Easter Day the body was removed from the shrine and placed on the altar. The people took the consecrated bread from the hand of the Apostle, but the hand was always withdrawn from a sinner. There is here possibly a confusion between S. Thomas and Thaddæus, who, according to some versions of the story, was sent by S. Thomas to

¹ All these early stories (excepting that of Gervase) are detailed in a very interesting article on the 'Portraits of Christ,' *Quart. Rev.* vol. 123:

Abgar, after the Crucifixion, with the linen cloth—here apparently the same as that of S. Veronica.¹

It is interesting to trace these broken, shifting versions of what was certainly an early tradition, in the forms which found their way westward during the later mediæval ages, and were duly received by such writers as Gervase. Returning crusaders may have told him the story in his early days, when he was at Naples, or with King William in Sicily. His eyes and his ears were always open for such things ; and it was while in William's palace at Palermo, surrounded by all that strange mixture of art and of historical association which distinguishes Sicily above every other portion of Europe, that Gervase heard of an appearance which adds a legend of the great King Arthur—

‘ Begirt with British and Armoric peers,’

to the Punic, the Greek, the Roman, the Arabian, and the Norman relics and memories of the island. A servant of the Bishop of Catania, following a runaway horse, was led through the deep chestnut woods of Etna to a vast plain, full of all beautiful and precious things, in the midst of which rose a royal palace. He entered ; and found the blameless king himself, stretched on a bed covered with cloth of gold. Arthur received the bishop's servant kindly, ordered those who surrounded him to find and restore the lost palfrey, and said that, after the great fight with his nephew Modred, he had been brought, wounded, to that place. Every year his wound opened afresh. He sent wonderful presents, we are told, to the Bishop of Catania ; but nothing is said of his re-

¹ Of another famous figure of our Lord, the ‘*volto santo di Lucca*,’ Gervase (dec. iii. c. 24) gives the following history :—During the crucifixion Nicodemus entreated the Blessed Virgin and the other Maries to provide a linen cloth wherewith to cover the Saviour on the cross. They brought one which shrouded His figure entirely ; and after the deposition the form of His whole person was found to be impressed on the covering. Copying this miraculous impression, Nicodemus carved the ‘*volto*,’ or crucifix, at Lucca. During a great persecution in Palestine this picture was shut into an ark, covered with bitumen, and ‘without sail or oar’ was entrusted to the sea at Joppa. It reached in safety the harbour of Luna, which once gave its name to what is now the Gulf of Spezia. The men of Luna, more or less pirates, attempted to seize the ark ; but it fled from their boats, always halting when they halted. Then the Bishop of the neighbouring city of Lucca hearing of the marvel, approached the ark with prayers and psalms, and it at once came to meet him. Thus the crucifix became the great treasure of the Cathedral of Lucca, where it is still shown. It is carved in cedar wood. The figure (which is possibly Byzantine) is long and thin, and is robed in what seem to be priestly vestments.

appearance in the world, nor of the agency by which he had been conveyed away from the scene of the battle. In spite of the frequent connection between Sicily and England (Angerius, the first abbot of the monastery attached to the Cathedral of Catania, is called an Englishman) it is somewhat startling to find the mysterious lawns of Avilion spreading themselves under the shadow of Etna. But Gervase implies that they were not confined to that region. In the forests of the greater and the lesser Britain, he says, it was common for the woodwards to encounter, either at mid-day or at night when the full moon was shining, a company of hunters following the chase with cry of dogs and winding of horns, who replied to all who questioned them that they were of the family and following of Arthur.

This is of course a form of the wide-spread belief in the 'wild hunter' and his host; and these passages of Gervase have supplied his German editor with a text on which to hang a vast and curious array of notes and illustrations. Undoubtedly the third part of the *Otia Imperialia*, to which these Arthuric legends introduce us, is of very great value for the comparative mythologist, and will supply him with many a link by which he may connect the ancient heathenism of North and South with the beliefs and superstitions of Christian and mediæval times. But we are for the present rather concerned with these beliefs and superstitions as they appeared to Gervase himself and his contemporaries. He never dreamt of tracing back the *wilde Jäger* to the rush of Odin in the storm, nor could he have recognized the grey hood of the same deity, which rendered him invisible when he drew it on, in the 'tarn-kappe' or magical helmet figuring in some of the most curious stories of the *Otia*. All these things were for him realities; and were to be accepted just as they were brought before him, without reserve, and without idle attempts at explanation. Accordingly, in this third division, we get a glimpse of the world such as it appeared in the eyes of even learned writers—and how much more certainly in those of rude laymen and of the ordinary 'lewid folke'—in days which were truly prescientific, before any 'philosophical persons' had arisen, 'to make modern and familiar things supernatural and causeless.' It was a world of wonder and of mystery—

'The elf quene, with hir joly companie,
Danced full ofte in many a grene mede.'

Every wide-spreading heath and every deep forest had its

own marvels. In every castle there might be some strange appearance or enchantment, such as converted into reality the stories of the romancers. Everywhere, even in the streets of crowded cities, the supernatural world jostled the world of sense, and might at any time give some unexpected and visible proof of its nearness. Indeed there were few cities which had not their own gifts, indicating a connection with some especial branch of the spirit world. Thus, Gervase tells us of Terdona, within the territory belonging to which the approaching death of the head of a household was indicated by a furrow, red with blood, turned up in ploughing the plot of ground belonging to him. Modern scepticism would perhaps suggest that springs strongly impregnated with iron may have had something to do with the warning; but the men of Terdona were no philosophers, and every spring, when they led their yokes of oxen to the field, they made the ploughmen take a solemn oath, with their hands resting on the book of the Gospels, that they would faithfully indicate the appearance of the omen to the master whom it concerned. Other such local marvels—such as that of the wood of Aspley in Bedfordshire, the trees of which turn into stone within a year, if thrown into a neighbouring stream or buried in the bank near it—though still, on the spot, regarded as hardly ‘canny,’ are more certainly to be explained by modern science. The ‘petrifying marsh’ of Aspley is still well known, and the water still rapidly encrusts with carbonate of lime whatever is placed in contact with it.

Great additional value is given to the stories recorded by Gervase from the fact that in so many instances he tells either what came under his own observation, or what was told to him on the actual scene of the marvels, or in the district to which they belonged. Thus the Eastern counties of England, and the country about Arles, with both of which he was so closely connected, supply by far the greater part of the histories with which he proposed to edify the leisure hours of the Emperor. Other countries, of course, are not neglected; and as we have already seen, he turns now and then to the far East for his illustrations. In Sicily and at Naples he was again at home; and he gives us some curious, and elsewhere unrecorded, stories of Virgil, better known in the thirteenth century as a great magician and as the bestower of innumerable magical benefits on Naples, than as a great poet. This mysterious position had been bestowed on Virgil long before the time of Gervase of Tilbury; but when he visited Naples, certainly before the year 1200, the ‘Virgilian legends,’ as they

have been called, had grown into very great prominence. They, or at least some of them, had already been recorded in the letters of Conrad of Querfurt, Chancellor of the Emperor Henry VI. (the predecessor of Otto IV.), and his representative at Naples. Conrad had been appointed by the Emperor to dismantle the walls of Naples, in which it was supposed that Virgil, the presumed founder of the city, had enclosed a talisman for its protection. This talisman Conrad declares that he found; and he describes it as a model of the city, enclosed in a narrow-necked bottle. Unhappily for Naples this bottle was slightly cracked. The talisman had thus lost its virtue, and Conrad was enabled to proceed with a work which otherwise he would have found impossible. That he did not completely destroy the walls, or that at any rate he left the gates standing, we learn from one of Gervase's stories. On one occasion, wishing to pass as quickly as he might into Sicily, he entered Naples in the company of a son of the Earl of Salisbury—probably Earl Patrick, who was lieutenant of Aquitaine under Henry II. They were hospitably received by the Archdeacon of Naples, the same John Pignatelli who had studied Canon Law under Gervase at Bologna. Within less than an hour after their arrival they found a ship, secured their passage at an easy rate, and fixed the time for their departure. Such good luck astonished the travellers; and when they expressed their wonder to the Archdeacon, he at once inquired by what gate they had entered Naples, and through which passage of the gate—the right or the left. 'We told him,' says Gervase, 'that just as we got to the gate, and were about to pass through on the left side, an ass laden with wood stopped the way, and compelled us to turn towards the right.' 'That is sufficient,' the Archdeacon replied; 'your good luck is fully accounted for.' Then taking them to the gate, he showed them that above either entry was a head sculptured in Parian marble—one, on the right, laughing, the other, on the left, at once fierce and melancholy. These had been fixed there by Virgil, and whoever took the right or left passage on entering would meet with good or bad fortune accordingly. Only the choice must not be deliberate, and the ass which stopped the left passage had been happily encountered. Others of the Virgilian marvels are duly recorded in the *Otia*: such as the brazen fly which kept off all living insects, the market where meat remained always fresh, and the vault under the gate of Nola in which serpents were imprisoned; but these are all found elsewhere. Gervase alone tells how, in the days of King Roger of Sicily, a certain English master

(*magister natione Anglus*) obtained from that king the gift of the bones of Virgil, if they were to be found anywhere within the limits of his kingdom. He went to Naples, where the people, who thought his search a hopeless one, offered no opposition to his proceedings. At length, under a tumulus high on the side of a mountain, unmarked by any external sign, the tomb of the great magician was laid bare—not without extreme labour and difficulty. Within it appeared the uncorrupted body :

‘ Before their eyes the wizard lay,
As if he had not been dead a day.
His hoary beard in silver roll’d,—

His left hand held his book of might.

High and majestic was his look,
At which the fellest fiends had shook.’

The book contained the whole art of gramarye, and was carried off by the Englishman, although, without the bones of Virgil, it was only capable of yielding an imperfect service. But the Neapolitans would not allow the body to be removed. It was taken to the Castel di Mare, and shown behind an iron grating. As for the ‘book of might,’ Cardinal Giovanni of Naples obtained some extracts from it, which came to the hands of Gervase. He had tried some of the receipts, and had been very well satisfied with the results.

To trace the growth of these Virgilian stories, and their identity with various Eastern legends and with various histories of the same class scattered throughout the world, is not our present business. This has been thoroughly done in the recent work of Signor Comparetti ;¹ who has shown that so late as the beginning of the present century Virgil was still recognized as a magician—but always as a protector and a benefactor—in the ‘folklore’ of Naples and its vicinity. Other stories than those of Virgil, however, came to the ears of Gervase during his occasional visits to Naples ; and one of these remarkably illustrates that disposition to localize the mysterious regions of the unseen world, and to condense imaginative or allegorical forms into hard fact, which is an especial characteristic of mediæval philosophy. A certain Giovanni, Bishop of Puteoli, who was in the habit of praying zealously for the dead, once heard the lamentations of spirits who were en-

¹ *Vergilio nel Medio Evo*. Per Domenico Comparetti, Professore nella R. Università di Pisa, 1872.

during purgatory within the crater of Vesuvius, and was enabled to release at least one of them. There was a lake of black water on the mountain, from which sometimes came cries and lamentations as of a vast company. To this lake the Bishop one day brought a flask of holy oil, hoping to clear the water, and to see what was hidden in its depths. The oil lighted the whole lake, as though some great torch had been fired under the water. In the blaze the Bishop saw, at the bottom of the lake, enormous gates and bars of brass; but broken and shattered. Then he knew that these were the gates of hell, which our Lord had burst asunder when, according to the ancient phrase, He 'harrowed' the dominion of Satan.

The belief that mountain lakes, and especially those connected with volcanic mountains, are in some manner approaches to a marvellous under-world, sometimes purgatory, sometimes a darker and more hopeless region, and, just as often, the shadowy realm of faëry, presents itself frequently in mediæval folklore, and is by no means altogether extinct. There is many a tarn in Scotland and in Northern England which is still shunned by reason of the strange sights and sounds seen and heard from time to time on its banks. Cranmere, in Dartmoor, adjoining the sources of the Dart and Teign, is held to be the purgatory of unbaptized infants, whose wailing cries are heard in the twilight far over the dreary moorland, in which the morass, once, as its name implies, a lone lake or 'mere,' is set; and many other examples might readily be collected. No modern legend, however, is so striking, perhaps not one is so instructive, as that which Gervase has recorded of a certain lake on the summit of an almost inaccessible mountain in Catalonia, within the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Gerona. The mountain seems to be that now known as the 'Monte de las Cañas.'¹ Deep in the lake is the house of dæmons (*mansio dæmonum*), of vast size and with strongly barred gates. It is invisible to ordinary spectators; but should any one throw a stone into the lake, a terrific storm will immediately break forth, as if the evil spirits resented the insult. Near the foot of the mountain lived a farmer whose name was Pedro de Cabina. Being one day busied in his household, he was disturbed and irritated by the cries of his young daughter, whom at last, in a fit of passion, he consigned 'to all the devils.' She disappeared in a whirlwind. Seven years had passed, when a countryman, passing near the mountain, encountered a human figure running swiftly, and crying in a feeble voice, 'Ah me,

¹ It is called 'Mons Cannarum' by Gervase.

how may I bear this great weight of suffering?' When asked the cause of his complaint, he answered that he had passed many years in the heart of the mountain, having been 'given over' to the dæmons, who made him their beast of burden; and that the daughter of Pedro de Cabina was there in similar condition. But the dæmons, he added, were weary of her, and would restore her, if her father would go to the lake and demand her. He disappeared, and the countryman made his way to the house of Pedro, and told his strange story. Pedro climbed the mountain, and on the barren shore of the lake he adjured the evil spirits to give back his daughter. At once there came a breath of light wind, and his daughter stood before him, tall, dark, withered; a wild figure with wandering eyes, understanding no human speech, and hardly of human appearance. But Pedro brought her home in safety, and then sought counsel from the Bishop of Gerona. We are then told that the Bishop caused her to be set forth in the sight of all, and made her the subject of an eloquent discourse; but it does not appear how far she was restored to the uses and conditions of 'middle earth.' She could tell none of her experiences in the mountain. Her companion, however, who had disclosed her condition to the countryman, was afterwards himself delivered in similar fashion. He had been a grown man when spirited away; and was therefore able to tell of the great palace under the lake, of its jealously guarded portals, and of the halls in which the dæmons met, and in full council unfolded their doings in various parts of the world. The moral is drawn out, at some length by Gervase, but is too obvious to be insisted on here. Of English lakes and waters which had something of the mysterious character of the Catalonian lake, Gervase mentions one only,—Haveringmere, on the Welsh border. If a person while passing over it cried out 'Phrut, Haveringmere, and alle those over the fere,'¹ a great storm arose, and the traveller's boat was drawn into the depths. 'Est satis mirandum,' he adds, 'quod aquæ hujusmodi concipiunt indignationes.' Grimm and other comparative mythologists refer the wonder to lingering memories of those heathen days when lake and river had their indwelling spirits, many of whom were propitiated by an annual human sacrifice. Under this head must probably be classed the story

¹ 'Phrut Haveringmere, and all they that over thee do fare' (travel). Gervase gives the cry in English, of which it is to be supposed that the Emperor Otto, from his long residence in this country, had some knowledge.

of a voice heard for three following days, as though issuing from a deep pool in the Rhone, and exclaiming, 'The hour has passed and the man is not come.' On the third day, about noon, as the cry became louder and fiercer, a youth rushed to the bank of the river, plunged in, and was seen no more.¹ Gervase himself knew a woman who had been carried off by one of the water-drakes (*draci*—spirits so called, whose name is not easily explained) of the Rhone, and had been kept in their service for many years.

The banks of the Rhone and the country about Arles supply Gervase with abundant marvels. His wife's relation, Humbert, Archbishop of Arles, had, when an infant in the cradle, been nearly carried off by earthmen, or by some of those elvish tribes which delight in stealing children. It might have been these, he suggests, or 'those other nocturnal phantoms which infest houses everywhere;' but at any rate the child was taken from its cradle, and plunged into a bath of water, where it was found smiling and well pleased, as if the phantoms had not presented themselves under a very alarming form. The cellar in Gervase's own house was haunted. Sometimes casks, which were known to be full of wine, seemed perfectly empty, and nothing whatever could be drawn from them. An hour later, and all would be as usual. The Marshal of Arles had no doubt at all that evil spirits of some kind were at the bottom of this. Perhaps the experience of Friar Claus among the oaken brotherhood—

'Dwelling for ever under ground,
Silent, contemplative, round and sound'—

might have somewhat enlightened him. Such tricks in the cellar, however, were but a very ordinary display of power. Crossing the mountains into Spain, Gervase declares that, once in seven years, certain nocturnal phantoms, called the 'strikers,' used to pass through the land, and to kill all those who had not in some way guarded themselves from the peril. On one of these occasions, a noble knight of Arragon, as he lay awake in his hall, surrounded by his sleeping followers, saw, by the light which was burning,² two black figures like Moors enter the chamber, each holding a long dart in his hand. They paused; and one said to the other, 'Why dost thou not strike the sleepers?' Then he flung his dart, which struck one of the sleeping soldiers on the breast. Being called on to

¹ *Otia Imp.* dec. iii. c. 85.

² 'Ut potentibus mos est in cameris inter somnos perpetuum lumen habere.'—Dec. iii. c. 83.

strike the rest, he made answer that they had all touched fennel during the past day, and that he had no power over them. So they vanished, and the knight passed the time until the morning in great fear and dread. The stricken soldier awoke out of a deep sleep in extreme pain, and although no mark of a wound could be seen, he died within a few days. It is the custom, adds Gervase, among Spaniards and Catalans, to taste fennel every day, or at least to take it into their hands. It is a sure defence against evil spirits, and two or three sprays of the herb, fastened to the bridle or head-gear of a horse, protect it from all the dangers of the evil eye. Fennel is still among the Basques held to be the 'herb of grace' most dreaded by witch and wizard.

Within the limits of the kingdom of Arles was the Castle of Livron, one tower of which, called the Bishop's tower (it was in the diocese of Valence), was under enchantment, and would allow no warder to 'pace his rounds' along its walls at night. Whoever was placed there at sunset found himself in the morning safe in the valley below. How or when he had been carried down he could not tell, since he neither felt nor saw anything. At another Castle, that of Esperver, in the same diocese, was localized the story of the mysterious dame (in some versions, but not in that told by Gervase, she appears as an ancestress of the Plantagenets), who lived for many years a faithful and honoured wife, but who always left the Castle chapel before the consecration of the Host. On one occasion her husband detained her by force; and, as soon as the priest began to recite the sacred words, she rose from the ground with a shriek, was carried upward through the roof, part of which she took away with her, and was never seen afterwards. Among other marvels was a lofty and inaccessible rock near Grenoble, with grass on the summit, on which were often outspread cloths of snowy whiteness. It seemed to be the fairies' bleaching ground; though what such a display might in truth signify it was difficult to understand.¹ Then we have the story of the 'Pontias' wind (still so called) which fertilizes the valley of Niort. This valley is surrounded by mountains, and was barren and uninhabited, until S. Cæsarius, Archbishop of Arles, desiring to make it fit for the support of human life, went to the shore of the Mediterranean, filled his

¹ 'In summo rupis apice . . . panni super extensi candidissimi visuntur ad exsiccandum expositi, sicut lotrices in usu habent. Istud unde prodeat, aut quid signet, aut quo ministrante compareat, quærere facile fuit, sed invenire difficillimum.'—Dec. iii. c. 42.

glove with the sea-wind, tied it carefully round, and then, taking it to the Niort valley, laid it on a certain rock there. Immediately a hollow opened in the rock, and from it came a fertilizing wind (called Pontias, 'quasi à ponto,' says Gervase, 'as if from the sea, which was its mother'), which has never ceased to blow, which fills the whole valley with health and verdure, but never passes the confines of it. Herr Liebrecht finds 'ohne zweifel' that S. Cæsarius here represents Odin, the lord of the winds. On this grave question we shall only say that, although Wuotan or Odin may perhaps have journeyed southward with the Visigoths, we should hardly expect to find him influencing the folklore of Arles.

The famous 'Aliscamps,'—the 'Elysii campi,' the great cemetery of Arles, to which the dead were brought from many other cities,

'Si come ad Arli ove 'l Rodano stagna,
Fanno i sepolcri tutto 'l loco varo',—¹

were consecrated, according to the legend, like the earliest church at Glastonbury, by our Lord in person, who appeared to Trophimus, the first bishop of Arles, one of the seventy-two disciples, and the patron of the Romanesque Cathedral. Great privileges were bestowed on this cemetery. Those buried in it could be troubled by no diabolical illusions. Their bodies could not be made the sport of wehrwolves or of vampires, 'secundum quod in Evangelio legitur, quosdam dæmones habitare in sepulchris.' The whole field was blessed; and Gervase tells us that it was the custom for those who lived at a distance, higher up the Rhone, to commit their dead in coffins, or in vessels sealed with bitumen (*in doliis bituminatis*) to the river, which never carried them beyond a certain point, from which they were drawn ashore. Money, as an offering for the cemetery, was always deposited in the coffin. On one occasion the men of Beaucaire stopped a coffin in its descent of the river, and stole the money. The coffin remained fixed in the Rhone, and could not be stirred until the wrong had been discovered, and the money restored.

From Arles we pass to England, where the stories assume a graver cast, and are in many cases distinctly tinged with the colours of Teutonic and Scandinavian heathenism. We are carried back to the legends of Northern warriors who dared to confront and to fight with the dead in their 'howes,' or to the struggles of mighty heroes with Thor and with Odin themselves, by the remarkable story of the Knight Osbert, which afforded to Sir Walter Scott the groundwork for 'The Host's Tale' in *Marmion*.

¹ *Inferno*, ix. 112.

The story, as told by Gervase, who says that he heard it at the place where the scene is laid,¹ runs as follows:—A powerful baron, whose name was Osbert Fitzhugh, whilst a guest in the Castle of Cambridge, among other tales told round the winter fire in the hall, heard that an unearthly champion was to be encountered, under certain circumstances, within the ring of an ancient camp which crested the neighbouring downs. Whoever dared to call him forth must go to the camp at midnight, when the moon was shining, and quite alone. Osbert, like Marmion in the poem, was haunted by the story—

‘And fain would he ride forth, to see
The scene of elfin chivalry.’

Accordingly, as soon as the moon was in the right quarter, he rode forth to the camp, fully armed, and attended by a single squire. The camp, on the highest point of the Gog-Magog hills, is still known as Wandlebury or Vandlebury, though we need not accept the explanation of Gervase, that it was an old entrenchment of the Vandals, raised by them ‘whilst they were wasting Britain, and everywhere destroying the Christians.’ Leaving his squire at the foot of the hill, Osbert passed the earthen rings, and entered the camp at the point to which he had been directed. At his cry, ‘Let the knight come forth to fight!’ a figure suddenly rode forward from the further side of the enclosure, on a black horse, with black trappings. The armour which he wore was all black, and his long lance glittered in the moonlight. Osbert rode to meet him. The encounter was fierce and long; but the earthly knight at length got the better of his adversary, unhorsed him, and stretched him on the ground. As was the recognized fashion in such cases of single combat, Osbert seized the bridle of the black knight’s horse and was leading him off as his lawful booty, when the knight, springing from the ground, flung his lance, and wounded Osbert severely in the thigh. Then he disappeared. But the horse remained, and Osbert, thinking little of his wound, carried him off in safety to Cambridge, where he was tied up in the court of the Castle. The entire household pressed eagerly to see him, and all wondered at his gigantic size, his fiery eyes, his great apparent strength, and the strange dark trappings which still hung about him. He remained quiet until cock-crow, when he broke into fury, snapped in an instant the cords which tied him and vanished from the sight of all men. When Osbert re-

Quam ab incolis et indigenis auditui meo subjeci.—Dec. iii. c. 59.

removed his iron greaves, he found that one of them was filled with blood from his wound. It healed; but every year, as the night came round on which he had encountered the mysterious warrior 'upon the brown hill's breast,' it opened and bled afresh. Fearing that his adventure had hardly been a lawful one, Osbert soon afterward passed over seas, fought bravely against the Paynim, and ended his life in the way that most befitted a good and Christian knight.¹

In stories of this class we find horses and dogs, the usual attendants of a knight, occupying various positions in the unseen world. Celestial warriors, like S. James and S. George, appear on snow-white steeds, and scatter all before them. The black, fire-breathing horse of evil spirits is, as we have seen, not always invincible. There are others which belong to a middle region, and partake of the nature of the mischievous elves, or even of the 'wise women,' the fairy ladies of romance. Such was the horse of Gérald de Cabrières, called 'bonus amicus' (*bon ami*), which its master consulted on all occasions, and always with the most fortunate results,—though by what means communication took place between the horse and its master no one could tell. It slept on cushions, and was fed with barley bread from a silver manger. It delighted in music, and danced admirably, as Gervase himself saw, when on one occasion the horse performed in his palace at Arles, before Alphonso, King of Arragon. This marvellous 'friend' was generally supposed to be a fairy (*fadus*); but Gervase is puzzled, and declines to express a positive opinion on the matter.

We have no space to dwell on various English goblins which are mentioned nowhere but in the pages of Gervase:—the *Grants*, who resemble colts of a year old, and whose appearance in a town during the heat of the day, or at sunset, portends fire: or the *Portunes*, a sort of brownies, who enter houses at night, 'bask at the fire their hairy length,' and roast frogs at the embers. The forest of Ingleburn, which reached nearly to the gates of Carlisle, was full of wonders. In the

¹ Besides this story, Sir Walter Scott, in the notes to *Marmion*, gives a very curious extract from a manuscript once belonging to the Benedictines of Durham, containing a somewhat similar narrative. The book or manuscript no longer exists in the Durham Library. The extract was supplied to Sir Walter by Mr. Surtees, of Mainsforth; and, recollecting certain ingenious fabrications by the historian of Durham which deceived even Scott (among them are the Ballads of 'Williemoteswick' and 'Barthram's Dirge'), they may well be forgiven who regard the prose story—it is in very choice chronicler's Latin—with some little suspicion.

heart of the woodland was a valley where, one hour after mid-day, was always to be heard a faint, but sweet, ringing of bells,—whence, says Gervase, the people call that place ‘Laikibrait,’—a word which has not been explained, though we are told that it is ‘in idiomate Gallico.’ In the same wood S. Simeon once appeared to a knight who had invoked him during a great storm. He carried a hunting horn, and telling the knight his name, gave him the horn as a protection for himself and his descendants whenever there should be fear of thunder. The lightning would not flash nor would thunder be heard within the limits reached by the sound. This horn was fairly gained. Not so the drinking horn of the Forest of Dean, carried off by stealth from its fairy owner. In the forest was a low green mound. When a hunter ascended it, and said, ‘I thirst,’ a graceful cupbearer appeared, with a pleasant countenance, who held forth a great horn rich with gold and jewels, ‘sicut apud antiquissimos Anglos usus habet.’ The horn was filled with delicious liquor, which removed all trace of weariness as soon as it had been swallowed. Then the bearer presented a napkin for the drinker’s mouth, and so vanished, asking neither fee nor reward. A knight who had thus been served retained the horn, and the marvel of course came to an end. The horn afterwards came into the hands of Henry the ‘Beauclerc.’ A version of this story is attached to one of the barrows on the Yorkshire wolds, and is told by William of Newburgh; and the Cumberland story of the ‘Luck of Eden Hall’ is nearly the same. The Yorkshire legend is still in force. Mr. Wright heard it told of Willeyhouse, near Wold-Newton, in 1857. It had thus been handed on for at least seven hundred years.

We have by no means exhausted the stores of the *Otia*. Wonders of the Derbyshire Peak might be described, in which was the entrance to fairy-land, or perhaps to the country of the antipodes. At any rate, a swineherd of William Peverell, who followed one of his charge into the famous cavern, came at last to a bright and fertile land in which harvest was in full progress, although he had left winter and deep snow behind him. This may have been the same ‘land of S. Martin,’ from which came the ‘green children’ of William of Newburgh. But enough has perhaps been said to indicate the peculiar interest of Gervase’s very curious book. The marvels recorded in it, and the theories of science which it contains, might very well be paralleled,—some of them may be still in existence, at this day,—in the wilder districts of Spain or Portugal, or even in the more out-of-the-way French

communes. But here we should have to do with the rudest country-folk, without education, and without the smallest knowledge of books. What gives Gervase his especial claim on our attention is the fact that he not only represents the learning of his time, but brings to bear on it an 'acquaintance with men and cities,'—a power of comparing opinions in different parts of the world—very rare at that date even among the greatest churchmen. He writes as a layman, and without any special prejudices. His book enables us to understand with tolerable clearness in what manner the mysteries of the universe presented themselves to the eyes of the most learned, at the beginning of the thirteenth century.

ART. VII.—MEMOIR OF NORMAN MACLEOD, D.D.

Memoir of Norman Macleod, D.D. By his Brother, the Rev. DONALD MACLEOD, M.A. Two Volumes. (London, 1876.)

THIS is a really good book, and, even in its present shape, a popular book; which does honour to its subject, and to its author, in their several degrees. It is, however, so good, that we wish it were made better; and this might be accomplished by a process of excision. Biography, and among other descriptions of it ecclesiastical biography, is in danger of losing its joint titles to durability and permanent interest through the vice of over-length. To record the life of a man in less than two portly volumes is already an invidious exception, and may soon be an insult. But posterity will be, as we are, under limitations of time and strength, and many works may perish in two volumes, which might have lived in one; or, again, in three or four, which might have lived in two.

In the present instance, it is not difficult to point to the heads, under which retrenchments might be rather largely effected. The wit and humour of Dr. Norman Macleod, on which his brother dwells with a natural fondness, appear to us to belong to the category of what is with more strict propriety called fun; and of this it is the characteristic property that it serves to refresh a wearied spirit, and enliven the passing hour, but that it will hardly bear repetition, and is hardly

among the candidates for literary immortality. One or two specimens might fairly be given, as illustrative of the man. In any other view, this class of material is like the froth of an effervescent liquor; it dies in the moment of its birth; it brightens an occasion, it deadens a book. The same is to be said of the multitude of caricature sketches, with which the Doctor playfully adorned his letters to friends. Some of them may have merit as comic drawings, but nine-tenths of them at least ought certainly to be dismissed from a biography. The tracts, again, which appear as reprints in the Appendices, belong to his Works, not to his Life; and we can well believe that there must or may be others of his productions which deserve to be reprinted, for his oratorical power appears to have been peculiar in its freshness and its sympathetic energy. Besides all this, we should desire a great contraction, for a reason presently to be stated, of those parts of the work which belong to the region of religious experience. All the suggestions now made are offered in the hope that a Biography of Macleod, rendered more compact by a free application of the pruning-knife, might hold a permanent place in the ecclesiastical literature of Scotland.

For this is, according to our mind, a really valuable biography, even in its present form. The Anglican position is marked off by various lines of doctrine, discipline, and spirit from that of the Scottish Established Church. But there is much in these volumes with which we ought to cherish an entire and cordial sympathy; and even when differences of opinion and position intervene, there is still material from which we ought to draw some valuable lessons.

The outline of Dr. Macleod's personal career is simple. The son of a Highlander and Scottish minister, whose venerable and noble appearance did not bely his high character, he grew up, with a directness of purpose as complete as if it had been covered by a vow or a special dedication, for and into the ministry of the Scottish Church. She laid on him, in the phrase of Wordsworth, 'the strong hand of her purity.' He did not receive much of the education which is to be had from books, and from the discipline of schools and universities; and the lack or loss of it he frequently and ingenuously laments. He was, however, always gathering the education of society and the world; and in this sense, visiting Germany in early life, he obtained, shall we say he picked up, a varied and rather extensive training. It is plain that, besides other and higher gifts, he was an extremely clever, ready, perceptive and receptive man. None of his experience passed by him

idly like the wind ; all had fruit for him ; all left a mark upon his mind and character. He was first placed in the south-western parish of Loudoun, where he found himself among a population made up of archaic covenanting puritans and modern questioning weavers, under the shadow of the residence of the noble family of Hastings. Here (for a time) he lived in loving and active pastoral relations with both high and low. Indeed, the low for him were high ; for in the very spirit of Saint Augustine, who saw Christ in the poor, Macleod desired (i. 329) 'to see kings and queens shining through their poor raiment.' It was on this arena that, when he commenced his energetic visitations, dispensing freely words of comfort and instruction, he entered the cottage of a veritable Mause Headrigg, who happened to be stone-deaf. The old lady, however, was fully prepared for his onslaught, and proceeded, not to receive, but to administer catechetical discipline. She motioned to him to sit down by her, planted her trumpet in her ear, and concisely gave him her Charge in the words, 'Gang ower the fundamentals.' Here and elsewhere he stood the test ; and he so endeared himself to the parish that it bore, at least at the moment, the shock of the great disruption of 1843, almost without seeming to feel it. But the sudden avoidance, at that crisis, of almost all the prominent posts in the Kirk, created an irresistible necessity for the advancement of the most promising among the residuary ministers. Mr. Macleod was accordingly transferred to Dalkeith ; and again, after no long period, to the great parish of the Barony in Glasgow. He immediately developed, upon this broader stage, the same powers of activity and devoted benevolence and zeal, which had marked his career from the first ; and there seems to have been no department of ministerial duty, private or public, ecclesiastical or social, which escaped his vigilance, or exhausted his powers.

In the later portion of his life, the whole of which did but number sixty years, from 1812 to 1872, calls of a kind wholly extraneous to his parochial work were made upon him, to an extent perhaps without parallel in the history of his Church. He became a leader in the business of the Church. He undertook a missionary tour to America, and afterwards to India. The whole of this subject had a great attraction for his mind, and occupied much of his time. His constant habit of travelling for needful relaxation perhaps promoted his tendency to take a wider *conspectus* of religious interests than is usual in Scotland. Resorting to London, he warmly promoted the scheme of the Evangelical Alliance ; until, after some time,

he was repelled by what he thought narrowness. He freely lent his aid in the pulpits of the Nonconformists. On account probably of his genial and popular qualities, he was sought out by Mr. Strahan, the Publisher, and became the editor of *Good Words*, as well as a frequent contributor to its pages. Amidst all these calls, freely and largely answered, he became, some years before the death of the Prince Consort, a Court preacher and Court favourite. It would appear that to no person in the profession of a clergyman or pastor has her Majesty accorded so large a share, not only of friendship, but of intimate personal confidence, as to Doctor Macleod. Nor does it appear that this favour was purchased by any manner of undue subserviency. His varied employments, avocations in the strictest sense of the word, called him much, and for long periods, away from his vast parish, which must have been left somewhat largely to the care of substitutes. Yet a large part of his heart always remained there, and he probably exercised much active care even from a distance. He was a man who would not have neglected his flock, even if he had dared to do so ; but in Scotland he would be a bold as well as bad man who, especially in the case of such a flock, should hazard the experiment. It seems plain that Dr. Macleod returned the confidence and affection of the people in its fulness to the last. His unwearied labours led, in course of time, to great derangement of health, with much acute pain. Against all this he struggled with an heroic spirit. But on June 16, 1872, he succumbed to a peaceful and happy death ; and he lies buried under a marble cross in the churchyard of Campsie, where his father had once been minister, and around which clustered many of his own happiest memories.

So much for the form of his biography, and for the shell or outer facts of his life. Let us now endeavour to obtain a nearer view both of his personality, and of his relation, in thought and action, to the great movements of the time. For such men are not born every day : and though Scotland has been remarkable for its abundance of zealous and able ministers, Dr. Macleod, who was this, was also much more. He stands out, we think, as having supplied, after Dr. Chalmers, one of the most distinguished names in the history of Presbyterianism.

In some respects, much after Dr. Chalmers ; in others probably before him. He had not, so far as we see, the philosophic faculty of Chalmers, nor his intensity, nor his gorgeous gift of eloquence, nor his commanding passion, nor his absolute simplicity, nor his profound, and, to others, sometimes embar-

raising humility. Chalmers, whose memory, at a period more than forty years back, is still fresh in the mind of the writer of these pages, was, indeed, a man greatly lifted out of the region of mere flesh and blood. He may be compared with those figures who, in Church history or legend, are represented as risen into the air under the influence of religious emotion. Macleod, on the other hand, had more shrewdness, more knowledge of the world, and far greater elasticity and variety of mind. Chalmers was rather a man of one idea, at least one idea at a time; Macleod receptive on all hands and in all ways. Chalmers had a certain clumsiness, as of physical, so of mental gait; Macleod was brisk, ready, mobile. Both were men devoted to God; eminently able, earnest, energetic; with great gifts of oratory, and large organizing power. A Church that had them not may well envy them to a Church that had them. Nor do they stand alone. The Presbyterianism of Scotland, which has done but little for literature or for theology, has, notwithstanding, been adorned, during the last fifty years by the names of many remarkable persons, men of high and pure character: with great gifts of government and construction, like Candlish; of winning and moving oratory like Guthrie; and only a notable fertility in the production of such men could have enabled the National Establishment of that small country to endure the fearful drain, which has been brought upon it, since its establishment at the Revolution, by repeated catastrophes within its borders.

And it is with reference to these particular departments of excellence that we would venture earnestly to commend the life of Macleod to the consideration of the English clergy; who, trained and fed under a more catholic system, should never be content to allow any gift either to escape them, or to remain with them only in an imperfect development. As respects government, the Presbyterian communions have derived very great benefit, in some important respects, from their regular and elaborate internal organisation. It has given them the advantages which in the civil order belong to local self-government and representative institutions: orderly habits of mind, respect for adversaries, and some of the elements of a judicial temper; the development of a genuine individuality, together with the discouragement of mere arbitrary will and of all eccentric tendency; the sense of a common life; the disposition energetically to defend it; the love of law combined with the love of freedom; and, last not least, the habit of using the faculty of speech with a direct and immediate view to persuasion. We do not doubt but that similar advantages

of mental and practical habit will be derived by our own clergy from that revival of ecclesiastical organization, in which this generation of bishops, clergy, and churchmen has made laudable and considerable progress. But we have yet much ground to cover: these things are not done in a day. Yet more, perhaps, have we to learn from that more practical habit of preaching, which prevails in the higher Scottish pulpits. We do not mean practical in the sense in which it is distinguished from the devotional, but in this broader sense, that the sermon is delivered with the living intention and determination to act upon the mind of the hearer, and to carry him along with the movement of the preacher's mind. Many an English clergyman will think that, if he has embodied in his sermon a piece of good divinity, the deed is done, the end of preaching is attained. But the business of a sermon is to move as well as teach, and if he teaches only without moving, may it not almost be said that he sows by the wayside? It is often said, censoriously, to be a great advantage possessed by the clergy, that no one can answer them. To a bad clergyman this may be an advantage, in respect that it allows him to remain bad, and to grow worse with impunity. But to the true preacher or speaker it surely is far otherwise. It relaxes that healthy tension, that bracing sense of responsibility, under which we must habituate ourselves to act, if we are ever to do anything that is worth the doing. It is no advantage, but rather a temptation and a snare.

The hint conveyed in these remarks does not principally touch the question that may be raised as to the relative merits of written and unwritten sermons. The sermons of Dr. Macleod were, it appears, to a great extent, written but not read. The sermons of Dr. Chalmers were certainly in some cases, if not in all, both written and read. But all Scotch ministers of any note who read their sermons take, or used to take, good care to read as if reading not. To a great extent, Scottish sermons were delivered without book, having been committed to memory. When notes were used, they were sometimes, as much as might be, concealed on a small shelf within the pulpit, for the people had a prejudice, almost a superstition, against 'the papers,' and could not reconcile them with the action of the Holy Ghost in the preaching of the Gospel. Reading, pure and simple, was very rare. Apart from the question of the merit of this or that form in the abstract, there was a traditional and almost universal idea of preaching as a kind of spiritual wrestling with a congregation; and the better professors of the art entered into it as athletes, and strove habitually and throughout

to get a good 'grip' of the hearer, as truly and as much as a Cumbrian wrestler struggles, with persistent and varied movement, to get a good grip of his antagonist. To give effect to this idea, in preaching or in other speaking, the hearers must be regarded in some sense as one. All fear of the individual must be discarded. Respect for the body may be maintained, and may be exhibited by pleading, by expostulating, by beseeching; but always with a reserve and underthought of authority, of a title to exhort, rebuke, convince. It is really the constitution of a direct and intimate personal relation, for the moment, between preacher and hearers, which lies at the root of the matter; such a relation as establishes itself spontaneously between two persons, who are engaged in an earnest practical conversation to decide whether some given thing shall or shall not be done; and for this reason it is that we suggest that the mass of living humanity gathered in a congregation should perhaps be dealt with as one, and that, unless in exceptional junctures, the preacher might find a pathway of power, as the singer, the instrumentalist, or the actor does, in treating a crowd as an unity. What has been said is said tentatively, and so to speak provocatively, not to offer the solution of a great problem, but at any rate to set others upon solving it. For a great problem it is: and a solution is required. The problem is how, in the face of the press, the tribune, the exchange, the club, the multiplied solicitations of modern life, to awaken in full the dormant powers of the pulpit, which, though it has lost its exclusive privileges, is as able as it ever was manfully to compete for, and to share in, the command of the human spirit, and of the life it rules. The Church cannot, indeed, do what she will, make her twenty thousand ministers produce good sermons at the rate of two millions a year. She knows very well that to be good preachers without book, they must be good theologians; and that with all the holy and watchful care they are bound to exercise in all the parts of divine service, it is far more difficult for them, than for those who have no liturgy, to collect and concentrate themselves with full power upon the act of preaching. If the priests have the highest office to discharge, they must be content and glad to face the greatest difficulties: and some aid in the task, we are confident, they may obtain from a careful study of the methods pursued in the Italian and in other foreign pulpits; or more generally, and for all who have not the Continent within reach, by noticing and digesting the practice in our own country of non-Anglican, and certainly not least of Scottish Presbyterian pulpits.

On the faculty and habit of government, as they are cherished in the same quarter, we have already said as much as our limited space permits ; and the volumes before us, though they do not elaborately treat the points we have been considering, are full of passages which illustrate them : the spontaneous, inartificial thoughts of the earnest actor when he was off the stage.

We pass to what is yet more closely personal to Dr. Macleod. Scottish Presbyterianism, as a whole, has been, in history, singularly isolated from the thought and movement of the rest of the Christian world. It was, at any rate until lately, a system eminently stark ; and the framework of theological thought, even down to forty years ago, had undergone little or no perceptible change since the days of Andrew Melvill. 'Calvinism' in Scotland did not mean the profession of a school or party ; it meant Christianity, meant it without doubt or question ; and this too at a time when, to say nothing of Germany, the Calvinists of Switzerland, of Holland, and of France had for the most part passed into rationalism or something more. In the youth of Dr. Macleod himself (vol. ii. 71), we find one of the latest indications of this state of things, where he reckons on the need and advantage of 'a sound Calvinistic theology.' But he lived on ; and he did not shut his ears to the strokes of the battering-ram on the walls of the house ; they quivered all around him ; and in his riper life, this man, in no small degree a typical man for intelligent Scotland, honestly admits that he is out of harmony with the Confession of Faith concocted by the Westminster Assembly. So early, indeed, as in 1842, he writes to a dear friend (i. 166): 'There are many points in theology, upon which I somehow think you are destined like myself to undergo a change.' Indeed he was sorely put about ; and perhaps it was only the elasticity and buoyancy of his cheerful spirit, which kept the conflicting elements in his mind from coming to some sharp crisis. The Disruption occurred when he was not yet thirty-one. He refused to join the high-hearted band who, in May of that year, marching out of the Hall of the General Assembly, marched by that act out of kirk and school, glebe and teind, house and home ; and without doubt, in remaining where he was, he acted solely as they did, on a sense of duty. But the iron necessity of the position compelled him to strain to its topmost bent the argument in favour of fixed Confessions of faith. For he was an 'Establishmentarian' from top to toe. He did not indeed stoop to Erastianism. The Church and the State, independent societies, had, in his view, made a

treaty upon terms, and these terms were expressed in Confessions. According to him, the capital offence of the Free Kirk lay in its declining to observe that, as its Confession had become law, it must be interpreted like other laws, and by the same authority. So in his view the Veto Act of 1834, and the claim of spiritual independence, were capital offences, for they were breaches of faith, repudiations of a solemn treaty with the State. Of this theory he was a leading champion; and he defended it, as his manner was, with all his heart, and mind, and soul, and strength. Yet on the very question of Subscription, it soon appears that he came into undeniable conflict with himself. In ii. 291, he desires to get free from it; but in ii. 300, he does not see how the Church, or any section of it, 'can exist without a creed, expressed or administered in some form or other.' There could not be a more cruel irony of fate than that the man, who had quite conscientiously assailed the Free Kirk for dissolving the alliance, should himself enthusiastically maintain it to the end along with the whole doctrine of State interpretation, and yet should take to interpreting the Confession of Faith for himself, and this is not in points few and doubtful, but with a latitude and boldness which amounts to a 'root-and-branch' reformation of his 'sound Calvinistic theology.' The Confession taught most unequivocally, and perhaps crudely, the doctrine of the eternal punishment of the lost: he seems to have sapped its foundation (ii. 345, 382). The Confession taught the redemption of a few; he extended it to all, and he held (ii. 117-8) that Christ's sufferings were not penal. The Confession disposed of men by irrespective decrees; he judged them by their works. The Confession set up the strictest Sabbatarianism; he demolished it. A tenth part of the deviations and divergences of Dr. Macleod, not from Christianity, but from Calvinism, would have sufficed to convict an unfortunate 'Ritualist' or 'Puseyite' of treason and dishonesty; but he died minister of the Barony, honoured by the Court, popular in society, respected by every class (for we have the testimony of a working man, 'a' body likes the Doctor' (vol. ii. 58), and what is more, in possession, by unequivocal and official marks, of the full confidence of his Church.

He had indeed, at particular times, been in bad odour; and perhaps had narrow escapes from his alarmed co-religionists. At one period, during the Sabbath controversy, he writes (ii. 190):—'I felt at first so utterly cut off from every Christian brother, that had a chimney-sweep given me his sooty hand, and smiled upon me with his black face, I would

have welcomed his salute, and blessed him.' But partly they loved him, partly they could not afford to part with him. Partly too, perhaps, he atoned for his many and bold offences by an outspoken hatred of 'Puseyism.' He had a kindly feeling towards the English Church; but Puseyism, it seems, he could not abide. Such a hatred as this covers, and that in many quarters, a multitude of sins. His sympathetic nature led him (ii. 267) to communicate in the Free Church, but he shows much displeasure, and even some irritation, against it as 'Presbyterian Puseyism' (i. 260); and again (ii. 53), 'Laud and the Covenanters were just the same men on different sides, except that what one called Church the other called Kirk.'

A good deal, not of the man, but of what is of lower quality in the man, comes out in 1839 (i. 136): 'I have a horror for Puseyism. I fear it is of more danger to religion than voluntarism.'

He had but an imperfect appreciation, says Principal Shairp (i. 144), of Newman's sermons. Again, it seems that the venom of the system penetrated even within the precinct of the Evangelical Alliance. Attending its conference in Paris (ii. 46), he had to make this entry: 'Heard a Puseyite sermon; horrid trash.'

But, all this notwithstanding, we find passages uttered or written by him which appear to convict him of nothing less than flat Puseyism. Many a man has been (morally) hanged, drawn, and quartered for less of it. He quotes in favour of an education beyond the grave the interpretation placed by 'the early Church' on the preaching 'to the spirits that are in prison' (ii. 343). He thought it right and not wrong to utter to God a devout aspiration for the peace and rest of a departed spirit (ii. 113). Nay, he even wrote (i. 286), 'The living Church is more than the dead Bible, for it is the Bible and something more.' And he complained (ii. 128), 'we ignore sixteen centuries almost.'

Apart from cavil, and even from careful scrutiny of expressions, the truth seems to be that the mind of Dr. Macleod was in a high and true sense catholic. But he had not the foundation of a solid training on which to rear his theology; and consequently he had not full possession of the grounds of dogma; while the particular scheme of it, which had been taught him in his youth, wholly failed to give satisfaction to his mind. Accordingly he lay open, within certain limits, to the attacks and wiles of the rationalising spirit, and to a certain extent tampered with its commonplaces. But he

could reject them upon occasion; he never was in his heart a rationalist, either as to the practical development of religion, or even as to the dogmatic principle. In proof of this proposition, let us take the following emphatic passage from his journal in 1870 (ii. 371):—

‘I have been astounded by a most influential member of the Church saying to me: “What is it to me whether Christ worked miracles, or rose from the dead? We have got the right idea of God through Him. It is enough; *that* can never perish!” And this truth is like a flower, which has grown from a dunghill of lies and myths! Good Lord, deliver me from such conclusions! If the battle has come, let it: but before God I will fight it with those only, be they few or many, who believe in a risen, living Saviour. This revelation of the influence of surface criticism has thrown me back immensely upon all who hold fast by an objective revelation.’

Independently of the general direction of his mind, there was in him a certain fluctuation, not of piety, but of opinion, which was immediately due to his lively emotional nature, and his large and energetic sympathies. With every form of thought capable of wearing (for him) a favourable aspect he closed according to that aspect. Hence an intellectual, not a moral, inconstancy: and estimates almost contradictory, within brief periods, of the state and prospects of his Church, and of its rivals. Even voluntarism, which once stood next to Puseyism in the scale of deadly sins, must have worn off some of its hateful features in his view; for in 1871 he says (ii. 350), ‘I do not fear Disestablishment.’

The consequence of all this is that we are to seek in the life and words of Macleod rather for moral, religious, and practical, than for intellectual and scientific lessons. Though his bark was driven out to sea over the abysses of speculation, he wanted either the powers, or the apparatus, to sound them. His intellect availed to raise questions, not to answer them; and his large heart and fine character neutralised the dangers which to a man of lower turn, and less of true heavenward bent, might have been very formidable.

He carried on from first to last, in his journals, the work of religious introspection. Repeated so often, it almost offers to readers the appearance of routine; and on this account perhaps many of the passages might have been spared, for they are in general elementary as to their character and range. They do not resemble the systematic work of those who go on digging, deeper and deeper, by a continuous process, into the profound mysteries of the human heart. The imperious and violent demands of external duty prevented him from

achieving what, in a more tranquil sphere, he might probably have accomplished with a more exercised and collected spirit. He was well aware, too, of his own difficulties of temperament in this respect, and has recorded them (ii. 76): 'The outer world of persons and things I always relished so intensely, that I required an extra effort to keep to quiet reading and prayer.' But they did not preclude him from recording with great force and freshness abundant manifestations of an ingenuous mind, and a devoted self-renouncing heart. For example (ii. 317), in 1870:—

'God knows me better than I know myself. He knows my gifts and powers, my feelings and my weaknesses, what I can do and not do. So I desire to be led, and not to lead; to follow Him; and I am quite sure that He has thus enabled me to do a great deal more in ways which seem to me almost a waste of life, in advancing His kingdom, than I could have done in any other way: I am sure of that. Intellectually I am weak. In scholarship nothing. In a thousand things a baby. He knows this: and so He has led me, and greatly blessed me, who am nobody, to be of some use to my Church and fellow-men. How kind, how good, how compassionate, art thou, O God!

'Oh, my Father, keep me humble. Help me to have respect towards my fellow-men, to recognize their several gifts as from Thee. Deliver me from the diabolical sins of malice, envy, or jealousy, and give me hearty joy in my brother's good, in his work, in his gifts and talents: and may I be truly glad in his superiority to myself, if Thou art glorified. Root out all weak vanity, all devilish pride, all that is abhorrent to the mind of Christ. God, hear my prayer. Grant me the wondrous joy of humility, which is seeing Thee as all in all.'

Again, he was too good and true a man to test religion by abundance of words. One of the fond and almost idolizing attachments of his life (and it was distinguished for affectionate friendships) was to Campbell of Row, who was deposed, under the stern prescriptions of the Westminster Confession, for teaching what is termed universal redemption. Macleod preached his funeral sermon; and thus finely comments on his deathbed: 'He spoke not much of religion when dying. His silent death was, like his life, an Amen to God's will.'

In most points, Macleod's deviations from the Westminster Confession were approximations to the belief of the Church of England. Most men will regard with an indiscriminating satisfaction the relinquishment of grim and dreary tenets, which, when taken in their rigour, seem to impair the grand moral base of the Divine character. The rather judaical Sabbatarianism of Scotland, like the Calvinistic formulæ, was

simply a form of Protestant tradition, founded neither in the word of God nor in the general consent of Christendom. Still, we must plead guilty to regarding with very mixed emotions the crumbling away of these conventional theologies. It was plain that such an end must come ; but the question is, are they ready for it, and then, what is to come next ? When a great void was made in the religious system of Scotland by utterly sweeping away the Divine office of the Church, the gap was filled up by broader as well as more rigid conceptions of the corporeal perfection (so to speak) and absolute authority of the Scriptures of the Old as well as the New Testament. The judaizing tendency, but too evident in the Covenanters and Puritans, had at least this advantage, that they fell back upon a code ; and that they were enabled to give to their religious system a completeness and detail, which had in other days been sought in the historical developments of the Christian society. We have some fear lest it should be found that when the wood, hay, straw, and stubble are swept away, they may be found to have departed without leaving any firmer or other substitute behind them. For any system, civil or religious, to come to a breach with its traditions is a great, even though not always the greatest calamity ; and, remembering what in other countries has become of Calvinism after once it has put to sea, we feel some anxiety to know what will be its fate in Scotland, and who will be its eventual heirs.

Be this as it may, Dr. Macleod had always the courage of his opinions ; and he was prepared to face the contingencies of the future by frankly casting the Church Establishment of Scotland upon the tide of popular sentiment. But without making the smallest deduction from the respect and admiration due to his memory, we doubt whether the course upon which he helped to embark that body was a safe one. On this subject he was without doubt eminently consistent. In 1843 he foretold that patronage must be given up to save the Church ; and in 1871 he gave his weighty countenance to the movement, which terminated in the Act of 1874 for its abolition. But perhaps he was more consistent, than wise. The Established Church of Scotland is in a decided minority of the population. It claims 42 per cent., a little over two-fifths of the whole ; it is allowed to have 36 per cent., somewhat beyond one-third. Let us take it nearly at its own estimate, and suppose it has a full two-fifths. Is it, then, so easy to justify in argument the position of an establishment of religion for a minority of the population, as to make it prudent for such a body to assume against a clear nonconforming majority

what has to them the aspect of an aggressive attitude? In the view of that majority, the Patronage Act of 1874, which gave the appointment of established ministers to the people of their communion, was an attempt to bid and buy back piecemeal within the walls those who had been ejected wholesale. It was resented accordingly; and, by means of that Act, the controversy of disestablishment, which had been almost wholly asleep beyond the Tweed, has been roused to an activity, and forced into a prominence, which may make it the leading Scottish question at the next general election, and which is not without possible moment or meaning, to a limited extent, even for England. Of Scottish Episcopalianism we shall here say nothing, except that it is, in nearly every diocese, harmonious and moderately progressive; and that Dr. Macleod regarded it (ii. 84) as a somewhat formidable antagonist. He even thought (i. 153) that 'an episcopal era is near for Scotland's ecclesiastical history;' and reckoned the adoption of several among its principles and usages as a main part (ii. 322) of the apparatus necessary in order to enable the Kirk to grapple successfully with its future. In ecclesiastical policy we cannot resist the impression that he was, without knowing it, somewhat of a Rupert. But in estimating a life and character, the question rarely turns on the correctness of this or that opinion held. Least of all could it so turn in the case of Macleod. For there are few men in whom emotion more conspicuously towered above mere opinion, and conduct above both. Brave and tender, manful and simple, profoundly susceptible of enjoyment, but never preferring it to duty; overflowing with love, yet always chivalrous for truth; full of power, full of labour, full of honour, he has died, and has bequeathed to us for a study, which we hope will reach far beyond the bounds of his communion and denomination, the portrait of a great orator and pastor, and a true and noble-hearted man.

ART. VIII.—THE VATICAN COUNCIL.

1. *Eight Months at Rome during the Vatican Council. Impressions of a Contemporary.* By POMPONIO LETO. Translated from the Original. (London: John Murray, 1876.)
2. *Letters from Rome on the Council.* By QUIRINUS. Authorised Translation. (Rivingtons, 1870.)
3. *Tagebuch während des Vaticanischen Concils geführt von Dr. J. FRIEDRICH.* (Nördlingen, 1871.)
4. *Documenta ad Illustrandum Concilium Vaticanum anni 1870.* Gesammelt und herausgegeben von Dr. J. FRIEDRICH. (Nördlingen, 1871.)
- 5 *The Vatican Council and its Definitions: A Pastoral Letter.* By HENRY EDWARD, Archbishop of Westminster. (London: Longmans, 1870.)

THE five works named at the head of this article have a close relation to one another, though it is with the first only, by Pomponio Leto, that we are immediately concerned here. But we have two reasons for thus placing them in juxtaposition. In the first place, the three diaries, by Pomponio Leto, Quirinus, and Friedrich—to which the collection of official documents edited by the latter form a supplement—contain the only detailed and authentic records as yet published of the proceedings of the Vatican Council; and in the next place, as might be expected under the circumstances, they most remarkably confirm each other on every point,—the two first especially, which are the fullest. All three emanate from writers who had the best possible opportunities of obtaining accurate information, either as being themselves present in the Council, or being in habitual contact with those who were present. Dr. Friedrich was theologian to Cardinal Hohenlohe, under whose guidance he wrote. It was well understood in Rome at the time that all the facts in the *Letters of Quirinus* were supplied by a personage in close attendance on another distinguished prelate, and acting under his authority. The statements of Pomponio Leto rest, if possible, on still more direct authority. The English translator informs us that it is 'the work of a sincere and liberal Roman Catholic,' who 'had peculiar means and opportunities

of *closely observing* the incidents which he depicts.' The editors of the original edition, published at Rome two years and a half ago, say still more explicitly that 'this manuscript, containing a sort of chronicle of the Vatican Council,' was placed in their hands; adding that it 'is beyond doubt that the author *was eye-witness of all he relates*, as the book itself proves;' ¹ and the author, in his introduction, claims for it 'a certain stamp of reality,' as containing 'a simple chronicle' of what he had either personally witnessed and remembered, or had received on equivalent authority. When we put together these various notices, it is clear that part at least of the volume must have been actually written, and the whole information supplied by a member of the Council. And this is confirmed by several incidental touches occurring here and there, which betray unmistakably the hand of an eye-witness. Thus, for instance, we read in one place of the debate being 'much hotter than appears from the written observations;' and elsewhere, of the 'sarcastic smiles' of the Opposition; and again, of 'the dissentient Cardinals drawing their scarlet hats down over their eyes.' Nor is there any shadow of doubt as to the real source of the information.

Pomponio Leto, as we will for convenience' sake call the book, was edited by the Marchese Vitelleschi, and passes as his work, but the language of the preface implies a plural authorship, and in Italy it is well understood to represent the views of his brother, the late Cardinal Vitelleschi, who was present in the Council as Bishop of Osimo, and is known to have kept a journal of the proceedings, which is undoubtedly the 'chronicle' of which the editors speak. A formal denial of his authorship has indeed been obtained from Rome by Cardinal Manning, who has abundant reasons, as will appear in the sequel, for wishing to discredit the authority of the record, but the denial can only be accepted in a conventional and, so to speak, parliamentary sense. Even the *Tablet*, a leading organ of English Ultramontanism, was obliged to admit, in a studiously cautious and almost courteous review of the book, that 'the Marquis Vitelleschi, living under the same roof, may have, *and doubtless did*, keep up a constant communication of ideas with his brother,' though it denied that the Cardinal took any part 'in the preparation of the work.'²

¹ The original is much stronger: 'Che il libro sia fatto da un contemporaneo non può essere altrimenti; che questi sia anche stato presente a tutti quelli avvenimenti, non ve ne ha dubbio; ogni cosa nel libro lo dice, e vi si sente da capo a fondo.'

² *Tablet*, May 6, 1876.

That he should leave it to the Marquis to prepare the sheets for the press was only natural, partly in order that a denial might be given to any allegation of his authorship ; but that it conveys his ideas, and to a great extent his actual words, and that the minute information about matters in Council comes direct from him, is morally certain. It was necessary to begin by insisting on this point, in order to make it quite clear that *Pomponio Leto* supplies a third link of the most binding force in that threefold *catena* of evidence to which Quirinus and Friedrich had already contributed their accordant testimony.

We have not yet explained why Archbishop (now Cardinal) Manning's Pastoral on the Council has been added to the list of works named at the head of this paper. It is because the author would have us believe that the account of the proceedings which has just received afresh so striking a confirmation, is a series of impudent and baseless falsehoods, and he has devoted the first thirty or forty pages of his Pastoral to establishing a counter statement, which is, on almost every single point, at direct issue with *Pomponio* ; and the reader will bear in mind that in quoting *Pomponio*, we are appealing to the testimony, if not to the actual words, of Cardinal Vitelleschi. Cardinal Manning must be considered, alike from position and ability, the leading representative, at least in this country, of the Ultramontane view of the Vatican Council and its dogmas, the promulgation of which—as *Pomponio* is careful again and again to insist—he was the chief instrument in procuring. It is, therefore, important to inquire how far his version of what he calls 'the history of the Council' is borne out by the testimony of equally competent witnesses, and especially by the last witness who has come forward to give evidence in the person of Cardinal Vitelleschi. And it will be worth while, with this view, to compare the historical portion of his Pastoral with the statements of *Pomponio*.

It opens with a scornful attack on the absurd misrepresentations of the English newspapers, which is thus summed up : ' Read carefully the correspondence from Rome published in England ; believe the reverse, and you will not be far from the truth.' No doubt the foreign correspondents of our newspapers are apt to be very much at sea on religious and ecclesiastical questions, and a great deal of unreliable, and sometimes nonsensical, matter appeared in the *Times* and other journals during the Vatican Council, but even to this there were exceptions. The *Standard* was better informed than the *Times* ; the *Times* had, during the earlier period of the Council,

an occasional correspondent, who also wrote letters for the *Spectator*, whose information was thoroughly trustworthy, as far as it went; the articles which appeared week by week in the *Saturday Review*, and were mainly based on the letters in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, afterwards collected under the name of *Quirinus*, contained far the best contemporary record of the Council in this country, and were very seldom inaccurate. But apart from this reservation, whose fault was it that English newspaper correspondents were so ill-informed? No one knows better than Cardinal Manning that one of the first orders issued before the opening of the Council was a strict prohibition to all concerned, whether the Fathers, or their theologians, officials, &c., 'to divulge or manifest to any outside the Council the decrees or other matters to be examined, or the discussions or opinions of any that are present,'¹ and after the first week or two the *Osservatore Romano* was forbidden even to publish the names of the speakers.² It is true, indeed, that this order was very generally disregarded by the Bishops, who were in the habit of freely discussing the events of the day every evening with their secretaries, and often with other friends, so that no one who was in a position to ask for accurate information had any difficulty in obtaining it; and in fact what took place in Council was perfectly well known from day to day to those really interested in the matter. But Protestants, and particularly English Protestants, were less likely than others to have access to reliable sources of information, nor would newspaper correspondents form any exception; not to add—what was notorious in Rome at the time—that *canards* were frequently got up and circulated by the Ultramontane party for the express purpose of misleading them. The ministers of other States, whether Catholic or Protestant, were supplied daily with reports by their own Bishops, and no one was more completely *au courant* with all that went on, or took a more intelligent interest in it, than Count Arnim, who then represented Prussia.

From the newspapers Cardinal Manning proceeds to a violent attack on 'the infamous matter' of *Fanus* and *Quirinus*, and in support of the latter indictment he quotes Bishop Ketteler, who says that 'every letter contains gross perversions and untruths,' that the whole work is 'an uninterrupted series of falsehoods,' and that his own name is never mentioned 'without the appendage of a falsehood.' The two angry prelates might have remembered that it is possible to

¹ *Pomponio Leto*, p. 23. An oath to this effect was imposed on all the officials present, but not on the Bishops.

² *Ib.* p. 54.

'protest too much.' If the *Letters* of Quirinus are a 'series of falsehoods,' the same censure must be passed on *Pomponio Leto* for endorsing all their most controverted statements. We do not know whether Bishop Ketteler now disavows his responsibility for the *Quæstio*, a vigorous treatise against infallibilism which stands first among Friedrich's *Documenta*, but it is well known to have been composed by Father de Buck, the Bollandist, under his auspices, and circulated by him during the Council. We do know that the late Bishop of Montpellier published what was meant to be taken as a denial of the authorship of two very strong letters on the same side, which had appeared in some of the French newspapers, and one of them in the *Times* also, although the manuscript in his own writing is still extant and in the hands of the Abbé Michaud. These subsequent denials have to be taken much in the sense of the retractation of the Irish M.P. who was required to apologize for calling a brother Member a liar: —'I said it, it's true, and I'm sorry for it.' The Cardinal next falls foul of the newspaper reports of an uproar in the Council Hall, on occasion of the speeches of Strossmayer and Schwarzenberg, and of the presiding Legates losing their temper; and he returns to the subject again in a later passage of the Pastoral, to insist that no scenes of violence or disorder ever took place; that 'for gravity, dignity, calmness, self-respect, mutual forbearance, courtesy, and self-control,' no assembly ever equalled the Vatican Council, nor 'was there ever a greater unanimity.' If so, certainly hardly a letter of *Quirinus* or a chapter of *Pomponio* can be trusted. But as to the details stigmatized as 'calumnious falsehoods,' let us hear the testimony of the latter. First, as to the speeches of Schwarzenberg and Strossmayer:

'The intolerance of the majority was further provoked by some words in which, while discussing the second subject, justice was rendered to certain Protestants by name; and here a second outbreak occurred, more violent than any which had yet taken place. Schwarzenberg, whose speech had been the first occasion of the storm, was ordered to desist by the Legate, De Angelis; and on attempting to begin again, met with so much interruption by cries of "Sileat" from the majority, that he was obliged to omit some of his discourse, and bring it to an abrupt conclusion. Strossmayer, who caused the second tempest, was three times ordered to stop by the Legate, Capalti, the last time in a way anything but courteous. He replied that he was tired of being thus called to order, and thwarted on every point; that such proceedings were incompatible with freedom of debate, and that he protested against them. At this a storm broke forth, the Fathers left their seats and crowded round

the tribune ; threats and menaces of every sort—"e suon di man con elle ;" cries of "Viva Pio IX.!" "Vivan i Cardinali Legati!" were heard in different accents in the no longer venerable assembly. One Cardinal cried, "You protest against us, we protest against you ;" and other utterances equally serious and serene proceeded from every part of the hall ; in fact, the uproar was so formidable, that some confusion ensued outside, in the church itself. Certain partisans of Infallibility, on hearing the disturbance, imagined that it signified the spontaneous passing of that dogma by acclamation, as had been predicted, and were ready to add their shouts of triumph on the happy event ; others, of a contrary opinion, prepared to mock at these rejoicings ; and St. Peter's was very nearly the scene of a tumult. The ubiquitous gendarme, however, who is the last argument in every discussion, and the strongest and most effective instrument of every sort of Infallibility, here interfered, ordered off the crowd—who were pressing eagerly round the door of the Council Hall, and met with no resistance save from the servants of some of the Bishops, who, on hearing the cries from within, feared that their masters were threatened by some dangers in the tumultuous assembly, and tried to enter the hall to assist them.¹

This was in March. In June another great uproar took place, when the Bishop of Savannah was speaking, and on this occasion too, the 'Presidents, Capalti and DeAngelis, quite lost their temper, and a scene of anger and excitement ensued very similar to that which occurred in March.'² Later in the same month, when Cardinal Guidi astonished his colleagues by speaking against the proposed dogma, 'the infallibilist Fathers turned to him with violent gestures, and marks of extreme displeasure.'³ Cardinal Manning must have rather a treacherous memory. He is not more happy in his next attack, on the veracity of some English journal for stating that the parish priests of Rome had declined to petition in favour of infallibility, and refusing to report, when called upon to do so, that they had unanimously petitioned for it in the most explicit form. Our author's account of the matter is very different. At a parochial meeting of the Roman clergy in March, it had been decided not to petition in favour of the dogma. What followed shall be told in the words of *Pomponio*, as the passage has an importance of its own independently of the particular fact recorded :—

'By some chance, the newspapers got hold of this incident, which at once acquired weight from the fact that, as the parish priests are the best and most active among the clergy of Rome, the special diocese of the Pope, it was now apparent to the world that they were, if not actually adverse, but little inclined to Infallibility. The

¹ *Pomponio Leto*, pp. 128-9.² *Ib.* p. 168.³ *Ib.* p. 189.

authorities immediately intervened with all the force which, in conformity with ecclesiastical law, they could exercise upon those subject to them ; they intimated to the priests that they must repair the scandal, and *strongly advised* that an address should be framed. The parochial clergy accordingly drew up a form, which, though apparently moderate, was to be understood by the public, who do not look narrowly into such matters, as favourable to Infallibility. Every one in Rome is acquainted with the history of that address. Some of the clergy evidently did violence to their own convictions ; for as Infallibility was not yet declared, they were by no means bound to accept it from the duty of submission, but according to certain Ultramontane notions of discipline, authority has a conscience for all. This substitution of the dictates of an external authority for those of the individual conscience in all cases, is one of the chief causes of the evils that disturb Catholicism.¹

On one point Cardinal Manning maintains an exceptional reserve, which is certainly discreet. The various stories about the partial and overbearing conduct of the Pope are too monstrous, and as he implies, blasphemous to require examination, and accordingly of this he 'shall say nothing.' He is wise. But *Pomponio*, in common with *Quirinus* and other chroniclers of the facts, says a good deal—more indeed than we have room to quote ; we will give a few specimens. The Chaldean Patriarch, an aged and venerable man, was unwilling to surrender at Papal bidding the traditional laws and privileges of his Church. The Pope, therefore, summoned him to a private audience, in presence only of Monsignor Valerga, a violent Ultramontane, who acted as interpreter, and ordered him either to submit or resign his See then and there ; he chose the second alternative. Soon afterwards his Holiness ordered the arrest of the Vicar-General of the Armenian Archbishop of Diarbekir, who had to appeal for protection to the Turkish Minister. It is not very wonderful, perhaps, that the larger portion of the Eastern Uniates have separated from Rome since the Council. In March, after the opposition speech of Cardinal Schwarzenberg already referred to, the Pope took occasion, in distributing some vestments to the Missionary Bishops (who are completely subject to the Curia) to throw out very broad hints of the line to be taken in Council, closing his address with 'Be united with me, and not with Revolution,' which last term, as *Pomponio* explains, was a synonym for the Opposition. In June, during the festival of Corpus Christi, the Sacred College presented, according to custom, an address of congratulation

¹ *Pomponio Leto*, p. 164.

to the Pope, which was full of allusions to his approaching 'apotheosis,' as *Pomponio* usually calls the new dogma. His Holiness replied by dividing the members of the Council into three parties: the Opposition, who were worldly, and cared for popularity more than truth; the waverers, for whom he implored divine enlightenment; and the infallibilists, who were walking in the paths of the Lord, and on whom he bestowed his benediction. When Cardinal Guidi spoke against the dogma, he was summoned to the Vatican, where the Pope bitterly reproached him, and on his appealing to tradition, replied, in the spirit of Louis XIV.'s famous aphorism, 'La Tradizione son io—vi farò far nuovamente la professione di fede.' This method of terrorism had its effect, for Guidi voted *placet*. When at the last moment some of the Opposition Bishops were earnestly entreating the Pope at least to modify the obnoxious formula, which they found themselves powerless to avert, two additions were introduced, between the voting of July 13, when the minority made their final protest, and the solemn promulgation, on July 18, after their departure from Rome. The first was an anathema against all dissentients; the second was a clause specifically excluding the episcopate from all share in the infallible judgments of the Church. *Pomponio* more than hints that both changes were due to the personal interposition of the Pope. The readers of *Quirinus* will be familiar with plenty of similar examples of his Holiness's observance of neutrality and respect for the independence of the Council, but these may suffice here.

Before giving his own account of what took place at the Vatican, Cardinal Manning appends to his detailed criticism a brief and satirical summary of what he calls the newspaper history, including the *Letters of Quirinus*. The Council was divided into a majority and minority; courage and intellect were chiefly to be found with the minority; the Presidents were imperious and intemperate, and the conduct of the majority was overbearing; the new regulation checked liberty of discussion, and a tyrannous majority at last cut it short by an arbitrary exercise of power, and forced the definition through. All which is strictly true, as will be evident to the readers of *Pomponio*. But a word may be said about the writer's reference to the new order of business or *regolamento*. Both the old and the new order were among the standing hardships against which the minority repeatedly but vainly protested, but the new order was the most flagrantly unjust of the two. The old order was received, according to *Pomponio*, with great disfavour by the Opposition, especially the article

restricting the initiation of all questions by the absolute fiat of a Congregation of Cardinals ; moreover, instead of being discussed and settled by the Fathers themselves, as at Trent, it was imposed on them by a Papal Bull. But the new order, which was also imposed on the Council from above, and without their own concurrence, in February, was still more fatal to all freedom of discussion. One article authorised the Presidents to cut short a speaker whenever he wandered from the subject, of which they were the sole and arbitrary judges ; another article directed that any debate might be brought to a close by a vote of the majority, whenever they considered it to be *satis excussa*, and the proposal for closing it, when made by not fewer than ten Fathers, was to be at once put to the vote. The fullest advantage was taken of both these arbitrary powers to crush the minority, who naturally believed that the articles were introduced with that express object. They bitterly complained that 'the new order vested decisive power in the majority rather than in the unanimity of the Fathers, and that it enabled the Presidents to encroach on the liberty of discussion.'

It will be pretty clear by this time that Cardinal Manning's sharp critique on what he treats as misrepresentations about the Council are not at all borne out by the testimony of his brother Cardinal. But neither is he more in harmony with *Pomponio*, when he comes to give his own version of the proceedings. Our readers will of course understand that we are not instituting this lengthened comparison simply with the view of discrediting the statements of the Pastoral, but because it enables us at the same time to bring out in bolder relief the main outline of the history as traced by our author. Cardinal Manning plunges at once *in medias res*, and opens his story with the very characteristic remark that 'the hopes and confidence of the miscellaneous alliance of *nominal Catholics* (that is, non-Ultramontanes), Protestants, rationalists, and unbelievers, received its first sharp check, when *some five hundred* Fathers of the Council desired of the Holy See that the doctrine of the infallibility of the Roman Pontiff should be defined.' The real account of what took place will be found at pp. 58 *sqq.* of *Pomponio*. We may observe here that the 'nominal Catholics' who received their first check in the presentation of the Infallibilist address were the Opposition Bishops, who then numbered about 200. The signatories of the address did not, according to *Pomponio*, exceed 400, if there were so many, and the name of the Archbishop of Westminster, who had planned the move,

stood at the head of the list. It was presented as early as January, long before the subject could come in regular course before the Council, apparently in consequence of the failure of the original scheme for carrying the dogma by acclamation. But the answer to all objections was, that the presiding Cardinals had given their sanction, on which the comment of *Pomponio* is, that 'the only result of so indiscreet a proceeding was to expose the Curia Romma to the imputation of having sought, without any sense of what was becoming, to bring about its own apotheosis.' A second and more personal comment will have a special interest for English readers :

'The persistence of the Archbishop of Westminster was perhaps the logical result of his own antecedents. Having been a priest and a Protestant at the outset of his career, he knew his own religion from within and not from without, and the Catholic religion from without but not from within. He was well acquainted with the many divisions and sub-divisions of Protestantism, and admired the majestic unity of Catholicism. He did not appreciate the good effects of allowing a moderate degree of liberty, and the constant exercise of the conscience and reasoning powers ; neither did he understand the dangers arising from the excessive authority exercised by United Catholicism. In fact, he was enamoured of the principle of authority as the slave adores the idea of liberty ; and this want of discrimination and of real Catholic perception in his dealings with the Council was a matter of reproach to him even by the most faithful and devout clergy at Rome. As for all the other Infallibilist Bishops, we can only again remark that the ardour they manifested in following out their end was a phenomenon beyond the comprehension of the very Council itself.' ¹

With this may be collated a previous passage on the same subject ; and we may be sure that the author is not speaking only for himself :

'Manning was not long since a Protestant, and not only joined the Catholic Church, but became Archbishop of Westminster : none are so devoted as converts ; and the fact of having been in error the first half of his life did not hinder his becoming in the latter an ardent advocate of Infallibility. At any rate, as his antecedents justified the supposition that he was lacking in the traditional ecclesiastical spirit which is seldom acquired save by early habit and long usage, a presumption further supported by his own immoderate restlessness, it seemed likely that his authority would be somewhat diminished in the estimation of that portion of the clerical world whose principles, being conservative, are best able to exercise a calm and impartial judgment.' ²

We have referred already to the second 'disappointment'

¹ *Pomponio Leto*, p. 60.

² *Ib.* p. 22.

of the 'nominal Catholics,' who were summarily suppressed by the abrupt closing of the general discussion on the Infallibilist question by what Cardinal Manning calls the 'majestic firmness and unity of the Council' in availing itself of the arbitrary powers conferred by the new *regolamento*. *Pomponio* not only speaks of the 'surprise' and 'irritation' of the minority at this arbitrary procedure, but observes 'that it will greatly influence the judgment, not only of the present day, but of future ages, on the Vatican Council.' Nor can anything be more transparently fallacious than Cardinal Manning's comparison between the 'exemplary patience' of the Infallibilist Fathers in listening for so long to the arguments of their opponents and the impatient refusal of the House of Commons to listen to protracted debates. The House of Commons sits from year to year; Œcumenical Councils have usually assembled only at intervals of centuries. Acts of Parliament deal with matters of discipline only—to use ecclesiastical language—which are always liable to repeal or revision, and are often, in fact, altered; Conciliar decrees on matters of faith are *ex hypothesi* irreformable. In Parliament everything is finally decided—and necessarily decided—by the vote of the majority; in Councils, moral unanimity has ever been held essential for defining articles of faith. The Council of Basle lasted eight years, the Council of Trent eighteen, and, to cite the words of *Pomponio*, 'it is evident that months and years were necessary for the full consideration of the important matters brought before the Vatican Council, in such different circumstances, and after the lapse of centuries.' But the original scheme of the infallibilists, as announced in the *Civiltà Cattolica*, had been to have a Council of exceedingly short duration, like the Council of Chalcedon, that is, of about three weeks. 'In making the arrangements,' as *Pomponio* says, 'no doubt had been entertained as to the celerity with which they could be carried through,' and bitter was the disappointment felt, when after a session of three months nothing had been done, and 'one of the Fathers, on being asked how soon the Council would finish, answered by inquiring when it would begin?' Cardinal Manning will not indeed hear of the design of carrying the dogma by acclamation having ever been entertained. But here both *Pomponio* and the *Civiltà Cattolica*, as well as other high authorities, are against him. The former dwells significantly more than once on the want of acoustic properties in the Council Hall, which 'seemed to favour the desires of that portion of the Council accused of being inimical to dis-

cussion,' and which certainly helped their cause. And he reflects severely on the 'system of concealment' by which the Bishops were kept in ignorance of the matters to be brought before them, while the *Civiltà Cattolica* and its partisans enjoyed the full confidence of the Curia. And this, it is added, formed one of the chief complaints of the Opposition, especially of the Bishops coming from free countries like America, who were accustomed to see everything subjected to the fullest investigation.

It seems strange, certainly, after all which has passed, that any one should think it worth while to deny that the main, if not sole object of summoning the Vatican Council was to secure the promulgation of the Infallibilist dogma. And Cardinal Manning, who published the year before the Council a Pastoral containing an elaborate argument in favour of defining it, is one of the last persons from whom such a denial could have been looked for. Nevertheless, he declares himself 'able to give to this a direct denial,' as being 'simply untrue in fact.' *Pomponio*, following *Quirinus*, tells us how the *Civiltà* had previously mapped out the programme of the Council, having for its principal objects to formulize the Syllabus, the Assumption, and Papal Infallibility. This last, he adds elsewhere, was 'the important point, the dominant question; all else was of minor consequence, and turned on this.' And again, in February, the whole consideration of the Council is said to be irrevocably concentrated on this one question: 'the majority had no other object but this, and followed it with that intensity of purpose which is peculiar to religious sentiments and passions.' Still more definitely he speaks of its being 'presented to a Council *convoked for the express purpose of instituting it as a dogma of the Church*, on June 18, 1870.' This is one of the 'infamous falsehoods' which drew down the official censure of the presiding Legates on two pamphlets published during the Council, in a protest which Cardinal Manning has thought worth preserving in his Pastoral. The earliest of the two, *Ce qui se passe au Concile*, which appeared in France, is justly termed by our author very important, and evidently written by some person of authority.' The writer was, in fact, a M. Gaillard, and it contains an able and perfectly trustworthy account of the aims and tactics of the wire-pullers of the Council. The second pamphlet, *La Dernière Heure du Concile*, is shorter, but more brilliant and suggestive; it was well known to be either dictated or actually written by Archbishop Darboy. Both were denounced by Cardinal Manning as 'truthless,' 'mendacious,'

and 'slandrous' publications, and by the Legates as '*le calumnie putridissime*' and '*le turpissime menzogne*.' Such a description can only be justified on the principle, 'the greater the libel, the greater the truth.' Before taking leave of Cardinal Manning, it should be added that, on the day of the promulgation of the new dogma, his services in procuring it were acknowledged by a present from the Jesuit conductors of the *Civiltà Cattolica* of a picture of S. Charles Borromeo (*Pomponio* wrongly says Bellarmine) with a complimentary inscription.

Thus far we have been principally engaged in contrasting two opposite accounts of the spirit and aims of the dominant party at the Council and the general course of proceedings. But it must not be supposed that the aim of *Pomponio* is to criticize or reply to Ultramontane writers in the Council, as Pallavicini wrote to reply, in the interests of Rome, to Sarpi's *History of the Council of Trent*. The author seldom alludes to the statements which by implication he contradicts, or to works like Friedrich's, whose accuracy he incidentally confirms. He writes from a wholly independent standpoint, to give us his version of what took place, and his view of its true significance. In doing so he has occasion to comment with severity on the action of several of the high personages concerned, and on none more severely than Cardinal Manning. But there is no appearance of any personal irritation or animosity. To his mind far graver than any mere personal interests are at stake. He professes not to be dealing with theology as such, but at the same time to assume an attitude in reference to the Vatican Council and its results, which 'represents resistance, opposition, and investigation slowly progressive, but yet compatible with Catholic feelings and institutions.' While, however, he does not directly and *eo nomine* meddle with purely theological discussion, his estimate of the great doctrinal question at issue is not obscurely intimated. It is hardly necessary to read between the lines of the following passage to perceive that, while he recognises the infallibility of the Church, he agrees with Bishop Maret's estimate of the psychological inconceivability of the personal infallibility of any particular individual, though it be the chief Pastor of the Church :

'The infallibility of a single man is a more striking miracle, and a greater infraction of the laws of nature, than the infallibility of a large and well-organized assembly under the security of a strong and severe discipline ; it is much more so, because the infallibility of a society with regard to itself is by its very nature relative, while that

of an individual towards society cannot be other than absolute. It is reasonable to believe that God protects the Church, as we believe that God protects the world, and that the Church in her office should be infallible, may be in a certain sense reasonable; but that God should take away from an individual man the liability to error, which is characteristic of humanity, would be an absolute and standing miracle. In the first case, Faith allies herself with reason, in the second she subdues it.¹

And the point of this contrast is more distinctly intimated in another passage, where the author charges the infallibilist majority with failing to appreciate 'the slow but collective action of society,' and like all who submit to the influence and allurements of despotism, 'not relishing an authority which is not distilled through the arbitrary will of one individual.' All this inevitably recalls to our memory one of the most striking chapters in Bishop Maret's work, published just before the Council,² on 'Dogmatic Infallibility and Moral Sanctity,' in which he argues, with great force and felicity, that, as Papal infallibility must mean the personal infallibility of the man, and as infallibility is always in the Church and in the nature of things connected with holiness, the infallible Pope must necessarily be also impeccable. True, Monsignor Maret has, since the Council, 'effaced' his book, but he has not therefore effaced the arguments it contains, whether moral or historical.

There is an excellent though brief sketch in *Pomponio* (pp. 183-188) of the gradual growth of the infallibilist doctrine in the Church. It first took definite shape in the age of S. Thomas Aquinas, which was fertile in theological and canonical controversy, and was thenceforward never lost sight of by the Roman Curia, who lost no opportunity of pushing it. The reaction of the fifteenth century, which gained a temporary triumph at the reforming Councils of Pisa, Constance, and Basle, received a check at the Council of Florence, and though the question had to be shelved at Trent, where the Episcopal opposition was too strong for the Curia, the natural tendency of the 'counter-reformation,' which Macaulay has characterized and Ranke has described, was to promote the interests of Curialism. That tendency 'of passive reaction against mental freedom' gave birth to the Jesuit Order, who have been from the first the great champions of Papal infallibility, which before the Reformation had borne a vague and indefinite character, but began in their hands to assume a

¹ *Pomponio Leto*, pp. 34, 35.

² *Du Concile Générale et de la Paix Religieuse*, vol. ii. ch. 13.

more definite shape. There is still, however, a considerable gap between Baronius, Orsi, and their Ultramontane contemporaries and the infallibilists of our own day ; but the storm of modern revolution has completed the work of progress by antagonism begun by the Reformation, till at last 'the so-called Catholic party, headed by the Jesuits,' have achieved their ultimate success.

It is not the mere fact of the doctrine being a development to which *Pomponio* objects ; on the contrary, as we saw just now, he contrasts with the absolutism of the Papal *ipse dixit* the 'slow and collective action' by which the Church evolves her doctrinal system. Development of some kind is implied in the very existence of theological science, and is attested by every conciliar definition from Nice downwards, and in the language of the earliest creeds. The principle is maintained, with whatever varieties of detailed application, by Roman Catholic theologians so studiously moderate as Möhler, by the most distinguished Lutheran divines of modern days, and by learned and impartial Presbyterian divines like Dr. Rainy.¹ The fatal flaw of the Vatican dogma is not simply that it is a development—to raise that objection is to court an easy refutation—but that it is, to adopt Dr. Newman's nomenclature in his famous essay on the subject, a spurious and not a genuine development ; moral difficulties apart, it is in the teeth of facts. Not to press the case of Pope Liberius, which is really quite decisive,² no doubt can be plausibly maintained as to the official and, to use modern phraseology, *ex cathedrâ* character of the heretical judgment of Pope Honorius, as any one may satisfy himself who will consult the learned and exhaustive (Roman Catholic) treatise of Mr. Renouf.³ Many ingenious theories have been excogitated of the limits and notes of an *ex cathedrâ* decision, as that it must be conformable to Scripture and Tradition, which is obvious, but practically irrelevant ; or that it must be preceded by mature deliberation or earnest prayer, of which conditions again the infallible Pope must necessarily be him-

¹ See his Lectures on *Delivery and Development of Christian Doctrine*. (Edinburgh : T. and T. Clark.)

² Cardinal de la Luzerne, quoted by Renouf, justly remarks on the fall of Liberius : 'Dès qu'on demandait cette signature au Pape *comme Pape*, c'est le Pape *comme Pape* qui l'a donnée ;' and again : 'Déclarer qu'il est la vraie foi qui doit être reçue, et par le chef de l'Eglise et par le Siège Apostolique, *est évidemment un enseignement*, et c'est donner cet enseignement à l'Eglise que de l'adresser à tous les Evêques Orientaux, sachant qu'il sera publié et le voulant.'

³ *The Case of Pope Honorius Reconsidered*. Longmans.

self the sole judge ; or that certain formalities must be observed, or that anathemas must be attached to it, which are purely arbitrary limitations. But these and the like casuistical distinctions, however conveniently elastic for purposes of apologetic controversy, break down the moment it is attempted to apply them in derogation of any given Papal pronouncement ; for, as Bellarmine points out with good reason, unless we are always ready to assume in such cases that the Pope has fulfilled the requisite conditions, whatever they be, his infallibility becomes uncertain and therefore practically useless.¹

Dr. Newman has indeed (in a work published since the Vatican Council) laid down so rigidly exacting a definition of infallible judgments that it would certainly exclude, and seems to be intended to exclude, from the category every Papal decision hitherto pronounced, with the somewhat doubtful exception of the Immaculate Conception. He requires in every case three conditions for an *ex cathedra* decision of the Pope, (1) 'his formal initiation of it, (2) his authorship of its wording, and (3) his utterance in his court, *with solemnities parallel to those of an Ecumenical Council*.'² Putting aside decrees issued in Councils claiming to be Ecumenical, there is clearly no Papal definition but one which satisfies the third condition, and it may perhaps be questioned whether the second condition was satisfied even there. But the grand plea of modern advocates of the dogma, which was urged with much ability by the late Father Dalgairns, is precisely that some available instrument is wanted, ready for constant use, to smite down as they emerge the successive heresies of German professors and other troublers of the peace of Israel, whereas General Councils can only assemble at long intervals. The argument is plausible, but it proves too much. For such a purpose Dr. Newman's jealously restricted infallibility would be absolutely worthless. But, far short of that, any of the finely-drawn reservations invented to blunt the edge of hostile criticism must serve in exactly the same degree to blunt the edge of the weapon they are designed to guard intact. Thus, for example, all cordial adherents of the Vatican dogma insist, very reasonably, on bringing the Syllabus within its range, while those who have succumbed after opposition, and the more moderate even of the victorious party, as strenuously refuse to accept it as an *ex cathedra* utterance. The *Dublin*

¹ See Maret's *Du Concile Générale*, vol. ii. pp. 69, 70.

² See note at p. 340 of vol. iii. of *Historical Sketches*. Pickering, 1873.

Review still keeps up a running fire of attacks on Dr. Newman for his unceremonious treatment of the Syllabus in his *Letter to the Duke of Norfolk*. About the infallibility of the *Unam Sanctam* of Boniface VIII., which anticipates the most startling propositions of the Syllabus, there can be no question on any recognised or natural theory of *ex cathedra* judgments. Nor is it at all easy to see how so solemn an act as the canonization of a saint, which involves an authoritative decision on important points both of faith and morals, and is expressly intended to take effect on the public worship and private devotion of the Universal Church, can be other than infallible. And thus, *e.g.*, the recent canonization of S. Peter Arbues, a Spanish inquisitor whose merciless severities extorted his crown of martyrdom from the maddened relatives of some of his unfortunate victims, establishes, or rather confirms, on a dogmatic basis—for it had been established before—the principle of persecution in its extremest form.

Another practical argument has been urged, as for instance by the late Father Faber, for investing the Pope with these superhuman prerogatives. It is argued that, since the withdrawal of the visible presence of our Lord, some earthly centre is needed for the 'personal devotion' and loyalty of the faithful, and Catholics accordingly find a legitimate expression for this sentiment in 'devotion' to the Pope (the title of a remarkable sermon of Faber's) as His representative. And thus we read in *Pomponio* of a speech—it was really a sermon—of Bishop Mermillod's of Geneva (whom the translator has oddly enough metamorphosed into 'Monsignor di Ginevra, Bishop of Ebrun'), 'asserting so strong a likeness between the Grotto of Bethlehem, the Shrine and the Vatican, and so close a resemblance between the Infant adored in the one and the old man venerated in the other, that the audience, though well disposed to judge him favourably, considered his language quite extravagant.' Montalembert, with all his ardent zeal not only for the spiritual but the temporal claims of the Roman See, did not hesitate to speak, almost with dying breath, of 'the idol at the Vatican,' and criticisms fully as severe will be found in his posthumous essay, *L'Espagne et la Liberté*, which has just been published.¹ But this notion of erecting the Pope into a kind of Grand Lama is simply a form of fetishism not more abhorrent to the true spirit of Christianity than superfluous as a vehicle for that sentiment of loyalty of which the Church herself, not any one of her individual officers, though he be the highest of all, is the rightful object. No doubt the

¹ In the *Bibliothèque Universelle et Revue Suisse*, January to May 1876.

Church may be represented in the occupant of what has always been regarded as the primatial See, as she is also represented, for instance, in her priesthood, her episcopate, her patriarchs, her Councils, her Martyrs, and her Saints; but it is only as her representatives, and so far as they represent her, that any of them can claim a share in that loyal affection which corresponds in the spiritual to patriotism in the natural order. How could Popes like Alexander VI. or Leo X.—and there have been but too many such—command this personal devotion? Nor is it at all true to say that, because the Church is not, like the Pope, visible and palpable to the outward senses, and can only be realized in idea and as an abstraction, she cannot therefore elicit enthusiasm or stir the affections. What would be thought of an Englishman who felt no loyal enthusiasm for his country? Yet to a Catholic Christian the Church is surely at least as much a reality as the nation, and what a great preacher has said of the one may be applied to the other. 'The nation is nowhere—an abstraction. It exists only in idea; but ideas are the strongest things in man; they bind him with irresistible force, and penetrate his affections with supreme subtlety.'¹

From a social and political, if not from a theological point of view, the third Vatican Canon *De Ecclesiâ* may be considered more important than the fourth on infallibility. It asserts for the Pope 'plenam et supremam potestatem jurisdictionis in universam Ecclesiam,' and further declares that power to be '*ordinariam et immediatam*, sive in omnes et singulas Ecclesias, sive in omnes et singulos pastores et fideles.' Well may *Pomponio* observe on this that theologians may determine 'what power can remain to diocesan bishops in

¹ Mozley's *University Sermons*, p. 122. We are tempted to quote in this connection some lines from a noble passage in Mr. Aubrey de Vere's new poem, *St. Thomas of Canterbury*. He is comparing the patriotism of ancient Greece with the Christian sentiment of loyalty to the Church; and it will be observed that the very terms of comparison exclude the identification or confusion of that sentiment with loyalty to the Pope, for there were no kings in Greece. After describing the reverence of Athenians for their city, the majesty of law dimly discerned 'above base mart and popular shout,' and more dimly still, 'the God Unknown,' the speaker proceeds:—

'Our God is not unknown;
In omnipresent majesty among us
His Church sits high above her rock tower-crowned,
Fortress of Law Divine, and Truth Revealed,
O'er every city throned, o'er every realm!
Had we the man-heart of the men of old,
With what a spirit of might invincible
For her should we not die!'

their own churches after such a declaration; but it baffles the comprehension of secular persons.' ¹ It would baffle the comprehension, we suspect, of many theologians too, and more particularly of the disinherited bishops themselves, who can exercise no authority except as official delegates of the Pope. We have seen an example of late nearer home of a somewhat similar, though informal, design to subject all episcopal discretion to the uniform control of a single will, and the result is not encouraging. For the ultramontane spirit is confined to no one party, still less to one communion. But it finds, of course, its fullest and most formal expression in that Church whose government has for centuries past been undergoing a process of steady contralibration, till at length, in our author's words, its constitution renders resistance impossible, and it is become 'like a machine worked by a single motive force, which casts away all that it does not absorb within itself.' Some of the most interesting chapters in the book are occupied with discussing the actual and probable effects of this system of policy on modern society. 'The Catholic party,' which is the phrase habitually used in *Pomponio* for the dominant and acting section of the Roman Catholic Church, personifies, as he tells us, the principle of absolute authority, and, having mostly drawn its recruits from a world that is past, finds itself in collision with the world now existing the moment it prepares for the combat. That the situation is a serious one, both from a religious and social point of view, the author quite admits:

'Indeed, all who belong to Christian or merely civilised nations, will readily agree in the desire for peace, and in the hope that some settlement of these social and political questions may be found other than the alternative of absolutism and rebellion, which seems at our day to be the lot of most Catholic countries. The strength of the Latin nations is exhausted by their constant oscillations between the theories of the *Univers* and those of the *Rappel*, between the dogmas of the *Unità Cattolica* and those expressions of opinion, or rather unbridled instincts, for which nothing is sacred; oscillations which sway backwards and forwards between revolutionary barricades on the one hand and *coups-d'état* on the other.' ²

It is the relative inferiority, civil, moral and political, of Catholic countries, by which the author is so painfully im-

¹ In the same way the relation of the Pope to the Episcopate in the matter of infallibility was expressed, we are told, in a North Italian publication called *The Œcumenical Council*, 'by the algebraic formula, $a = a + b$, a formula which can only be verified when b , which in this case represented the Episcopate, is zero'—(p. 118).

² *Pomponio Leto*, p. 36.

pressed, and to this startling fact he thinks that the Church, as a visible society, existing on earth, cannot afford to be indifferent. Even in a country like France, which especially prides herself on her Catholicism, he sorrowfully confesses that the culture, science and industry which have made her what she is seem generally to have been due to those whom Rome would not have recognised as her children. And he asks what part the influence of Catholicism can claim in her civil and intellectual glory. If again we turn from the Old to the New World, it may be asked what Catholicism has done for North America, and what satisfaction the Church can derive from the spectacle presented by Mexico. Another noticeable fact, which at first sight appears the reverse of what might be expected, is that the spirit of revolution is more rife and acts more violently in Catholic than in Protestant countries. 'Which of the Catholic nations can live, like England and America, in the exercise of the greatest activity and in a state of constant agitation, without a large standing army,' and meanwhile 'in how many Catholic countries has not the Government more than once collapsed during recent years?' England, it is observed, has no *Univers* or *Rappel*, or at least her existence is not daily threatened by such publications; neither has she inquisitors nor revolutionary fanatics. There is no doubt some exaggeration about this contrast, for the obvious reason that the author knows Protestant countries, as he says that Cardinal Manning knows Catholicism, *ab extra* and not *ab intra*, and probably distance and dissatisfaction with his surroundings combine to lend a certain enchantment to the view. Thus, for instance, it is true that our existence is not daily threatened by such papers as the *Univers* and *Rappel*, but it is also true that we are flooded with the moral abominations of our 'Penny Awfuls' *et id genus omne*, which must tend, if unchecked, in the long run to sap the foundations of civil order also. Nor is England by any means free, as recent experience has too abundantly proved, from those abnormal outbreaks of immorality which are sometimes complacently assumed to be the exclusive bane of foreign and especially southern lands. But on these points we cannot linger here.

It is more to our present purpose to examine the author's account of the causes of the evils he so justly deplors in Catholic countries. He begins by insisting that it 'would be not only unjust but useless to fasten the responsibility on Catholicism itself,' but he does charge it mainly on the laws, customs, institutions, habits, and abuses which have long and increasingly prevailed in Catholic education. The principle of

authority, most true and essential in itself, has been so grossly exaggerated as to produce a mere blind submission, which paralyses the collective action of the hierarchy by concentrating it in the Pope, while throughout the general body of the faithful it enfeebles or suppresses the working of the individual conscience by absorbing all sense of personal responsibility in the duty of absolute submission. And thus 'it often happens that a Catholic, unless gifted with an unusual superiority of mind, has no knowledge of good and evil beyond what he derives from the external authority which may be represented by any chance individual'—his confessor or the next priest he meets. One result of this is seen in the inevitable recoil from a despotic pressure which too often in the present day throws the pupils of the Jesuits into the wildest revolutionary excesses the moment the outward restraint is withdrawn. What the author says on this point, we may add, is fully borne out by the testimony of others who have had the best opportunities of observation. Hence again arise the disingenuousness and mental compromises which have given an evil name to what is really, as Dr. Newman calls it, the 'noble'—and also necessary—science of casuistry. Another consequence is found in the rigid intolerance of intellectual error, combined with an undue leniency to errors of the will. And the one-sided and spurious asceticism springing from the same source is apt to breed in one class idleness and mendicancy and in all classes a tendency to superstition. And this again is sure sooner or later to lead to a reaction. Youths trained under the narrow and repressive discipline of a Catholic seminary, which allows little scope to individuality of mind or character, are tempted in the retrospect of maturer age 'to confound God and the priest,' and turn their backs on religion altogether, either by sinking into the moral suicide of mere selfish sensuality, or breaking out into passionate rebellion. And thus in Catholic countries we rarely meet with that happy alliance of a conservative spirit with desire for progress which is found in all well-governed and prosperous nations; the one party is immovable instead of conservative, the other revolutionary instead of progressive. In communities subjected to this 'ultra-Catholic' régime, we find many churches, but few schools; more devotion than virtue; more passion than judgment; general intolerance and scanty prosperity, with fluctuations of submission and rebellion; a 'craving for authority without any appreciation of its true nature,' whence it is 'alternately adored with servility and subjected to outrage.'

The substantial truth of these remarks is only too well illustrated, as the author hints, in the conduct of the minority at the Vatican Council. It was with a feeling of painful surprise that their countrymen, Catholic and Protestant, watched the sudden and discreditable collapse of the German Bishops as soon as the contest at Rome was over. That they could not really believe in a doctrine which only a few months before they had declared and proved to be demonstrably false is obvious on the face of it; but to charge them with deliberate hypocrisy would be a judgment alike harsh and superficial. They had been trained under a system which paralyses the free action of conscience by subjecting all moral considerations to the supreme duty of absolute and unconditional submission to authority. Hefele, one of the most learned of them, temporised for a while, but when the crisis came he dared not uphold his convictions at the cost of an open rupture with Rome. Haneberg, who, as Abbot of St. Boniface at Munich, had not been more highly respected for his vast erudition than honoured and beloved for the nobility of his nature, and the breadth and warmth of his sympathies, was sorely tried, and his friends believe now that the strain of the internal conflict has hurried him to his premature grave. When summoned to Rome on one of the preliminary Commissions, he came back thoroughly disheartened, and said that a Cardinal standing very near his Holiness (probably Antonelli) had observed, 'This man began his pontificate by ruining the temporal power, and will end it by ruining the Church.' When the dogma was promulgated, he again carefully examined the works of S. Athanasius, with which he was already familiar, and declared that he could find nothing in them to support this new claim of the Papacy. During forty years of the Arian controversy it had been settled by no dogmatic decision emanating from Rome; only Liberius had terribly compromised both himself and the credit of his See.¹ Still Haneberg felt bound to yield an outward obedience to a decree which certainly did not approve itself to his intellect. But when in 1872 he was raised, much against his will, to the episcopate, he never stooped, like some of his colleagues, to the baseness of persecuting those who remained true to the convictions he had formerly himself professed. To a priest of his diocese who consulted him, feeling unable in conscience to accept the Vatican dogmas, he replied that, if the refusal was not dictated by pride, and there was no unwillingness on

¹ Cf. *Janus*, pp. 67-69.

his part to submit to what he believed to be really the teaching of the Church, that was enough. Others who had spoken more loudly than Haneberg against the new dogma have been less generous since their recantation. For it is a marvellous error of Cardinal Manning's to say, in the Pastoral we have so often quoted, that the Opposition Bishops objected to the dogma solely as 'inopportune,' and regarded the question as one of 'prudence, policy, expedience, *not of doctrine or truth.*' If he had read the various documents they issued, singly and collectively, before and during the Council, some of which are printed in the Appendix of *Pomponio*, and others in Friedrich's *Documenta*, he might easily have convinced himself of the contrary. No doubt there were *some* of the Bishops and many priests and laymen who, in the words of *Pomponio*, deemed the time unsuitable, though not averse to the doctrine itself; but others were 'opposed to the substance of the dogma,' and moreover, as the author adds, this discrepancy was in many cases more apparent than real, the first line of argument being often put forward as only a milder and more practicable method of giving effect to the second. Bishop Maret was far more cautious in his manner of speaking than many of his colleagues, but we have seen how distinctly he challenges, not the opportuneness, but the truth of the Infallibilist definition.¹ And of this Cardinal Manning was perfectly aware, for he attacked Maret's book in a Post-script to his Pastoral of 1869, to which we have already had occasion to refer, where he points out quite correctly that the author 'denies the infallibility of the Pontiff altogether,' and that 'his theory can be reconciled with no Ultramontane opinion.'²

The feeling of the better of the Opposition Bishops—always excepting Strossmayer, who has never yielded—may be summed up in the reply of Abbot Haneberg, when appealed to by one of the most eminent of them, after the decree had been proclaimed, for his definitive judgment. It is given in the very interesting obituary contributed by his friend, Dr. Sepp, to the *Allgemeine Zeitung*:—'I will tell you plainly what I think. The longer I compared the proofs for and against Papal infallibility, the clearer it became to me that the ancient Church, the Church of the first eight centuries, knew nothing of this doctrine. And with this conclusion I

¹ So also did Mgr. Dupanloup, in fact if not in form, in a Pastoral issued shortly before the Council.

² *The Œcumenical Council and the Infallibility of the Roman Pontiff.* Longmans, 1869, pp. 140, 145.

compared the saying of S. Boniface, whose name our house and church bears : "Papa à nemine est judicandus, *nisi à fide devius.*" This agrees with the twenty-first canon of the eighth Œcumenical Council in 869, and the fourth and fifth Session of the Council of Constance, approved by at least three Popes. In view of these, and perhaps still stronger reasons, most of the German and Austrian Bishops have opposed the dogma. Is it possible that what was false up to July 18 is to be held true after that date ? Theoretically only two courses are open to us who desire to live and die Catholics—the one leads to questioning and contesting the validity of the Council, the other to submission. *Who will deny that the validity of the last Vatican decree can be contested ?* But every step against the validity of the Council will be interpreted by the unchurch Liberalism of the day into complete agreement with itself. On the other hand, every attempt made, however emphatically on the basis of the ancient Catholic belief, will be stigmatized as rebellion, schism, and heresy by the dominant party within the Church, which is just now flushed with triumph.' He goes on to say that threats of deposition, &c., have no weight with him ; 'but a third consideration is the most decisive of all—we have to take account of our Catholic people.' It is this fear of causing scandal to the unlearned, of shaking the faith of the weak, and seeming to play into the hands of unbelievers, which has tied the hands and the tongues of so many Bishops who outwardly succumbed to a tyranny of falsehood against which their conscience and intellect revolted. It was a grave error, both of principle and policy, but it hardly becomes those who have never known the trial to judge them too severely.

Our readers will have perceived that the subject-matter and purport of this interesting volume may be regarded under two distinct but closely related aspects, corresponding to a division of the contents. The greater part of it is devoted to tracing in detail, on the most direct authority, the actual course of the Vatican Council, which, if its dogmas were to be finally accepted, might be expected to prove 'the last deliberative assembly of the Roman Catholic Church,' for it marks the definitive change of her organization from a constitutional to an absolute monarchy. The author points out in detail the systematic methods of moral violence of every sort, combined with unscrupulous favouritism and partisanship, by which the success of the Papal programme was achieved. 'Whoever said or did anything in favour of infallibility received acknowledgments, remunerations, and honours, the Pope him-

self condescending to act openly in this way.' Nor was it possible for 'the Catholic *party*'—the italics are the author's—to be altogether blind to one inevitable consequence of their policy. They did not pretend to deny, but they treated 'in a tone of indifference, almost of disdain,' the separations and schisms likely to follow. They did not overlook, but loudly trumpeted and denounced the spirit of resistance they were doing their utmost to provoke, for they 'prefer to see the number of the faithful constantly diminished, rather than to recognise as such any who are not completely and blindly submissive.' The author's estimate of their *animus* and deliberate policy, and of the natural sequel of so perverse an abuse of the Catholic principle, is summed up in one of the ablest and most mournful passages in the volume. Its deep and pregnant interest will more than justify the length of the extract :—

'Thus organized, the Roman Catholic religion is certainly easily guided by its superiors, and is well qualified for intervening in social or political strife, with its immense influence, while it also lends itself more surely to become an instrument of party. On the other hand, how does such a constitution promote that universality which is the characteristic of Christianity and is implied in the very name of Catholic? It is almost superfluous again to remind our readers that we have no desire to pass judgment on theological questions on which we are not competent to decide, but simply wish to place before them the social and civil aspects of the question, and the practical results to society of the influence of the Vatican Council. Weighing these considerations by past experience, it seems probable that all that is intelligent, reasonable, and liberal in Catholicism, finding itself bound down within such narrow limits by external authority, will press forward with energy until it reaches a position of greater ease and freedom—a position in which the irresistible impulse of modern life may be able to attain its full development ; and it will be a great thing if in this struggle those who wish to preserve their religion, and yet are unable to follow the novelties of the Vatican, will content themselves with the old news, the good news *par excellence*, and still find guidance and comfort in the Gospel. The most devout and well-disciplined portion of Catholicism will no doubt strive, under the direction of the Pope, to set itself against the spirit of the age—but where will its course end? That is a question which none can answer, and which will probably depend in great measure on the individual dispositions of the Popes who seek to make the experiment. Of course, it is possible that some Pope of large and liberal ideas may arise, but what could he do? Might not his best endeavours in a position of such unlimited power be attended by the same dangers as follow on a policy of reaction? Can a principle, illiberal by nature, ever produce real fruits of liberty? The very name of 'Catholic *party*,' which the devout Catholics of all countries have

spontaneously assumed, seems to be a forecast of the future, and to indicate the opinion of those who have given up the universality of their kingdom, while it points out the probable condition of the Church of Rome in its laborious struggle with modern society. The world which previous to the Vatican Council was indiscriminately termed Catholic, will now inevitably split into two divisions; but between them there will remain a considerable number of persons, who, unable to follow the liberal ideas of the first party, and impatient of the yoke of the second, will be lost in the burning sands formed by the *detritus* of wasted religious beliefs and moral principles, which constitutes the interminable desert, stretching away into the distance along the borders of modern civilisation.¹

Dt meliora piis! But unquestionably the present aspect of matters ecclesiastical both within and without the Roman fold is gloomy enough. Our author explains that those who predicted that, if the infallibilist dogma was carried, the Vatican Council would not be received, were not thinking so much of any formal repudiation of its validity as of the effect that would be produced throughout the Catholic world, which had looked to the Council for a solution of the religious difficulties of the age, but would thenceforth regard it with indifference, and lose all hope of receiving any help from such a quarter. And this appears to have been Archbishop Darboy's meaning in the remarkable pamphlet already mentioned—*La Dernière Heure du Concile*; but he certainly did not despair of the ultimate result. His closing words of unshaken confidence, where he reminds us that the Spartans who fell at Thermopylæ were the harbingers and pioneers of the decisive victory of Salamis, may still be read with interest, though the primary application to the minority Bishops has lost its force.² The immediate prospect, however, as our author sadly confesses, is a very discouraging one. 'A feeling of weariness, even among the most devoted Catholics,' has been created, while no impartial observer can fail to detect, both in the formal submission of the Bishops and the active opposition of the Old Catholics, a sort of 'forlorn resignation,' almost assuming

¹ *Pomponio*, pp. 220, 221.

² 'Quelques âmes effrayées auront cru tout fini. Non. Le silence de la minorité est devenu, pour les plus clairvoyants, une affirmation de sa dignité et de sa force, et lorsque quelques-uns ont semblé lui dire, "Rendez les armes," elle a répondu, comme Léonidas, "Venez les prendre" . . . Nous verrons alors si la masse aura le courage d'écraser l'intelligence, la liberté et la valeur. Si la multitude passe quand même, nous lui prédisons qu'elle n'ira pas loin. Les Spartiates qui étaient tombés aux Thermopyles, pour défendre les terres de la liberté, avaient préparés au flot impitoyable du despotisme la défaite de Salamine.'—*La Dernière Heure*, p. 7.

the character of a passive resistance. The rigorous discipline of modern Ultramontaniam has reduced the priesthood to 'mechanical rather than intelligent members of the Church,' but the laity, who are less amenable to restraint, are apt to break the barriers, and often temporarily cease to belong to their own Church, though without being supported by any deep convictions or deliberate approval of their conscience. The immediate reference is no doubt to Italy, but the description will apply generally to the present state of the educated Roman Catholic laity everywhere—not excepting England—although, for the most part, few signs of disaffection come to the surface. The 'Catholic party,' with the Pope at its head, is strong enough to prevent that. It not only controls the action of the hierarchy, but exercises an unquestioned supremacy over the rank and file of nominal believers, 'who will not obey but cannot resist it.' And hence it comes to pass that while, unhappily, 'Catholics at the present day very often neither have nor profess (in private) any religion whatever,' they rigidly hold aloof from all other religionists, and especially from those whose creed is most akin to their own, and show more disposition to fraternize with rationalists than with the more orthodox bodies of Christians. This 'curious phenomenon,' again, is not confined to Italy. It follows, of course, from what has been said, that the circle of what are called 'practising Catholics'—that is, those who regularly frequent the sacraments—becomes increasingly narrowed, so that 'at the present day they are simply a party in the Church,' while there remains a second and larger circle of 'honorary members for life,' who are content with observing a few external forms, do not care enough about the matter to make any open protest or separation, and most likely mean to send for a priest on their death-beds. They subside, in short, into a state of religious indifference.

We cannot follow the author through the political reflections of his concluding chapter, for which our readers must be referred to the volume itself. But we may just observe in passing, how grievously the virtual identification of Catholicism, and therefore of Christianity, with the cause of despotism on the Continent, has tended to the prejudice of religion altogether, natural or revealed, in the popular mind.¹

¹ Thus, for instance, at a Radical dinner in Paris the other day, the chairman, Citizen Lafont, is reported to have said, 'In the Catholic religion, *to which we owe all our misfortunes*, it is customary to put every act of life under the patronage of Divinity. Let us Republicans and freethinkers, before commencing these fraternal love-feasts, invoke the name of the Republic, *which is our religion*, and of liberty, *which commands*

Meanwhile, there is one important aspect of the Vatican Council noticed in *Pomponio*, which has not, so far as we are aware, been generally dwelt upon either by its admirers or its opponents. 'Its sanction of the past is of equal value with the new laws and regulations it has introduced.' No Council had met for more than 300 years, and all the customs and institutions which had grown up in the Church during that eventful period remained as yet without any binding sanction, and were open to review under the light a long experience had thrown upon them. But the Council, so far from manifesting any appreciation of the peculiar advantages of this situation, lost no time in setting its seal on the dogmatism and absolutism already in possession, and thus stereotyped, so far as in it lay, the future position of the Church in regard to modern society, and the Catholic nations in particular. There is, of course, a political as well as a religious side to this question. Cavour's 'free Church in a free State,' however convenient and plausible as a political formula, is, nevertheless, as our author insists, 'socially an impracticability,' especially in nations like Italy, where one form of religion prevails all but universally. A religious body sufficiently influential to become a power in the country, and still more to become the dominant power, is sure, sooner or later, to attract the attention of statesmen, and when the Government begins to interfere, the Church is compelled in self-defence to enter into some sort of relations with the State. Hence, Establishments, Concordats, Organic Articles, and all the various expedients devised at different times and places to regulate the conflicting claims of the rival authorities. If there is any country where Cavour's theory—if such it can be called—might be expected to work smoothly, it is North America. But the United States are disturbed at this moment by a religious controversy about education, which bids fair at last to compel a revision of the letter of the constitution. Into these matters, however, we cannot enter here.

Meanwhile, two considerations may serve to modify, if not to counteract, the somewhat despairing view of the future of Christianity which marks the closing pages of *Pomponio*. The first point is noticed by the author himself. He speaks of the futility of the schemes of rationalistic reformers, who, having no religion of their own, endeavour to construct one *de novo*,

our worship.' Another speaker, M. Clemenceau, observed, in an outbreak of almost unintelligible fanaticism, 'Formerly the Christians were given up to the lions; now-a-days *the Republicans are given up to the Christians, which is worse!*'—See *Times* for June 28, 1876.

and of those statesmen who, not feeling the need of any religion for themselves, think it necessary to try 'to create a religious feeling out of scepticism,' for the benefit, or rather the better management, of the people generally. Both classes equally confess the want, which neither is able to meet. For religion cannot be made to order, like a new constitution or a new dress, and neither philosophical theorists, nor politicians who share Gibbon's estimate of its intellectual worthlessness and practical value, can secure its services on any terms but its own. Italian statesmen, if we are not misinformed, are already beginning to understand this. There is a double reaction going on, even in the great metropolis of Christendom, against that religious indifference which is the natural outgrowth of a period of sharp transition, both ecclesiastical and political, and against the religious absolutism which appeared in the Vatican definitions to have reached its final consummation. The volume before us supplies one evidence, and others are not wanting, that even the College of Cardinals, though almost entirely the creation of the present Pope, is not altogether of the same mind with him. Still less could that be said of the episcopate in communion with Rome, in spite of its outward acquiescence. No one who believes in an overruling Providence at all can doubt that the unprecedented extension of the pontificate of Pius IX. has some special purpose in the counsels of Eternal Wisdom. The Ultramontanes are not wrong in believing that, however widely they may err in their interpretation of the fact. One thing at least is clear, the longer the delay, the better hope is there, humanly speaking, of some satisfactory outcome of the next Conclave. Those who are familiar with Mr. Cartwright's instructive little work on Papal Conclaves,¹ will remember how completely all previous anticipations were baffled by the election of the present Pontiff, and perhaps a still greater surprise may be in store for us the next time. Be that as it may, and by whatever means unknown to us the reaction already in progress is to be worked out, we cannot believe in the permanent triumph either of irreligion or of Ultramontane tyranny. Religion is a necessity for man, and there is always a recuperative power in divine truth.

The second consideration which occurs to us—and it is one of supreme importance—is also suggested by some passages in this volume, but the author does not expressly introduce it. He dwells more than once on the peculiar characteristics of the Latin races, 'which form,' as he ob-

¹ *On Papal Conclaves.* By W. C. Cartwright. (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas.)

serves, 'a large proportion of the Catholic nations'—in fact, far the largest proportion—and which have a tendency to oscillate between a state of theocracy and superstition on the one hand, and of anarchy and impiety on the other. He complains that 'they seem to forget that their strength can only consist in so ruling their faculties and sentiments as to render them practically useful.' He even urges in one place that the aim of the Church should be 'to connect the religion of the great majority of the Latin race with the increase of their civilisation and the spread of their greatness,' as though there were no other races to be taken into account. The real fact is that the Catholic Church, as our author understands the term, became predominantly Latin after the separation of East and West, and almost exclusively Latin after the Reformation. And therein lies one main secret of the weaknesses and corruptions he deplors. Such a state of things is obviously and violently inconsistent, to use his own phrase, with 'that universality which is the characteristic of Christianity, and is implied in the very name of Catholic.' Nor do we ourselves believe that the cry for 'a reform of the Church in her head and in her members,' which has been going up from the noblest spirits in the great Latin Communion ever since the beginning of the fifteenth century, and never with more passionate and almost agonised intensity of supplication and remonstrance than in our own day, will obtain a satisfactory response till the wall of religious separation between the Latin and Teutonic nations of Europe is broken down. It would be difficult to exaggerate the evils entailed upon Christendom by the loss, both natural and supernatural, of the original blessing of unity. This was the first and most fundamental law impressed by her Divine Founder on the constitution of His earthly Church; the first because it is not only an outward law but an inward principle, running up into that original precept of charity on which, as He has told us, hang the Law and the Prophets. The breach of charity in the schism of East and West was only equalled, when it was also perhaps exceeded, in the schism of the sixteenth century. And on both sides terrible has been the penalty. We cannot linger here over the sad details of a too familiar tale, but of one thing we may be very certain, that, until we agree 'to cut off our entail of curses,' the multiplied evils it has brought upon us—intellectual, moral, social, in Christian lands and in missions to the heathen—will not be removed. And, to take the point which is most

directly suggested by the comments of *Pomponio*, it must be remembered that the pernicious effects of disunion are manifested, as was intimated just now, in the natural as well as in the supernatural order. Every race has its special capabilities and its special infirmities, its gifts and its vices, and it is the office of the different members mutually to correct, support, and supplement one another in the great family of the universal Church. Thus the subtlety of the Oriental and the practical temper of the Latin mind have contributed their several elements to the formation of Christian theology. Thus again, to come to our own day, different ideas are represented by the Latin and the Teutonic races, and each has its characteristic faults as well as its characteristic excellences. Protestantism exhibits an exaggeration of the one, Vaticanism an exaggeration of the other. Each class of ideas would find its level, and the opposite vices would be mutually counter-balanced and held in check, if the two races were once more brought into harmonious co-operation in a common faith and a common fold. As a matter of fact, Ultramontanism before the Reformation was nothing like what it has since become. But we have little hope of any adequate reform of the Roman Catholic Church on the one hand, or of the grave defects and weaknesses of Protestant Christianity, in the widest sense of the term, on the other—not to speak here of the Eastern Churches, which stand in no less urgent need of reform—while the present separation continues. Whether any immediate result will follow from Dr. Döllinger's generous efforts in the cause of Christian union it would be premature as yet to say. It may well be that some sharper discipline is required and is designed for us than any we have yet experienced, before brethren so long estranged will consent to be reconciled. It is something at least to have mooted the question as having more than a mere speculative interest, to have given public expression to the practical hope of restored unity. It can never be unreasonable to labour, or other than a duty to pray, for the fulfilment of the Redeemer's dying intercession. But all probabilities seem to point to some great crisis through which the Church and Christian society must pass before that blessed consummation is attained. And in this view even the Vatican Council may be regarded as a hopeful sign, the more hopeful because of its hopelessness. It looks like the beginning of the end.

ART. IX.—LORD SANDON'S EDUCATION BILL.

1. *Report of the Committee of Council on Education (England and Wales)*, 1875-6. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty. (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode.)
2. *Sixty-fifth Report of the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church.* 1876.
3. *Note on the Relief to be expected from Lord Sandon's Bill to Voluntary Schools for the Poorest Children.* By JOSEPH NUNN, M.A., Rector of St. Thomas', Ardwick; Member of the Manchester School Board. (Manchester: Guardian Letterpress Works.)
4. *The School Guardian.* Being the Weekly Paper of the National Society.

It would be amusing, and perhaps instructive, to know the ante-natal history of Lord Sandon's Bill. There is a look about it as if the egg had been better than the chick, and as if some uncanny influences had accompanied incubation and checked its due development. It has all the appearance of having once been intended 'to be and to do,'—to be something, and to do something,—as indeed is only natural when you consider the character and antecedents of its responsible parent. But all this must have been before it left the shell. As it now stands you must characterize it chiefly by negatives. You cannot call a thing positively bad which enacts so very little. Still less can you call it positively good, for the selfsame reason. Yet even in downright madness you often trace a rational method. And so, for all its negativeness, there is a touch of the reverse about the Government Bill in the positive skill and pertinacity with which again and again it performs the operation of 'passing by on the other side.' We do not wish to complain unreasonably. We know that there are many lions in the path. But, after all, these lions are often creatures of the imagination; oftener still their roaring is in inverse proportion to their power of tooth and claw; and we cannot help regretting that the Bill has issued from the Cabinet in a form which indicates that fear

and good intentions have striven for the mastery and that apprehensiveness, not decision, has won the day.

The Parliamentary history of the Bill, thus far, is curiously consistent with its peculiar character. Almost every speaker on the second reading had his fault to find with it. How could it be otherwise when each such speaker had a definite belief as to what was wanted? When it came to a division, scarcely any one *voted* against it. How should you when it gave you so little to oppose? And then Ministers actually went away and took all this as a compliment to their capacity! Yes, but they forgot, good men, that when you build an empty nest you excite, not the impulse of destruction, but the instinct of appropriation, and that Members of Parliament are apt disciples of the cuckoo. Ministers have a majority in the House of Commons large enough to have carried a Bill with something in it; as it is, a pleasant receptivity is the main characteristic of their Bill. The overwhelming majority they had on the second reading was a tribute, not to what their Bill is, but to what it is not. Everybody saw, or thought he saw, a chance of giving it a twist in his own particular direction, and the consequence is that, whatever else it may not produce, it has had wonderful fecundity in amendments.

So much for the general character of the Bill. The question is, What are we as Churchmen to say to it? A measure may be a very negative kind of thing and yet not therefore deserving of condemnation. We have all heard of masterly inactivity; and if nothing much is wanted, why then a Bill which will not do much may be the very thing required. Can we take this line towards Lord Sandon's Bill? As honest men we fear we cannot do so. A very definite thing *was* wanted;—*is* wanted still as matter of justice to the Church, or rather to the supporters of voluntary schools in general; wanted also as a matter of reasonable consideration to ratepayers, and of economy to the State. This definite thing is not taken in hand. The Bill sees it, walks up to it, looks at it, and—passes by on the other side. In an article of some length in our January Number we went, with much precision, into the general question. We therein showed, and no attempt has been made to answer us,—

1. That the Act of 1870 is operating in a manner altogether foreign to the intentions of its original promoters,¹ and

¹ See Mr. Gladstone's and Mr. Forster's speeches as quoted in our January number.

that the Board schools are being worked so as to supplant, not supplement, the voluntary schools.

2. That this is not only contrary to the solemn declarations made prior to the passing of that Act, but also grossly unjust to the supporters of existing schools, considering (a) the enormous voluntary outlay by which those schools were founded and are maintained, and (β) their proved efficiency as attested by the impartial testimony of Government officials.

3. That this is not only unjust towards the voluntary schools, but also very oppressive to the public, since every fresh Board school means a fresh burden on the rates, and comes with a specially bad grace from a Government which makes the relief of local burdens one of its *chevaux-de-bataille*.

In any Government measure on education, then, we, whether as Churchmen or as citizens, have a right to look for this one definite thing—viz. fair dealing towards the voluntary schools, according to the intentions of the original Act. *As far as this Bill yet goes we do not get it.* A Conservative Government, a Government whose Parliamentary supporters are in numberless cases as well informed and as well acquainted as we ourselves with the practical details of this injustice,—a Conservative Government, is literally so frightened at the outcry which comes from the comparatively few, but internecine, enemies alike of the Church and of Conservatism, that this prime need of justice to voluntary schools, and of consideration for the rate-paying public, is utterly neglected. No, not quite that;—but perhaps it is even more unsatisfactory. The 13th clause of the Bill does acknowledge, but does not meet, the need. We cannot believe that the responsible parent of the Bill is himself unwilling to mete out that equal justice which is all that Church people ask for or desire. We regret that we should have to seek from Parliament that justice which we would far rather have received at the hands of a Government which owes its advent to power so largely to Church people. But the case is as we say, and we are consequently compelled to revert to the subject, and once more trouble our readers with an article devoted to business rather than literature or theology. We must set forth fully, *first*, those omissions which have to be made good before any Churchman can regard the Bill as even tolerably honest; and, *secondly*, those general principles which we conceive ought to guide churchmen in their views as to the due action of the Church towards State education

under existing circumstances. It will scarcely be possible to avoid in some degree mixing up these two sets of considerations, but we will do our best to be as clear and intelligible as we can.

First, then, as to these omissions, as to the amendments by which it is sought to supply them, and the reasons for them. That Churchmen may not waste their force by trying to do too much, we advise our friends to limit their demands to two. Of these the first should be the amendment of the 13th clause; the second, a provision for the decent extinction of moribund School Boards.

The 13th clause is that peculiarly unlucky clause, whereby the Government—we hardly like to say Lord Sandon—confesses that the supporters of voluntary schools have made good their claim for increased pecuniary aid, but fails altogether to meet it. The clause is illusory in its action; its only use lies in its confession. Well-meant it may have been, and doubtless was; but its effect will be too small for any useful purpose, while its incidence as often as not will be in the wrong place. The Government have made the error, from which their officials ought to have protected them, of confusing between poor districts and poor schools. Perhaps, however, it may not have been so much a confusion of thought as an incapacity, not uncommon with official people, of seeing anything except as represented in a rate-book or other such official document. With us the individual school is our unit, our ultimate atom, and if its surroundings be such that local subscriptions are not to be got, we call it—as it really is—a poor school. With the official mind it is otherwise. The 'separate rating district' is the ultimate atom of its Cosmos, ultimate and therefore indivisible. The official mind can conceive nothing *more* ultimate. And so when we are asking for consideration to be shown to poor schools, the official mind cannot get beyond the conception of poor districts. Yet if to the official mind, the *idea* of the separate rating district is 'one and indivisible,' as the old French Republic vainly claimed to be, at all events there are divisions when you come to the concrete thing. For a district means an area, and an area may refuse to be homogeneous; and it will have its poor quarter and its rich quarter; and the only connection between them will often be that effected by the bookbinder who stitched the leaves of the rate-collector's receipt-book. So in what the rate-book will represent as a rich district you may have a school in a poor quarter surrounded with poverty, of which the rich quarter of the district has

no knowledge and towards which it feels no claim ; while in a district which on the average is poor you may have the reverse phenomenon. The fact is that a 'separate rating district' is very far from being the ultimate atom which it is taken for at the Privy Council Office. Nay, it by no means follows that it is a moral or a social unit at all. So much so that you may have the divisions we have spoken of coming over and over again in a single specimen. We confess ourselves irritated at this piece of red-tapism. Had the Bill been legislating for schools in China (not to say Laputa), where tabulated statistics might be the best facts you could get to go upon, we would not complain. But here is a case where ocular demonstration and local information can have full swing, and the actual position and opportunities of each school may be as fully known as every landowner knows the different circumstances of each farm he has to let—or else what is all the personal knowledge and personal work of all our army of inspectors for? To what other end are all the Privy Council's requirements as to the personal work and personal observation of local managers, if it is not to be appealed to and utilised in such cases as these? The mere fact of the clause dealing with districts instead of schools shows it to require amendment if it is to do any good. Lancashire readers will understand us when we add that schools in Ancoats, and Deansgate, and Angel Meadow, in Manchester, would not be relieved by this clause.

But this is by no means all. What justice requires is that in the altered condition of things brought about by the competition of Board schools and voluntary schools, the principle of payment by results should now have free play and equal application. The principle was not one of our own invention, and it has many imperfections and inconveniences. But we suppose that we are saddled with it for as far ahead as it is worth while to look, and therefore what we would ask for is simply that it be allowed to work itself out unchecked, and without the added injustices of arbitrary modifications. Let it be applied in its integrity to all schools alike—Board schools and voluntary schools, rich schools and poor schools, schools which stand in poor districts and schools which stand in rich districts—and then at least we shall know where we are. It is not that it will help us in all cases, but even if it did it would help Board schools as well. Some of our own schools may perish under it, but if so it will at all events be the weakest—alas not necessarily the worst—that would go to the wall. It would give us a fair field and no favour upon an intelligible basis, and whatever might be the issue, at least it must be a

case of the survival of the fittest. At present we cannot consider that we have this fair field ; and the 13th clause does not give it to us. Let us explain a little.

Payment by results means the grant to the school funds of a certain sum from Government for each child's attainment as certified upon examination by H. M. Inspector. All the rest of the school cost has to be defrayed by the children's payments *plus* the voluntary subscriptions in the case of voluntary schools—in the case of Board schools by the school pence *plus* the rates. It is obvious, then, that in a highly efficient school, where the children's pence are high, the demand upon the voluntary subscriptions on the one hand, or the rates on the other, may upon this plan be very much reduced ; and, had this method been for the first time introduced when Board schools were invented, it might very likely have been applied in its integrity. But when this principle was first invented by the calculating mind of Mr. Lowe, there were no Board schools to share the advantage. There were none but voluntary schools then ; and so, lest payment by results should prove too favourable, it was ordained that the payment should not be made (*i.e.* that the payment should *not* be by results) beyond the amount of half the actual expenses of the school, or to an extent beyond the amount of school pence *plus* the voluntary subscriptions. In other words, we *do not* get payment by results, but in a very large number of cases only a part of it. This of course does not hamper a Board school, because, whatever ultimate deficit may be caused, all has to be made up out of the rates ; but it hits *us* very hard, and that too in the exact cases where it is not only unjust, but where one would have expected it would have been thought worth while to help voluntary schools to keep on foot. For the cases where it hurts are those poor neighbourhoods where school fees are low, and where subscriptions are hard to get, the localities therefore where any addition to the rates is peculiarly onerous, and where *any* claim for relief of local taxation is peculiarly well founded. Yet these are just the cases where the extinction of voluntary schools is most imminent. Let the principle of payment by results have its unfettered operation, and then not only will justice be done to many a struggling school, but the rates will be relieved from the imposition of a Board school exactly where the ratepaying class is but one step removed above the *rate-aided* classes—that is, exactly where local burdens may most justly be relieved by the imperial exchequer.

But again : we have not fully stated the unfairness of the

present system as between voluntary schools and Board schools. The ramifications of its unfairness are curiously wide. Thus, for example, in calculating the cost of a *Board* school it is not merely 'maintenance' that is taken into account, but cost of administration and management—an item which swells its expenses enormously, and so inflicts a very much heavier burden on the ratepayers than the mere sustentation of the schools themselves.

No such item appears in the accounts of voluntary schools, and the consequence is, that the cost of their support is correspondingly reduced below that of the competing Board schools. How comes this? Not because their management is less efficient or requires less trouble, but simply because, being 'voluntary' and unpaid, it does not appear in the accounts. The misfortune is, that because the managers of Church schools do not charge for their work, because they do it for nothing, therefore it goes for nothing. Now why should not the value of their work be put in, and allowed to count towards their claim on the payment by results? How large an item in the cost of an elementary school that value really is, comes out for the first time now that you have Board-school accounts to look at. Turning to page 25 of the newly issued Privy Council Report, you find that the gross cost of the Board schools for the year ending August 31, 1875, was 881,640*l*. Now, how much of this went under that head of 'maintenance' which in voluntary schools sets the limit past which the payment by results is withheld? Actually not more than 558,874*l*.—only 63·4 per cent. of the whole. All the rest goes under the head of 'administration' and 'miscellaneous charges.' We had better extract the complete figures. They are as under :

	£
Administration	139,108
Maintenance	558,874
Miscellaneous	183,658

No explanation is given of these 'miscellaneous' charges, which nevertheless the Privy Council sets down as being charged legitimately upon income and not set against the capital account. But if we confine our attention to what they themselves call 'administration' as contrasted with 'miscellaneous,' what do we see? We see that the same schools which cost 558,874*l*. to 'maintain,' cost 139,108*l*. to 'manage.' In other words—we beg pardon, we ought to say, in other figures—for every FOUR pounds spent in maintenance ONE

pound has to be added for administration ! Observe that we are here leaving out of the calculation that unexplained 'miscellaneous' item which would add about another 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* to the 1*l.* named above. But keeping only to what the Report *calls* administration, these figures show that 'management' costs just a quarter as much as maintenance. Hence, upon the Board schools' own showing, our voluntary schools are worth at least one quarter more of their cost of maintenance as the value of managerial work. In the case of Board schools *all* this managerial cost comes out of the pocket of the public. Why should not ours be allowed at least to *count* towards the payment by results ? In that case a voluntary school costing 400*l.* a year would stand for another 100*l.* under the head of management. This 100*l.* would bring up its total cost to 500*l.*, with 250*l.* instead of 200*l.* as the half-cost limit of claim under payment by results ; while under the head of 'sources of income' you would have to reckon, not only children's pence and voluntary subscriptions, but also this 100*l.* of 'value of management' contributed by the managers.

We cannot help believing that we have now shown good cause for regarding the voluntary schools as not only worth some extra help from the Government, but, as things now stand, as being very far from receiving even that amount of help to which equal justice entitles them. In our former paper, that, namely, of January last, we showed that it would be to the interest of the country and of the ratepayers to keep the voluntary schools on foot. What we would now urge on Members of Parliament is this farther consideration, that the unfairness to which the voluntary schools are exposed goes very much farther than is generally understood, and that 'relief' is not only good policy but bare justice. Clause 13 admits the truth of our allegation. We have sufficiently shown how very far it is from meeting the need.

What course, then, would we propose to be taken by our representatives in Parliament ? We care very little what form the necessary amendments take, provided the end be secured. That form of amendment is best which deals out the most equal justice to voluntary schools and Board schools alike, and which adheres most closely to the now established principle of payment by results. Accordingly, we approve *any* amendment which removes those limitations on the payment by results, which, while unjust in themselves, make that principle inoperative in the very cases where the deservings are greatest. We should not object to the National Society's proposed amendment which would place a uniform limit on

the amount to be contributed by the State towards the education of any individual child, whether in Board or voluntary schools, and to make *this* and not the amount of sums raised from other sources the limit of the Parliamentary grant. That amendment suggests the following to be added at the beginning of Clause 13 :

The ninety-seventh section of the Elementary Education Act, 1870, shall be read as if the following proviso were added thereto: Provided that where the annual Parliamentary grant claimed by managers of an Elementary School does not exceed 17s.6d. for each scholar in average attendance, the limitation of the grant to an amount not greater than the income of the school from sources other than the grant, or than half the expenditure in the annual maintenance of the school, shall not apply.

But though we would admit of this as being of uniform application all round, and of a fair amount in money, we strongly prefer the simple removal of limitation and the application of the 'results' principle unfettered.

And again, in order to rectify the mode of calculation of the income of the school from these 'other sources,' perhaps the fairest way would be to add in the annual value of the school buildings. Where these are rented, there will of course be no question as to the amount. In the far more common cases of the buildings being freehold and originally built by the school managers for the purpose, it will be sufficient to estimate their annual value at *eight shillings* per head on the accommodation, such accommodation to be certified according to the regulations of the Education Department by H.M. Inspector. Add this and the amount of any endowment to the 'income from other sources,' do this in the case of voluntary and Board schools alike, and then we believe that substantial justice may be done in these particulars. One more injustice remains to be removed, and that is the unfairness of *rating* school premises. These three amendments granted, we would ask no more on the head of finance. Church schools and Board schools are clearly destined to divide the land between them. Be it so. Only let the terms of their co-existence be fairly equal, and we will abide the issue.

But there is one great 'amendment'—addition we should rather say—which ought to be made to the Government Bill before it can be regarded as even approaching to the character of the full completion of the Act of 1870. We mean some provision for the decent death and burial of moribund School Boards. The Act of 1870 did not provide for this. Perhaps

it was too much to expect of it. The framers of that Act went at their work in a spirit of somewhat wild enthusiasm. The School Board was their pet ; that it was not destined to something like an endless life never seems to have occurred to them. It was enough for them to assist at its birth. They may be forgiven for not adding the function of the undertaker to the more interesting one in which they rejoiced. It is another matter now. Doubtless there are School Boards which are destined to hand down Mr. Forster's name to future generations. Grateful ratepayers for many a long year to come will annually bless his memory, as it will be kept fresh before them by the periodical claims of the rate-collector. But it is not every district where School Boards have come into existence where this hope is likely to be realized. There are many where the Board has never walked, we might almost say has never left its cradle. There are many places where the only useful purpose that the Boards have served has been to provide some moderate salaries for some not very hard-worked employés. They have come through no fault of their own into an unappreciative world which will not give them work, and yet they cannot die ; at least, they have no legal way of departing from their unprofitable existence. There are also other places where the Board has both walked and worked, but where the more it has done the less it has been liked, and where people would only be too happy to be allowed to do in less expensive and more congenial ways whatever the Board has set on foot. Five years have cooled the affection of a good many districts for Mr. Forster's creations. It is time, therefore, that there should be some legitimate mode provided for helping these decently out of existence.

Now the one great merit of Lord Sandon's Bill is that it provides for doing whatever good a Board can do without the intervention of its expensive and cumbersome machinery. There will be many places where, when this Bill has passed, it will be found very desirable to substitute Lord Sandon's machinery for Mr. Forster's ; many where people would gladly have done with School Boards altogether ; not a few where, as we have above pointed out, the School Board exists only in a state of suspended animation, and only wants to be allowed to shuffle decently out of the world. As things now are, in all these cases the Boards are doomed to a luckless immortality. We can scarcely doubt that Parliament and Lord Sandon will consent to give them the means of a decent exit from the scene. Add this amendment to what we have above proposed, and we shall be content.

Our readers will observe that in our consideration of this Bill we have limited ourselves very rigidly to those precise particulars in which we, as Churchmen, *must* demand consideration. We have done this advisedly. To travel over all the questions raised by the Bill would exceed the space at our disposal. Moreover, though it might be serviceable, still we cannot but think that it would lead us somewhat farther afield than is our proper scope. *Our* chief business is with the Bill as it affects the work of the Church, and how it may be rendered just towards her work and her position. Our business is to do this with as full a statement of our reasons and our grounds as may be, leaving the settlement of other controverted points which do not touch on our domain to those whom it more immediately concerns.

But some one will say, Are you not falling back into a somewhat narrow view, in thus confining yourself to that particular aspect of the Bill, and those particular amendments, which affect you as Churchmen? We do not think so, and for the following reasons:

The whole drift and current of recent legislation upon the subject of education has tended in one direction, that, namely, of *doing without the Church*. We prefer to put it mildly, otherwise we might have used stronger language. It has been with this view that the Board schools have been set up throughout the country; with this view that religious teaching is ignored; with this view that legislative facilities have been given for overriding the trust-deeds of Church schools and making them over to School Boards, and so on. The *rush* with which all this came upon us in 1870 has made its mark upon the country. We do not say that it has carried all before it—far from it. But it has had a certain measure of success. It is certain that its prestige is waning, and that too as a result of practical experience of its working. It is certain, we consider, that its prestige will wane still more, as people become more fully acquainted with it. How very considerable a hold it still has upon the official mind is best evidenced by the feeble and halting attempt which, in spite of real good will, is all that Lord Sandon has ventured to propose in our favour. We allude, of course, to Clause 13. The legislation, then, of 1870 has, we say, made its mark upon the country. It has constituted that date a fresh point of departure. Things are not what they were before. A real definite change has come over the whole field of action in respect of education since that date, and the consequence is that a policy, a way of looking at things, and a mode of action on

the Church's part which would have been both good and wise before 1870, may be neither the one nor the other now. If any of our friends have failed to realise this, let us beg them to look the facts in the face and ponder them.

The great fact, then, to observe is, that the attitude of the State towards education and the Church is not merely modified, it is fundamentally changed. Prior to 1870 the State took no initiative in education. Prior to 1870 voluntary zeal, *i.e.* in actual practice, religious zeal, not only took the initiative, but the State accepted that initiative, and only entered as a co-operating, assisting, and regulating partner in the work. True enough, its partnership was of rather an encroaching description, but the basis of action was such as we describe. Prior to 1870 the initiative was with religious zeal. The State had no idea of any other initiative. All the elementary schools in the country wore the livery of their parentage.

The vast majority of schools throughout the country were Church schools, and were founded to carry out Church views. Education as a whole was a Church work, was so treated by the State, was legislated for on that basis; so that when the Church spoke upon any matter of educational legislation, she spoke about such legislation as a whole, because, practically speaking, the agencies chiefly concerned were (1) herself and (2) those schools which were her creation and her property.

Since 1870 all this is altered. Now it is the State which, so far as the eye of the law is concerned, takes the initiative. And though its initiative has not enabled—and, please God, never will enable—her to occupy an educational area or to do an educational work of anything like the magnitude that the Church has done—and, please God, shall continue to do—still there stands the fact. As a matter of State law, the State has assumed the initiative. We do not say that the Church surrenders her moral initiative in the matter, for, as a matter of responsibility to God, the Church, so long as she is worth the name, *must* act upon her teaching mission. But upon the worldly platform, upon the floor of the House of Commons, the *legal* initiative has been assumed by the State, and the position prior to 1870 is exactly reversed. Instead of the State saying to the Church, Education is your business, and I will help you, what the Legislature now says is this, Education is MY business; from my point of view I alone am responsible, and upon *that* basis I shall legislate.

Again, upon this basis the State has raised a large system of schools—schools that we call Board schools, schools from which all Church co-operation is jealously

excluded, schools which lie altogether outside the area of the Church's action. The Church remains in possession of her own schools, she retains that area of her own divine mission ; but this is a matter between herself and her Lord. Her educational action in the country is now, logically speaking and legally speaking, an accident, instead of being of the essence of the matter as it was before 1870. If the Church were to withdraw from the whole education field to-morrow, to the eye of the law and of the State it would make no difference ; the law would take its course, would fill the gap with State schools everywhere, education (so called) would go on all the same. Such, since the Church's great defeat in 1870, is the actual state of things. It is time that we recognized it. It is time that we set ourselves to act accordingly.

What do we mean by 'act accordingly?' We mean this:—accept the position ; strengthen ourselves to the uttermost *within* the area which we already hold ; maintain within that area our standard of religious education, which shall serve also as a standing example of what it *ought* to be everywhere ; but abstain altogether, until better times shall come, from attempting to modify the State's legislation for all that is beyond our area. The time may come, when we may be asked to do so ; but it certainly is not come yet. The impetus of 1870 is still too strong for us in many ways. It is far too early days as yet for the Church to attempt to do any real good in the way of influencing the State's mode of dealing with education within the area which it has secured to itself. What we can do is to hold our own ground, to make our own schools as efficient as possible, morally, religiously, intellectually,—to increase the area which we *do* occupy by every means in our power, and so to limit to the uttermost the sphere within which the State has won its usurped supremacy. And with this view we say, let Churchmen accept the position, and in any debates upon this or any other educational measure, let them confine themselves—*quâ* Churchmen—to those aspects of the measure which concern their interests as Churchmen, *i.e.* to requiring simple justice to their own schools. As citizens, as Englishmen, we have a right to equal justice at the hands of the law. If the Government introduces an Education Bill, and if that Bill, so far as it touches our schools, does us injustice, let us leave no stone unturned to obtain redress, let us never abate the effort to obtain justice. But let us not do more.

It is on this principle then that our counsel is that—*quâ* Churchmen—we confine ourselves to pressing those amend-

ments which directly concern ourselves.¹ Let the Church abstain from any meddling, through any organs of hers, with that which lies outside her own range. It is no necessary business of hers to go into the question of compulsion, direct or indirect. Persuasion, not force, is her motto. Let her not try to dictate to the State what precise measure of religion (?) shall be dealt out in those State schools from which she is so carefully excluded. She holds up her own standard of what it ought to be in the ten thousand schools where she is still supreme, and whence, if she continues to do her duty, she will never be dethroned.

In a word, then, our counsel as to the Church's general policy, for the present and for some time to come, is to accept this position, but to insist with the utmost tenacity on our being exposed to no additional unfairness by its mode of working.

The settlement of 1870, in the form in which it finally became law, was in itself unfair enough to all who hold a definite creed. Practically it came to this, that wherever the Government system has its way, there a new Government-religion for education is established at the expense of the ratepayers, and this new Government-religion is one which *may* be watered down to nothing, as at Birmingham, but which *may not* be improved above the level of what for convenience we may call British-and-Foreign-ism. Now the believers in British-and-Foreign-ism are persons who have never made any large sacrifices for education—and we have. Moreover, the great mass of the rates fall, not upon the believers in British-and-Foreign-ism, but upon us. The consequence is, that by the 1870 settlement, they have managed to get *their* religion 'established' at *our* expense, wherever the Government system prevails, leaving us all the time to carry on our own schools under the disadvantage of a competition towards which we are compelled to be the largest contributors. If this is *fair*, all we can say is, that it reminds us of that well-known 'division of labour' by which one party does the paying, and the other party the enjoying—a very agreeable arrangement for the latter, but which no one ever called *fair* except those who profited by the arrangement.

¹ Nothing is here said against any independent movement, either in or out of Parliament, for improving Board School education in respect of religion. All that we contend for is, that *the Church* should abstain from intruding herself into a sphere where she cannot have her proper scope, and where she would only incur responsibility without the correlative influence and power.

Why then is it that we counsel Churchmen for the present to content themselves with securing as much fairness as they can under this most unfair régime, instead of labouring might and main for its overthrow, or at least for its correction? Our grounds are mainly these—that its overthrow is impossible, its correction doubtful, but, above all, that by this slower, calmer, and more self-repressive course we shall ultimately do more to advance our *principles* than if we were to win a more immediate *party* success. Look how we stand. Spite of all discouragement, we do hold our own and something more. The Government Report just issued shows an increase in the average attendance at Church schools of 57,828. A year ago it was 1,117,461, now it is 1,175,289. A year ago we had 8,799 schools, now we have 9,449, an increase of 650. A year ago the total annual subscriptions to Church schools was 470,375*l.*, the amount for the year ended August 31, 1875, was 528,483*l.*: while the outlay on building the additional schools reached 230,390*l.*¹ Facts like these are the very best possible grounds on which to urge our claim on Parliament for the fair dealing which we claim under the existing system. They serve also to indicate how, in the long-run, we may best serve the cause which we have at heart—that namely of promoting the religious character of our elementary education. These figures show that not only have we been the first in the field, but that we have got fast hold of by far the larger proportion of the field. They show that in spite of all discouragements, we are keeping our hold of it. And this being so, they show that we are in a position to maintain everywhere before the public eye, not a theoretical, but an actual standard of religious education. And what will be the result if we quietly go on holding up our own standard without attempting to *force* a higher standard upon the Government schools? Why, unquestionably this, that after a little while the Board schools will of themselves begin to raise their standard, and try to gain credit for coming as near us as they can. There may be, and alas there is, much laxity and immorality in the country, but, after all, the country is religious at heart, and the Birmingham clique is quite out of harmony with the national conscience. What the national instinct shrinks from is compulsion in matters of religion, not from religion itself. It will follow where it will not be driven. It will end in imitating

¹ It is to be remembered likewise that out of (in round numbers) 3,000 teachers in training in the Training Colleges, above 2,000 are shown in this year's Government Report to be in those of the Church.

what it would reject if forced upon it. Keep up a high standard before people's eyes and there will be a tendency to emulate it.

Before long the School Boards will begin to be ashamed of their schools standing in a disadvantageous contrast with the Church schools in respect of religious teaching. Already one sees this tendency beginning to operate, and we have even met with a case in which a School Board had requested inspection and examination at the hand of the 'Religious Inspector' of the diocese. Our advice, then, is, that we do not attempt to interfere, as a Church, with the Government-religion, or the Government religious standard in the State schools; but that we confine ourselves to keeping our own schools in the highest state of efficiency and trust to the operation of time and the national conscience for the improvement of those outside. The Boards themselves will soon find the necessity of it if only we let them alone. The improvement in their tone of education which will thus result from what we may call 'spontaneous emulation' will be a reality so far as it goes, and therefore have a value and an efficacy. It will be inconceivably more potent for good than anything we could get done by persuading the Government to screw up the standard of Board-School-religion a peg or two higher by the central authority. In a word, example will be found more efficient than precept, the persuasive power of example more powerful than legislation. The Church herself will stand upon a moral ground infinitely higher, both now and in the future. She will stand upon a higher moral ground now, by maintaining her own position in her own way and declining any compromise with inferior systems. She will stand upon an infinitely higher ground hereafter, for when the fever of 1870 has spent itself and the reaction has fully come, people generally will come to understand the value of the standard which the Church has refused to lower. There is this advantage, after all, about the Board-School system, that since it makes everybody pay, and pay pretty smartly too, for elementary education, it will make everyone come to know something about it; it will make everybody understand something of the practical value of that religious zeal which can make a Church do voluntarily, and at small cost to the State, what the State cannot do for itself except at such large cost to the ratepayers; it will also make everyone see something of the hollowness and unreality of the purely factious spite which animated the small but active section who led the great crusade against Church

education in 1870, and who *misled* the country into the costly expedient of Board schools, nominally to serve the interests of education, really with a view to diminish the growing influence of the Church. It is true that we suffered a great defeat in the 1870 settlement, but it was a defeat which may end in the Church's character standing higher, her services being more thoroughly appreciated, her principles better understood. It was a defeat which may recoil upon those who led the onslaught when people come to compare the fruits of victory with the price ; and when they find that, after all the cost and trouble of the Birmingham bantling, it only ends in this, that the more that a Board school resembles a Church school the better they like it.

But to this end two conditions must be fulfilled. We must, *first*, maintain our own principles, and *next* we must maintain our own schools.

1. The first of these conditions requires that we make no compromise with the religious—or, rather, non-religious—basis of the Board-School system. This we shall do, or at all events, shall be supposed to do (which for all practical purposes is the same thing) if the Church, by her accredited organs, enters into any negotiation with Government, or commits itself to any amendments on the Bill with a view to imposing any religious standard on the Board schools. For it is absolutely certain that, under present circumstances, no standard could be fixed to which the Church could be a party without sacrifice of principle. The immediate rejoinder would be, 'If you *are* satisfied with this, why need you keep up your own schools at all?' The result would be that, our own schools would lose their *raison-d'être* and fall away, that the Board system, with its miserably low standard, *would* become universal, and then, with no external standard to lift it above itself, that low standard would sink lower and lower, until at last it would be all one with no standard at all. No ; let us stand quite clear of the Board-School system. It will be the better for both of us that we do so. Stand clear of it and it may rise to us. Coquet with it, we sink ourselves without improving it.

2. And we must maintain our schools. To this, then, as the final point, our whole effort for the present is narrowed down. And our counsel is, that our whole parliamentary action as regards the present Bill should be concentrated upon the one point of getting something like pecuniary justice done to our struggling schools. This was why we opened the present article, not with any exposition of principles or questions of higher policy, but with a simple discussion of finance and an expo-

sure of pecuniary wrong. Take away all restrictions on payment by results, *i.e.* extend Clause 13, and thereby set our schools free to earn their livelihood if they do their work; take away the irremovableness of a School Board, so that, if a district should prefer to revert to voluntary schools, it may be free to do so; and then the two systems will be free to go on side by side, not, indeed, on equal terms, for even then we shall be desperately weighted in the race, but, at any rate, not on such flagrantly unequal terms as exist at present. Is it too much to expect these two acts of mere reparation from a Parliament of Churchmen and from a Conservative administration? It has been bad enough to have suffered all these years under the hand of a tyrannous majority of declared opponents; but at all events they *were* opponents and we knew what we had to look for. If otherwise, if these acts of simple justice be refused by those who call themselves our friends, we shall be forced to say that friends and foes are strangely similar; Cæsar and Pompey very much alike, especially Pompey.

SHORT NOTICES.

Joannis Coleti Opuscula quædam Theologica. Letters to Radulphus on the Mosaic Account of the Creation, together with other Treatises, by John Colet, M.A., afterwards Dean of St. Paul's. Now first published, with a Translation, Introduction, and Notes, by J. H. LUPTON, M.A., Sur-Master of St. Paul's School, and late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. (George Bell and Sons.)

MR. LUPTON'S very proper and commendable regard for the Founder of St. Paul's School has rescued those of that Founder's writings which have been discoverable from the obscurity of the manuscript-room, and given to them such a new lease of immortality as the press of to-day—which is, after all, but a tenant for life—has in its power to confer. In the volume before us we have the concluding portion of Dean Colet's works in the original Latin, to which their editor has prefixed an excellent English version, much to the advantage of both learned and unlearned readers. The good Dean was not precisely a Cicero; he was, to tell the truth, but too fond of the base and new-fangled words for which, however, the colloquial Latin of his time is, no doubt, mainly responsible; and we suspect that his Latinity must have tried his editor now and then. So that it is as well for all parties that we have a translation. We do not enter into the question whether these treatises were in themselves worth reproduction. The republishing is an act of duty to Colet's memory, and there is no

more to be said. We fear, in fact, that, as expositions of the earlier chapters of the Book of Genesis, the 'Letters to Radulphus' are not good for much. They show considerable ingenuity, but it is of a perverse kind. The abysmal ignorance concerning physical science of even the best instructed men in that age threw them back upon allegorical or mystical expositions. Colet had certainly a yearning for something better. But we don't think he saw his way to it. As far as 'Radulphus' is concerned, we are sure he did not; and his 'Letters' accordingly present a curious patchwork of ideas gathered from the pseudo-Dionysius—a great authority with Colet—the Greek philosophers, especially Aristotle, Pico della Mirandola, and other writers of the same class. They are remarkable, therefore, as showing the ingenuity and mental power of the writer. That they are readable at all must be regarded as a great proof of this. But Colet, we feel assured, must have felt that he was not giving the real sense of the text. In fact, he confesses, not once nor twice, that he has not satisfied even himself, and begs for correction from his correspondent. The really remarkable thing about this is, that he should have written at all, under the circumstances. He was not in anywise the man to write for writing's sake. He had nothing of the *cacoëthes scribendi* in his nature; and in all probability the real explanation is, that he wrote with the desire to clear his own mind upon the subject, and without any intention of giving his entangled and laborious speculations a wider publicity.

The unfinished composition on the 'Mystical Body' is apparently the fragment of a sermon having for its theme the indwelling of the Divine Spirit in the Church. Whilst warmly orthodox, its illustrations and similes are rather forced and cumbrous; nor is it particularly able as a composition. Nearer to the writer's heart, and far more congenial to his powers, is the Exposition of the first five chapters of the Epistle to the Romans. His own disposition, earnest to follow, and anxious to teach others, the simple path of salvation, harmonized exactly with the line of thought pursued in the Epistle. Accordingly, there is no beating about the bush here. The writer expounds with the ease and clearness of one who is thoroughly master of his subject; and we can quite understand the enthusiasm and acceptance with which these Lectures were received when he read them in Oxford. 'Irreligion,' he cries, 'and neglect of God is the source of all evils. True religion through Jesus Christ is the root of all good.' The comments are remarkably simple and direct; the illustrations familiar; and the reader feels a regret, which he certainly does not feel with regard to 'Radulphus,' that he has not the entire comment in a complete state. Mr. Lupton has appended to his versions a list of all the works of Colet extant, letters written by him, and so on. A curious 'Epistola ad Wolseium,' assigned by Professor Brewer to the year 1517, asks the Cardinal—at that time the all-powerful dispenser of all patronage in Church and State—for some ecclesiastical preferment to be conferred upon his first sur-master, John Rightwise. We hardly know who is the modern antitype of the great Cardinal and Premier; but we hope whoever it

is will take the hint, and do likewise to the present and (as it seems probable) the *last* sur-master of Colet's ancient foundation.

The Life of the Right Reverend C. R. Sumner, D.D., Lord Bishop of Winchester. By his Son, the Rev. G. SUMNER. (London: J. Murray, 1876.)

IF Mr. George Sumner had styled his book the Eulogium, and not the Life, of Charles Richard Sumner, D.D., Bishop of Winchester, it would have more accurately described what will be found in its pages. He has certainly succeeded in showing that in domestic life his father exhibited in a very perfect manner all the qualities which endear a man to his family and friends. He also sets him before us as a handsome, dignified gentleman, able to win the popular heart by conciliating manners, general kindliness, and generous liberality. The incidents of his life show great activity, industry in mastering detail, and practical power in dealing with events as they arose. During a long and singularly prosperous life, he exhibited a thorough appreciation of his own good fortune, and a hearty enjoyment of the happiness showered upon him. So far we can agree generally with this story of Bishop Sumner's life; but here we part company. His biographer claims for him an influence which he was not generally believed to possess, an impartiality of administration which those who differed from him will be surprised to hear of, and a far-sighted wisdom which it is difficult to reconcile with the measures which he supported or opposed. Those who are familiar with the diocese of Winchester assert that he was never known to promote a man whose views did not coincide with his own. We are assured that during his episcopate he never even preached or confirmed in any of the poorer churches in South London, the incumbents of which differed from him in their views of religious truth. This want of power of sympathizing with men who did not pronounce his shibboleth is curiously and unintentionally illustrated in this biography. A clergyman who had seceded to Rome wished to return to the Anglican communion. He opened communications with Bishop Sumner, and lived in retirement for three years, for the avowed purpose of being received again into the fold from which he had strayed. The probationary term having expired, the Bishop heard, apparently from a Roman Catholic priest who wished to hinder his return, that the penitent clergyman had been seen in a Roman Catholic chapel; upon which the Bishop wrote to him in a strain which effectually destroyed all wish to be again a member of the Anglican communion. There is a like inability of entering into the position of opponents manifested in his manner of acting about the offertory; and, singularly enough, Mr. Sumner cites this incident as a proof of his large-heartedness. He evidently approves of the system, and in a charge recommends its adoption where it meets with universal approval; but he cannot resist the opportunity of blaming those to whom its introduction was due, and discourages all action which might influence opinion in its favour when any opposed it.

A good deal is said of Bishop Sumner's opposition to Ritualism. Now if Mr. Sumner really wished to prove that this opposition was not mere party spirit, he should at least have said something with reference to the following startling fact brought out by statistics gathered by Lord Shaftesbury and his friends relative to South London. These statistics showed that ninety-eight out of every hundred working men in that part of London included in Bishop Sumner's diocese never entered a place of worship. The new churches and schools erected during his tenure of the see did not remove this blot, and we hear of no proposal of his to attract this multitude of wanderers into the fold. To oppose Ritualism may be a very good thing, but we should have had more respect for an opposition which sought to remedy the admitted evil, and did not confine itself to hindering other efforts designed to accomplish the end.

All this is sufficiently strange, but the strangest portion of the book is in what it omits. Probably a hundred years hence the name of Bishop Sumner will be as little known as is that of the greater number of his predecessors. The one event in his episcopate which may cause his name to be remembered is the relations into which he was brought with John Keble. But of those relations, and of the painful proceedings connected with his refusal of priest's orders to Mr. Peter Young, not one word is said. It is not as if the biographer had forgotten Mr. Keble, for where he can be made use of his name is at once brought forward; but it is only once, and then it is as approving of one of the Bishop's later charges. There is a like silence about difficulties with respect to the ordination of other candidates for holy orders on grounds similar to those which caused the rejection of Mr. Peter Young, and some of which were common topics of discussion in the diocese. The family connection between the Sumners and the Wilberforces is carefully and usefully explained in a footnote. But there is no allusion to the warm personal interest of Mr. W. Wilberforce in the earlier fortunes of those two Sumners who subsequently became Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of Winchester. Other omissions of a similar kind might be enumerated; but perhaps the most daring suppression is that of the name of the Marchioness of Conyngham. It never once appears. The alleged special reason for her patronage of Mr. Sumner seems to us happily disposed of by positive statements, which are completely subversive of what was alleged; but that she was Mr. Sumner's great patron, we presume is undoubted. The biography states nothing inconsistent with the view that it was to her favour Mr. Sumner owed the royal patronage which literally showered benefits upon him. Between April 1821 and November 1827 he was made Historiographer, Chaplain to the King, and Librarian in Ordinary; Vicar of St. Helen's, Abingdon; Canon of Worcester; Canon of Canterbury; Dean of St. Paul's; Bishop of Llandaff; Bishop of Winchester. If such was the case, it is not quite faithful to facts, or grateful to a benefactor—however much he may have justified the favour shown to him—wholly to

ignore the cause to which alone he owed his rapid rise. Mr. Sumner, by this biography, has proved his filial affection; he has certainly not shown that he possesses any power of impartial criticism.

For two things in this book we thank Mr. Sumner. There are some good sketches of the state of social and political feeling in the early days of his father's episcopate. There are also a couple of capital letters from the great Duke of Wellington on the evils of pews, which we should think the Free and Open Church Societies will not fail to make the most of.

Journal of Commodore Goodenough, R.N., C.B., C.M.G., during his Last Command as Senior Officer on the Australian Station, 1873-1875. Edited, with a Memoir, by his WIDOW. With Maps, Steel Engraved Portrait, and Woodcuts. (London: Henry S. King and Co., 1876.)

THIS Memoir and Journal will afford satisfaction to a very natural desire in the public mind to learn more of one whose great public services and sudden and tragical death have rendered him famous. It depicts a type of man of a very valuable, and, as we are in the habit of thinking, peculiarly English kind. It may be thought that the circumstances of modern times are essentially prosaic, and afford scant opportunity for the display of heroism. Probably every age thinks thus of itself. It requires some effort to see, in the familiar circumstances of our own day, opportunities for a valour as real and as splendid as that of any mail-clad knight of the ages of chivalry. But it is unquestionably there, if we have eyes to see it. James Goodenough is an instance of it, of whom Englishmen may well be proud.

He was the son of Dr. Goodenough, sometime Dean of Wells, and was born in 1830, so that he was only forty-five when he died. He was sent to Westminster School, where he seems to have acquired a name for determination and 'pluck.' He went to sea when he was fourteen; and from this time until he met his death at Santa Cruz his motto was *Duty*; his first question, What is Right? This unswerving honesty of purpose, and an equally unmistakable industry, appear the great guiding lines of his character. Whatever his hand found to do, he did it with all his might. Without, as it seems, any exceptional ability, he kept himself in the front ranks of his profession with regard to technical attainments of every kind. He was a remarkably good linguist; and his general intelligence brought him repeated missions to inspect foreign dockyards and arsenals, and often to represent the Naval service on the Continent of Europe. And of actual service before the enemy he saw as much as probably most officers see in these times of peace. He took part in the Russian war, being on board H.M.S. 'Hastings' in the Baltic. Then he went out to the China station in the 'Raleigh,' which was wrecked in the China seas. After this a separate command was given him, and he served through the Chinese war, partly at the head of a naval brigade on shore, partly in command of the 'Calcutta.' His corre-

spondence is particularly interesting at this time. He describes war at close quarters, and it is by no means a pretty thing :

'The boats had pulled on after the capture of the first body of junks, and ignorant of the existence of these twenty, in front of whom three or four light leading boats suddenly found themselves at a turn of the river. A heavy fire began directly our boats checked their speed. The heavy boats with guns came up, but either touched a bank or were carried by the current against those already on it, and a sad loss followed. Major Kearney, a volunteer, Deputy Quartermaster-General of the Army, was almost the first killed by an 18-pounder full in the breast, as he sat by the side of Captain Leckie, in the "Fury's" gig. A round shot struck the Commodore's galley, and she began to fill. He stepped on the thwart to keep dry till another boat came up, and another shot passed under his feet and went through the bottom of the boat. Victor was with him, binding the stump of a fine young Isle of Wight man's arm. Another man had both his legs taken off, and two others were wounded as she sank from under them. The Commodore called out to save his pendant, and stepped into Captain Turnour's cutter, shaking his fist at the junks, promising to pay them out for this in the afternoon. Graham, close to me in the pinnace, had his jacket riddled by grape and his legs blackened by the wind of a round shot. Two men's heads were taken off by his side, and the blood from their poor trunks literally covered him; three or four others were wounded in his boat, and the Commodore was persuaded to retire and reform. Just then we came up and opened fire from our bow gun. The boats gave us some of their wounded, which filled our mess-room and cabins, and then dropped astern to reform. . . . I had received many more wounded, nearly all very badly so, and so I was ordered to take them straight to Hong Kong at once, and passed a horrid night on the bridge. Put the sick on board the hospital ship at seven in the morning; coaled, watered, and started again at six in the evening. Passed another night on the bridge, piloting the ship, and reported myself to the Admiral at nine o'clock the next morning. I never was so dead beat in all my life. All the way down I had the ringing of shot in my ears, and the groans of a poor fellow with half his skull fractured and carried away, who could not be removed. And coming up we had two alarms of springing a leak, and I had actually steered for a sandy place to put the ship on shore—the first from the injection pipe of the engine bursting, and the second from the speed and immersion causing a shot to work out of a hole which it had before stopped for itself'—(p. 21.)

This was his last experience of war. After some years passed on the Mediterranean and other stations, he was appointed commodore on the Australian station. To his report made in conjunction with Mr. Layard it is said to be owing that the annexation of Fiji was determined upon. Whilst cruising among the islands in the 'Pearl' the deplorable incident took place in which his valuable life was sacrificed, there can be no doubt, to the dislike and fear produced in the natives by previous visits of kidnappers to the islands. The grief and regret felt at the news of his death at Fiji, in Australia, wherever in the Southern archipelago he was known, was embodied in official declarations, which form the most striking proof of the respect and attachment which he never failed to inspire. He was manly and unaffectedly Christian to the last; indeed, we know few

things more truly touching than the story of his last days. He was struck down in his prime of strength and health, and his manner of composing himself to meet the stealthy and gradual approaches of death during those last days may be commended to the perusal of all Christian men. It recalls Addison's death-bed ; with as much composure and steadiness, more affectionateness, and less perhaps of that theatricality of feeling which causes a *tableau* ; for Addison's famous sentence we have always felt to be somewhat in the Frenchified manner of that time.

From a literary point of view the Memoir is simple and pleasing. There are no excrescences, no jets of fine writing, no obtrusion of the writer's personality ; all is calm, dignified, and as well drawn up as a State paper—such a memorial, doubtless, as the deceased would have wished, had his modesty permitted him ever to contemplate the possibility of his requiring one.

The Journal is full of intelligence, and interesting ; but it is somewhat lengthy. The Commodore's mental activity shows itself in the tentative vocabularies which he was compiling, which are worth attention. But they are so utterly diverse that we cannot but think he must have caught some of the sounds incorrectly. We are heartily glad to see this memorial of a brave and good man.

Sermons preached before the University of Oxford and on various Occasions. By J. B. MOZLEY, D.D., Regius Professor of Divinity, Oxford, and Canon of Christ Church. (London : Rivingtons, 1876.)

WE do not hesitate to characterize this as one of the most remarkable volumes of sermons ever published. We only do not compare them with some of the few really great sermons which have come from Oxford during the last five-and-thirty years because they are so thoroughly *sui generis* that comparison is out of the question. Of their own kind they are supreme. Any one who will read the sermon on 'Pharisaism' will, we imagine, admit at once that for depth of moral insight, for grasp and co-ordination of moral phenomena and of moral judgment, there is scarcely anything like it in the language ; and what we say of this sermon may in a measure be repeated of one or two of what follow, especially those on 'Our Duty to Equals' and on the 'Reversal of Human Judgments.' And the remarks on the duty of preserving our individuality which occur in the sermon on the 'Work of the Spirit in the Natural Man' are as powerful as they are true and important.

It is evident, at a glance, that Professor Mozley is of the school of Bishop Butler. It is also evident that in this volume you have some Butlerian excellences raised to still higher degrees of development than in the Bishop's own performances. The Professor sinks his shafts into strata of our human being underlying any which the Bishop reached. His eloquence—for now and then his theme *forces* him unconsciously into eloquence—is more fervent. His apophtheg-

matic utterances—a feature in which Butler too is strong—are even more frequent, more weighty, more striking. There are short sayings in these sermons that no man can ever forget. We trust that there will be few of our readers who will not study them for themselves.

The St. James' Lectures. Companions for the Devout Life: Six Lectures delivered in St. James' Church, Piccadilly A.D. 1875. With a Preface. By Rev. J. E. KEMPE, M.A., Rector. (London: John Murray, 1875.)

It is hard to say whether the contents of the volume before us are more beautiful or more useful. The extreme beauty of the lectures on the '*Pensées*' of Pascal, and on the '*Confessions*' of S. Augustine, and the force, raciness, and, in some measure, the originality of that on Baxter's *Saint's Rest*, almost make us incline to the former alternative. Yet it is hard to think of anything much more useful to those who will be at the pains to ponder and to assimilate it than the mass of general, moral, and spiritual teaching which positively flood their pages, quite apart from the particular guidance how to get most good out of the book immediately under discussion.

The lectures are, indeed, a singular success. Long enough to grapple fairly with their subjects, they are real and thoroughgoing critiques as well. And at the same time, though critiques, they are counsels also, and you never lose sight of their practical religious intention, namely, to set you right, and to help you to go right. Disclaiming, as their preface does, the title of 'ordinary sermons,' they seem to be *extra*-ordinary chiefly in the amount of teaching conveyed, in the force with which they take hold of you, and in the fact that they produce so thoroughly the impression which it were to be wished that sermons 'ordinarily' effected.

We speak strongly because we feel strongly, and for one reason besides. First, in the limited space which is all that can be given to a mere notice, we cannot review the book in detail, and, therefore, must characterize it decisively. Next, because the volume is the result of a somewhat bold experiment, and the success of that experiment ought to be made known, and its value duly acknowledged. The Rector of St. James' has had the happy tact and boldness to hit upon what in London is a new idea, and turned his afternoon service during the season to an account, for which every one concerned must thank him. And the success shows plainly enough that the pulpit has not lost its power. Here you see a large congregation ready and willing to listen to a sermon of nearly, if not quite, an hour long, and where it must be added that no small demand is often made upon thought and attention. Did our space permit we should gladly quote, but space does not permit, and we must, therefore, content ourselves with our very hearty recommendations of the volume.

A Commentary on the Gospel of S. Luke. By F. GODET, Doctor and Professor of Theology, Neuchâtel. Vol. I. Translated from the Second French Edition, by E. W. SHALDERS, B.A., Newbury. (Edinburgh : T. and T. Clark. 1875.)

THAT great storm of criticism which has so long been raging over all the institutes of the Christian faith, has certainly not spared the Gospel of S. Luke. But it may perhaps be said to have dealt with this Gospel less severely than some others. The reference in its opening verses to ordinary sources of information with respect to the events it records, while in one direction it increases the evidential value, in another somewhat shelters it from attack. The fact that the compiler claims only to have been the eye-witness of few, if any, of the events he describes, coupled with the strong probability that in Chapters i.—iii. he was cognizant of Aramaic records, have undoubtedly tended somewhat to divert the attack from the Gospel itself, and fix it upon subsidiary details; whilst the direction of the defence has naturally followed that of the attack. In a word, S. Luke's Gospel has undoubtedly occupied the attention of commentators and homilists less than either S. Matthew or S. John. The fact is certain; if the reason be not that which we have given above, we do not know what it can be.

Circumstances therefore afford an additional reason for welcoming this version of Prof. Godet's excellent commentary on S. Luke, of which the first volume is before us. We cannot call it a commentary of *popular* character; yet it differs somewhat from the ordinary type, and that in a direction to fit it for general use. 'It has been written,' says its author, 'not so much with a view to its being consulted, as read.' Therefore, its commentary is less technical and brief, less broken and allusive, more continuous, didactic, pastoral; and, while discussing all questions suggested by the text with a fulness and freedom which leave nothing to be desired, the author's view is evidently to interest the heart as well as the mind, and to produce as well an intelligent as a sympathetic and devotional appreciation of the Gospel. It goes very much upon the same lines as Stier's *Reden Jesu*, without his somewhat formal mode of treatment, and its style is more lively and rhetorical. To the clergy we can confidently recommend it. The translation has been well made by Mr. Shalders; and, though there are awkward phrases now and then occurring,¹ the version on the whole reads well. The discussion of the difficult census-question is remarkably thorough, and should be consulted by all who wish to make up their minds. There is considerable weight in the arguments against the view of Tholuck, Ewald, Wieseler, and others (recently, too, accepted without question by Professor Caspari), that πρώτη ἡγεμονεύοντος in ii. 2 is equivalent to πρότερον ἢ ἡγεμονεύειν, taxing *first made when* . . . to taxing *made before* . . . Prof. Godet puts forward another hypothesis which we give for what it may be worth:—

¹ The barbarism *Quirinius* for Quirinus occurs many times. On p. 40 in the sentence 'Mary accepts the sacrifice of that which is dearer to a young maiden,' &c., he has imperfectly rendered his author.

'We have seen that the census which was carried out by Quirinius in 759 U.C., ten years after the birth of Jesus, made a deep impression upon all the people, convincing them of their complete political servitude. This census is called the *enumeration* without any qualification, therefore (Acts v. 37); but it might also be designated the *first enumeration*, inasmuch as it was the first census executed by pagan authority; and it would be in this somewhat technical sense that the expression ἡ ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη would here have to be taken. We should accentuate ἀντή (as has been already proposed) ἀντή, which presents no critical difficulty, since the ancient MSS. have no accents, and understand the second verse thus: As to the census itself called the *first*, it took place under the government of Quirinius, and which history had taken account of under the name of *the first*; there had really been another, generally lost sight of, which was the very one here in question; and thus that it was not unadvisedly that he spoke of a census anterior to the first'—(p. 128.)

Another suggestion to be noted is that on p. 123, that whereas women were ordinarily not liable to appear at the ἀπογραφὴ in person, Mary was an *heiress* (not necessarily of property), *i.e.* sole representative of one of the branches of her tribe, and was therefore required to appear in person. For in strict conformity with this idea, it is argued that the genealogy given by S. Luke is that of S. Mary. The Talmud calls her 'the daughter of Heli'—(*Chagig.* 77. 4.)

Biblical Studies on the Old Testament, by M. GODET. Translated from the French by Mrs. Lyttelton, and edited by the Hon. and Rev. W. H. Lyttelton, Rector of Hagley. (Oxford and London: Parker.)

THE early portions of these graceful and thoughtful studies remind us of M. Nicolas' *Etudes Philosophiques*. How far they serve to reconcile the books of Moses with modern science, we need not undertake to judge. But there is truth and force in the slightly satiric remark, at p. 119, on the physicists, who, a few years since, protested against the doctrine of the unity of the human race, and who now plead in favour of the unity of the entire animal and, possibly, even vegetable creation. But physical science forms only a small part of the problems here discussed. Some ninety pages, about one-fourth of the volume, are occupied with the 'Song of Songs.' M. Godet, with Bossuet, Ewald, and others, gives us an ingenious interpretation of the poem in its literal acceptance, but, unlike Theodore of Mopsuestia, and later critics, is anxious to build the spiritual *exegesis* upon it. Here, again, no one has a right to dogmatize, and so keen a critic as Dr. Littledale regards the attempts at a literal interpretation as unsatisfactory, and with Origen, Theodoret, S. Gregory of Nyssa, and S. Bernard, thinks it safer to adopt the mystic sense alone. On the whole, the studies on the Angels, on the Four Greater Prophets, and, above all, the admirable essay on the Book of Job, appear to us the most valuable parts of M. Godet's book. But it is a suggestive work throughout and very interesting,

though we might here and there be inclined to affix a *cautè legendum* to some of the speculations concerning the Angels.

Messianic Prophecy: its Origin, Historical Character, and Relation to Old Testament Fulfilment. By Dr. EDWARD RIEHM, Professor of Theology, Halle. Translated from the German, with the approbation of the Author, by the Rev. JOHN JEFFERSON. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.)

THE book on prophecy before us has the great advantage and value of laying down a definite and unvarying principle of interpretation—a *kind of calculus*—which will enable us to have a reasonable confidence in the correctness of an exposition.

Dr. Riehm's method is not very clearly developed, but we think we shall not be wrong in laying down that he proposes to base all his explanations upon the historical sense of the prophecy then first intended when it was spoken. He holds that the historical events during whose evolution the prophecies were spoken exercised over them a twofold influence. He says :

‘The progressive development of Messianic prophecy stands in genetic and teleological connection with the course of the history of the Old Testament kingdom of God—in genetic connection, because of the influence of historical relations just mentioned ; in teleological connection, because history, as much as prophecy, was preparing and educating Israel for its destiny, and for the reception of the Messianic blessings. History and prophecy worked together for the same end, ran parallel with each other, and took equal steps’—(p. 83.)

This is clear enough, and points out that the form of the prophecy being suggested by the immediate future of the nation, this outward temporary envelope has to be disengaged before we reach the core of Messianic prediction. The horizon of even the greatest prophets was, according to our author, a limited one, 1 *S. Peter* i. 11, 12, *notwithstanding*. Each of them had his historical limit, circumscribing his vision. It was sometimes narrower, sometimes wider, but never extended farther, in the way, we presume, of definite detailed prediction, than the immediate or quasi-immediate historical consequences of contemporary events.

‘It is only the next portion of the path along which God is about to lead His people to another epoch, forming a turning-point in their history, that the enlightened eye of the prophet can see more or less distinctly. But he recognizes it as leading to the end which God in His gracious purpose has designed ; for the above-mentioned ideal knowledge of the history of the future may be compared in its relation to the concrete historical development of the kingdom of God, so far as the prophet can survey it from his point of view, to the heavens which limit the spot of earth to be seen from some watch-tower. The latter glory, as observed above, lay before the eyes of every prophet as he gazed into the future ; only the new stages of development in the history of the kingdom which might intervene between him and the fulfilment of his hopes were hidden from him’—(p. 92.)

It resulted then that each prophet shaped his Messianic utter-

ances, as it were, *in terms of his own time*, following from the connection which he seemed to see between the present and the remote future. He saw successive future events projected, so to speak, upon a single plane, and therefore he often seems to connect together events which the fulfilment shows to be far apart from each other. Another point upon which he insists is that the Messianic ideas are *presented in instalments*, taken up again and again, never fully combined in one formula, so that the expositor has to gather the idea in its entirety from the collection and collocation of the parts successively unfolded, at separate periods and by prophets living far apart from each other. In both these points he appears to be clearly right; and the positions laid down above have the appearance of great and fruitful principles. It is to be borne in mind, however, that the author, notwithstanding his protests against a spiritualistic scheme of exposition, himself relapses into it, though in isolated instances only. Probably his protest is more against an uniform habit of spiritualising all round, so as to deny the literal application of any prophecy, which is the tendency of Hengstenberg's system, than against detailed instances of the same. He appears to be in error where he lays down that prophecy could never have been uttered during ecstasy, because it arises from an orderly though heightened and extended action of the natural powers. Ecstasy does not necessarily imply disorder and raving. What we understand by it is an elevated and illuminated condition of the entire nature, which does not supersede existing conditions of knowledge, but rather utilises them to the utmost, whilst going beyond them.

On the whole, without pledging ourselves to agreement with every position the treatise contains, we must regard it as a valuable and pregnant one—able and very suggestive, and affording a real contribution to the elucidation of its difficult and ill-understood subject.

The Divine Life and New Birth, with a Supplement on the Incarnation. By the Rev. JAMES CRAIK, D.D., Rector of Christ Church, Louisville. Third Edition. (Louisville: John P. Morton and Co. New York: E. P. Dutton and Co. London: Trübner.) 1876.

CONSIDERABLE portions of this work were, as it seems, published in 1850; more than a quarter of a century ago. It is evidently the production of an able and well-furnished mind. But it is not a book whose utterances we should at all like to be bound to. The author must thank himself for this. With the (shall we say wilfulness?) of a powerful thinker, he strives to cast all his utterances into original forms. One has to stop and ask, after each of his general statements, 'How will this harmonize?' &c., &c. We are not meaning that his results are to be regarded with suspicion. On the contrary, the more we read the more we are convinced, that in his views and tendencies he is essentially orthodox and catholic. Still there is sufficient unconventionality about his 'way of putting things' to make people hesitate; and we are not surprised to read the author's hint in his

preface that they encountered 'opposition' when originally published. Persons who like looking at the subjective and philosophical elements of the Christian scheme from novel points of view, and with a certain dash of American *naïveté*, and yet with substantial accuracy in the fundamental positions, will like this book.

The Spiritual Body; an Essay in Prose and Verse. By JOHN CHARLES EARLE, B.A. Second Edition. (J. W. Kolckmann.)

THE author of this curiously duplex volume is a Roman Catholic layman, not unknown in literature. He has here given expression to an idea of much beauty, but which is very far from being so original as he thinks it, having been expressed by many thinkers of late—we may mention Serjeant Cox, in his work *The Mechanism of Man*—and indeed may be followed up we know not how far back.

His idea is that, whereas a body of flesh and blood is laid down by each human being at death, it is a spiritual body that is taken up at the resurrection; and that this spiritual body is even now in existence within each of us, as a germ exists in its covering, from which death will set it free; so that it will preserve the identity of the former body under altered conditions. It is obvious that such a view must remain for each of us, until the moment of experience, an unproved theory. But there appears to us to be no valid objection to it as a theory. It is clear and coherent, nor does it conflict with the declarations of Holy Scripture or the doctrines of the Creed, when each are rightly understood; particularly when we bear in mind that in this as in other matters of physical knowledge, Holy Scripture invariably uses popular and anthropomorphic language. It is observable that the author points to the undoubted probability that the material atoms of our fleshly bodies belong to one person after another, and 'could not be reclaimed for individuals at the last day, without taking from numberless bodies of which they have formed part.'

The book is a suggestive one; a book to be read and pondered; but certainly not one to be rashly adopted as a whole.

The poetical part of it has much and frequent beauty of thought, with just as frequent faults of clumsy and prosaic expression. Mr. Earle has, we observe, written a volume of sonnets. They should have taught him the value of dainty workmanship. We daresay the following is true enough in point of fact; but oh! what commonness and bathos of expression. He surely has not learned the canon, that poetry should never attempt to deal with minute detail:

'Their gases, azote, carbon, will combine
With other substances, with flowers and grass,
With fire and water, fish and fowl and kine,
And countless generations as they pass.

'The dead become the food of living men;
Our bread from them in part derives its hue;
We bite their dust, inhale their oxygen,
And are their debtors in each nerve and thew.'

The Church and Liberties of England. By the Rev. NEVISON LORAINÉ. (London, 1876.)

THE design of this volume is to promote the ejectment of disloyal Ritualism from the Church of England. The author appears to be of the school of Dean Howson, who prefixes a commendatory introduction, and who is repaid, in a dedication, by a reference, not wanting in hardihood, to his 'unanswerable volume' on the Eastward position. The intentions of the author are evidently sincere and loyal; but he gives no evidence of any acquaintance with history or theology, beyond the more current and popular works of the last thirty years, or with the sharpness of the edge of the weapons he so freely handles.

That there is such a thing as a disloyal Ritualism, that there are priests who aim at bringing in upon us, not only mediævalism, but even the last and worst fashions of Popery, in worship and in pastoral relations, Mr. Nevison Lorainé has shown by some of his copious extracts. And so far he has done good service. Whatever else may be safe or unsafe, right or wrong, it is safe, and cannot but be right, to draw these proceedings and publications into the light of day, that their bearings on religion and on liberty may be well considered, and that Englishmen may be on their guard accordingly.

Beyond this, we cannot carry our commendations of Mr. Lorainé, or of Dean Howson, who appears to be his leader. In the first place, they recommend a method of cure by excision, without apparently caring to weigh the question, what the operation is really to be, or how it will affect the constitution of the patient. In the second place, their starting point is this (Howson, Introduction, p. xiii.), that, in the opinion of 'thoughtful' persons, the Church of England is at present 'threatened by a serious danger.' By *one* serious danger; and what is that one? Not the assaults made upon the foundations of dogma by clergymen and even dignitaries of the Church; not the unexampled extension of a radical scepticism; not the disposition to destroy the authority of the Sacred Scriptures; not the decline of morality in the highest circles of society; these are not *the* serious danger of the Church. It is to be found in the pranks and vagaries of a body of clergy, of whom we doubt whether two, or even one, hundred could be counted among the twenty-two thousand, and of whom perhaps not ten have a name known beyond the limits of their parishes. Mr. Lorainé handsomely admits (pp. 62-3) their zeal and piety, and acquits them of dishonourable intention. And he is quite right in saying that innocent intention does not give a title to immunity. Yet here, in passing, we notice cause for some reflection, if not marvel. The same stamp and school of men, who are for ever condemning the Church authorities of the last century for driving out Wesleyans (never driven out at all) because they were pious and zealous, and should have been turned to account, are equally loud in proclaiming that another set of persons, who are also pious and zealous, should be driven out now.

But this is not the main question; for we admit that there are (and in more quarters than one) both doctrines and practices

among us which cannot establish, as of right, their claim to toleration. The main question is *who* are to be ejected; and whether the Church, which still maintains its unity, is to be kept in unity or rent into many fragments. Rend it! By no means, say Dean Howson and Mr. Loraine. On no account would they question the title of the old historical High Church party. Now, what is the value of the boon, thus generously tendered to those who have made the theology of the English Church? They are exhorted to sever themselves from the Ritualists, to leave the wretched men to their fate, to allow the majestic march of justice to proceed undisturbed to the accomplishment of its work. Only a few heads are to roll upon the scaffold; and then, all will be well. Such is the advice of Mr. Loraine and of Dean Howson. But what is the aim of the proceedings in the Courts which each apparently, and the Dean most explicitly, eggs on to the best of his ability? They are not aimed at any of the doctrines and practices, which Mr. Loraine sets forth as incorporating the essence of disloyal Ritualism. They are aimed especially, avowedly, and mainly at one or two usages, which in principle nearly all those clergy called High Church-men, whether practising them or not, refuse to abandon; and to one, at the least, of which, four or five thousand of them have gone so far as actually to subscribe an adhesion. So that, after all, the meaning of the injunction to separate from the Ritualists is this: allow the Ritualists to be driven out, in order that you yourself may form the tail of their departing procession.

We do not anticipate such folly among the authorities, or such light handling of the sacred duty of judicature, as is likely to result in this deplorable catastrophe, and thus to sound the knell of the Established or National Church of England. But we contemplate with painful surprise the shallow information, the short-sighted levity, and the abundant rashness of some men, who tender themselves, in a moment of danger, as advisers to the Church and Commonwealth.

Disestablishment; or a Defence of the Principle of a National Church.

By GEORGE HARWOOD, M.A. (London: Macmillan and Co.)

THE Church of England, like many other public institutions, has at times to cry out 'Save me from my friends!' Open attack brings about steady defence; whilst a defence upon wrong principles often does more eventually to cut the ground from under the thing defended than any degree of undisguised hostility. Now we have here just such an instance of unwise partisanship. Mr. Harwood defends the Establishment upon that thoroughly Erastian principle with which Dean Stanley has made us familiar, viz. that the Church is nothing more than the State in its religious aspect, and derives, therefore, all such authority as it possesses from the tacit or express *consensus* of national opinion. Such a theory destroys more than it conserves, arouses tenfold more hostility than it conciliates, and can never be successfully maintained in these days of religious

earnestness. Since the prevalence of the ideas which brought about the Reform Bill the Church of England could not stand on such terms for a single hour, and should the persuasion ever gain ground that the Church of England was nothing more than the creation of the temporal power in the way Mr. Harwood indicates, there would be an instant exodus from her which would leave her a mere shell.

Happily the writer exhibits the weakness of his principle by his constantly recurring inconsistencies with himself. He rightly rejects the fiction that, at some definite date, the State and the Church entered into a *concordat*, as full grown and mutually independent bodies. But he brings it back again by a side wind, and implies it repeatedly in many passages of his work. The necessities of his argument force him to acknowledge that the endowments were the gifts of private benefactors, who gave to some organized body capable of receiving them, and that certainly was not the State. At another time he insists with much iteration that 'the Church of England and the State of England are not now, and have never been, two separate institutions'—(p. 90). Now this is true in one sense, false in another. The Catholic Church of Christ is far older than the State of England, and when it came to these Isles under the leadership of Augustine (we neglect the earlier British Church for the moment), it came in a state of completeness. Into what does Mr. Harwood imagine that Ethelbert and his thanes were baptized, if not into the Catholic Church? But the establishment *grew* by slow degrees with the growth of the nation. It was never *made* by a legislative act; but it was recognized as existing in innumerable phrases of the lay legislature. The present writer does not know, or refuses to recognize what the Church is. Although he devotes an entire Chapter (IV.) to the question, What is a National Church? his definitions are inaccurate, and do not cover the whole ground. The Church is not, except, incidentally, 'a spiritual brotherhood of those who hold the same faith.' That is the Congregational idea. Neither is it 'an outward organisation for religious purposes'—*merely*. That is the Erastian idea, and it makes the Church a body without a soul. The Church of England is that part of the Catholic Church which exists in England, and the Catholic Church was founded by Christ. And to talk, as Mr. Harwood does, of the Church, that if all the bishops and clergy were to leave it to the last unit, the State would just appoint some more, and then all would go on as before, is worse than a mistake, and if believed would do the Church of England more harm than a dozen treatises in defence of its establishment would do good. This kind of tone may reflect very well the talk of certain circles. There is an almost ostentatious disavowal of enthusiasm, a sort of know-the-world and common-sense kind of air which may go down with some classes of mind. We cannot say it approves itself to us.

On the other hand, the book is clearly the production of a very able man, as no one can doubt who heard him speak at the Bath Congress of 1873; extremely well intentioned and loyal; fairly, though not thoroughly informed upon the matters at issue; and with a certain unconventionality of phrase and style, which is not without

its charm. To correct all the errors, however, in the historical portion of the book, would take us too long. The writer thinks that it was the Bishops who prompted the strict measures for uniformity passed at the Restoration ; whereas it was the lay legislature—(p. 84). He appears to think that it was Charles II., instead of James II., who issued the declaration of indulgence—(p. 85).

There is an odd blunder too on p. 90, where Swift is represented as saying that Christianity had ceased to be a subject of inquiry, because every one knew it to be fictitious. Now, we cannot find that Swift ever said any such thing ; and we strongly suspect that the passage has been transferred in a mutilated state from the Advertisement to the first edition of Bishop Butler's *Analogy*, published in 1786, where any one may read it.

We must not, however, give the impression that Mr. Harwood is always going wrong. He often writes sensibly and with considerable force and power. We will give a short specimen of his style, in the sentiment of which we entirely agree :

‘ Undoubtedly many causes have helped to bring this about ; amongst the most probable may be named the increased quickness, and consequently the increased shallowness, of life generally ; the lamentably excessive attention to newspapers and other transient literature, which not only neither stores nor strengthens the mind, but also does it great positive injury by rendering it averse to, and incapable of, sustained and concentrated thought ; the undoubtedly materialistic tone of the age, which makes it grossly exaggerate the importance of those practical utilities which, though seen, are temporal, and blinds it to the greatness of those deep principles which, though unseen, are the only things which are real and eternal ; and last, and probably the most effective cause of all, must be included the altered character of our political condition, which has placed our destinies largely in the hands of those who neither care for principles nor understand arguments, but are chiefly led by impulses’—(p. 141.)

We shall hope to meet with Mr. Harwood again ; but we cannot endorse the principle upon which his advocacy is conducted in the present case.

Infant Baptism and Confirmation. Two Sermons preached in Salisbury Cathedral, by GEORGE MOBERLY, D.C.L., Bishop of the Diocese. (London : Rivingtons.)

IN these sermons Bishop Moberly desires to enforce the fact that in the thorough realisation of the doctrine of Baptism as the consecration to a particular life and work, and the refreshing and invigorating that consciousness by means of the preparation for Confirmation and first Communion, lies the secret of binding young people with hearty conviction to the Church. As it is, we fear they are often lost to us *between the two points*. It is a most laborious work, doubtless, to keep up a personal and individual knowledge of every child in the flock. But it is emphatically *that*, and no other, which is the *pastoral* work. ‘ If,’ says the Bishop, ‘ the clergy would regularly use the “religious hour” of the day in personally superin-

tending or giving religious instruction in the day school, and take advantage of their great opportunities in the Sunday school ; if they would regard, as they often do, and still more often might do, all the children as their baptized little ones, gradually qualifying for Confirmation, catechizing them regularly and carefully in church, then he thinks the ill-effects of the Education Act might be well nigh neutralised ; and so think we ; and, furthermore, that we should stop a certain leakage of our children to various forms of Dissent, which goes on between the school age and that of seventeen or eighteen.

His argument in Sermon II. for the primitive observance of Infant Baptism is to be noticed.

Church or Dissent. An Appeal to Holy Scripture. Addressed to Dissenters. By T. P. GARNIER, M.A., Rector of Cranworth with Southburgh, Norfolk, and late Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. (London : J. Hodges, 1876.)

WE have never seen a book better calculated to loosen the hold which Dissent may have upon a candid mind than this of Mr. Garnier's. It is thorough, it is straightforward, it goes throughout upon Holy Scripture ; and yet, though honestly and faithfully treating Dissent and schism as *sins*, it is calm, temperate, and loving. Clergymen will do well to buy and study it, and, wherever possible, to get Dissenters to do so. It is arranged in three parts, of which Part I. deals with what the Bible says about Dissent ; Part II. with common Dissenting objections against the Church ; Part III. with Dissenting pleas in favour of their own system—or rather no-system. And there is an appendix, which takes up a not unimportant argument from experience—namely, that whereas when a separatist body decays, it shows no inherent power of revival, it is otherwise with the Church. The Church's history is a history of ever-repeated revivals, and every revival has been not merely a return to the old standard, but the starting-point for new progress. The volume should be welcomed and valued.

Evening Communion : the Argument against them briefly stated. By Canon ASHWELL. (London : Skeffington, 1876.)

WE name this pamphlet to our readers along with Mr. Garnier's book as being of what one may call the thoroughly *useful* class of publications ; by which we mean such as put just the facts and arguments which are really wanted for the purpose of persuasion in a way likely to persuade. We know of cases of evening Communion which have been discontinued in consequence of a perusal of this pamphlet.

The Exodus and the Wanderings in the Wilderness. By the Rev. Dr. EDERSHEIM. Author of 'The World before the Flood,' &c. (London : Religious Tract Society.)

THIS is another of Dr. Edersheim's useful volumes, illustrative of the Old Testament. The facts of history and archæology which he has

so carefully popularised, remind us forcibly how much they have done for the elucidation, and even for the corroboration, of the Biblical narratives, and for the establishment of their points of junction with the annals of neighbouring nations. Had Dr. Colenso waited until now, his attack upon the Pentateuch could hardly have been made; and to the same set of causes we must probably attribute the obscurity into which it seems to have fallen. We cannot quite make out who is Dr. Edersheim's authority in Egyptology, since, contrary to his custom, he has omitted in several instances to give his references. But our *impression* is that he is somewhat too easy in his first chapter, in accepting statements that are picturesque. But we cannot be sure, for the reason we have stated. And he does not appear to have made any use of Ewald.

Taken as a whole, the book is calculated to be especially useful. Almost all Bible students will be able to learn something from it, and the young will probably gain an entirely new light upon the pages of the Scriptures.

We notice that Dr. Edersheim talks of 'papyri.' Would it not have been as well to explain what they were?

Three Hymns, with Plain-Song Melodies and accompanying Harmonies for the Organ. Edited by the Rev. ERNEST GELDART. (London: Joseph Masters & Co.)

THE last two of these Hymns will be found useful in churches where the music of the choral celebrations is Gregorian. The first of the three will, we should fear, scarcely attain to as much popularity, the fact being that it is a very difficult thing for a procession to move, with anything like evenness and dignity, to an unbarred melody. The whole of the three show tokens of careful editing, and though we should be inclined to consider the treatment of the 'Ave Verum' as the most successful, the harmonies of both the others give ample proof of having been subjected to a supervision at once reverent and musicianly.

A CORRECTION.

WE are informed by Dr. Pusey that he knows that the person alluded to on page 289, line 24, of our April Number, is NOT the author of *Supernatural Religion*.

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